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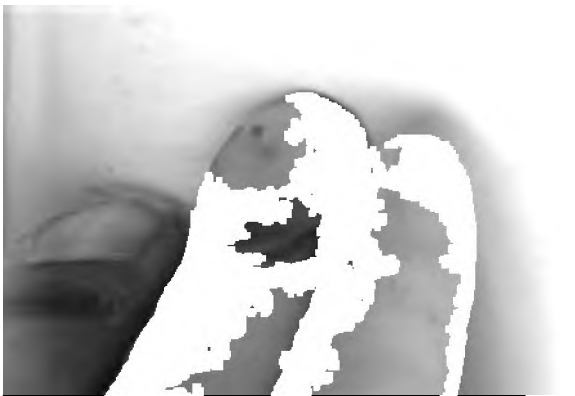

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COBBETT'S

ANNUAL REGISTER.

VOL. II.

FROM JULY TO DECEMBER,

1802.

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PREFACE.

When I first described the nature and proposed contents of this work, I prepared my readers for "such alterations, additions and improvements, as time and experience might suggest." Many and useful have been the suggestions of these patient monitors. After having finished the two volumes, wich complete the first year of the work, I now regard it as having assumed its permanent form and manner.

This volume, like the former one, may be considered as divided into two parts; the first consisting of the numbers, which have been published weekly during the *half year*, or, of a reprint of those numbers; the second, of the Supplement. The former of these divisions contains a collection of all authentic documents, appertaining to state affairs, or to matters of political economy, whether they immediately relate to this country or not; and, in making this collection, care has constantly been taken to recur to such compacts and transactions of past times, as do, or may affect the circumstances of the present time.—During the Session of Parliament, a weekly account of the proceedings is given, reserving the Debates, corrected and at full length, to be given in the Supplement to the volume. As occasion requires, and time affords opportunity, brief Notices are given of such new Books as relate to history, politics, or political economy, or that bear upon subjects connected therewith. The preceding heads are followed by a selection of such Foreign and Domestic Intelligence as appears to be of public importance; to which is added, a Record of Appointments, of Bankruptcies, Births, Deaths, Marriages, Prices. The scale of these articles has, in the latter numbers, been abridged; but whatever has been left out in the body of the work, will be found in the Supplement.——Besides the aforementioned

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matter, which is necessarily supplied by time and events, each sheet of the work contains the Editor's observations relative to all the most important current events and transactions. These observations are, for want of a more comprehensive phrase, called Summaries of Politics, and, upon an uninterrupted perusal of them, they will, I think, be found to form a complete series of statements, arguments, and reflections: and, when, to this series, are added the detached articles from correspondents, whether in the form of Essays, Letters, or Extracts, the whole of the numbers, taken together, forms a Chronicle, not only of events and transactions, but of the opinions, feelings, and motives connected therewith.

The compilers of Annual Registers have adopted a different, and, in my opinion, a far less perfect mode of arranging their materials, which it is their custom to divide into classes, instead of placing them in the order in which they were first communicated to the Public. According to their method, all the State Papers are so inserted as to follow each other without the intervention of other matter; and so of the Proceedings in Parliament, the Historical Remarks, &c. &c. But it is, I think, evident, that this classification can be attended with no one advantage, while it has many very great disadvantages. Considering the Register merely as a book of *reference*, it is of little import how the materials are arranged, so that they are all included in the book, and are pointed to by the Index in such a manner as to be found with perfect facility; but, as a book for *perusal*, the chronological order is certainly the most favourable to a clear, an easy, and satisfactory comprehension of the divers matters contained in it. At first sight, it may appear, that the chronological order, followed without reference to the difference in the kind of materials, produces, in one and the same sheet, a heterogeneous mass of Treaties with Foreign Powers, Debates in the Parliament, Intelligence from abroad, Occurrences at home, Fluctuations in the Stocks, Price of Bread, Political Reflections, &c. &c. Yet, upon closer observation, it will be found, that there is a very intimate connexion between all these; that they explain and elucidate each other, and that, though widely different in their nature, the reader must see them all, and all together too, in order to have a full and fair view of the political picture, of which they are the component parts. An article, on the contrary, contained in a Register where the classifying order is pursued, has seldom

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any connexion with those which immediately precede or come after it; and, in the studying of it, the reader very rarely indeed derives any aid from the situation in which it is found. Where, for instance, is the connexion between two State Papers? What help, in general, does the one afford towards the just appreciation of the other? To know what was thought and said of the new division of Germany, to obtain any knowledge respecting it, other than that which is to be drawn from the Declaration of France and Russia, recourse must be had to those other sources of information, which here accompany the Declaration, but which, in a work otherwise constructed, must be sought for elsewhere, not always with a certainty of success, and never without considerable pains.

The twenty-six sheets, which form the Chronicle for the half year, did not, however, appear to me to be quite sufficient to render the work complete. Several articles presented themselves, which, though too long to be inserted in the Weekly Numbers, were absolutely necessary to the completion of my plan. These, I therefore, resolved to publish in a half yearly Supplement, to be supplied, at a moderate price, to the purchasers of the Weekly Numbers; and, in this second volume, I have taken advantage of the convenience offered by this plan to render the work a *complete Parliamentary Register* also, which it was not, at first, my intention to do.—The contents of the Supplement to this volume are as follows.

1. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.—All the principal reports, returns, accounts, estimates, &c. &c. (being upwards of *sixty* in number) which were laid before the Parliament during the *last* session.
2. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, at length, on the Preliminary and Definitive Treaties with France. These debates, which were the only ones of much interest during the session, and which are, and long will be, constantly wanted to refer to, are here collected and arranged with great care, and from the best materials.—This head, together with the preceding one and the reports of Parliamentary Proceedings in the body and supplement of Vol. I. will be found to form a Parliamentary Register of the *last* session much more complete, as well as more interesting, than any other that has been published.
3. A LIST OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT, together with a selection of the addresses to the Electors, in different parts of the kingdom.
4. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, from the commencement of the *present* session to the recess, collected and arranged with great care.—These debates, together with the sort of Journal of Proceeding which has been kept, during this session, in the weekly Numbers, forms a complete Register of the Parliament down to the recess; and the next Volume will, of course, continue it down to the end of the session, including all the accounts, reports, estimates, &c. &c.
5. PAPERS RELATIVE TO INDIA.—Under this head are contained, not only the Official Papers laid before Parliament, but all such others as I have been able to collect, and

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as appeared to me likely to be useful to my readers.—There are not less than *seventy* articles under this head.

6. Statistical Table relative to the Cape of Good Hope.
7. PUBLIC PAPERS.—All papers of this description which were omitted in the weekly Numbers.
8. FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.—Many Dispatches, Decrees, &c. which were not published in the weekly Numbers.
9. A translation from a work entitled "*Etat Commercial de la France*," containing comments on Mr. Dundas's Speech relative to the effects which the treaty of Amiens will have on our rights in India.
10. Extracts from Charmilly's Letter to B. Edwards on the effect of the restoration of St Domingo to France, and on the general consequences of a regicide peace.
11. Memoir respecting Malta.
12. Letter respecting the Grand-Mastership of Malta.
13. Count Dietrichstein's observations in reply to the charges brought against him by the English newspaper, called the Times, relative to his conduct in Italy, and to the views of the Imperial Court at that time.
14. Papers relative to the conduct of Mr. Fox.
15. MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES, containing, amongst other things, all the advertisements, resolutions, songs, &c. &c. relative to the Statues and Birth Days of Messrs. Pitt, Dundas, and Addington.
16. Complete List of Patents, with a specification thereof, enrolled in the year, 1802.
17. JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS.—Under this head is contained an account of all such cases, which, during the last six months, have come before the several courts of justice, and as appear to me to contain any thing novel, or peculiarly important, whether from their nature, their consequences, or from the rank, &c. of the parties.
18. A List of the Titles of all the New Books, which have been published, in the United Kingdom, or in the Continent of Europe, and in America, during the last six months.—When I speak of the "last six months," I am to be understood as meaning, the six months ending Dec. 31st for this kingdom, Nov. 30th for the Continent of Europe, and Sept. 30th for America. In my next list I shall go back to these several epochs.—The books are divided into thirty-two classes, and are upwards of *fourteen hundred* in number. The titles are all translated into English, but care has been taken to mention the language in which the work is published, and the place where published. This is, I am led to hope, the completest thing of the kind that ever has been attempted. It has cost no small pains, and I trust it will be found to be of great and extensive utility.
19. The German Empire divided into Departments under the Prefecture of the Elector of * * *; to which is prefixed, a preface of the Translator, and also an Introduction, consisting of a Memoir on the Political and Military State of Europe, by the same author.—Translated from the French by MR. COBBETT.
20. Lists of Promotions, Preferments, Dispensations, &c.
21. View of the Prices of Bread, of the Value of the Funds, of the Bills of Mortality, &c. &c. &c. during the six months.
22. INDEXES.—1st of MATTERS; 2d of NAMES; 3d of PLACES.

I have here merely enumerated the principal *heads* in the Supplement, without attempting to specify the particular articles under each head, which will be done in the *Table of Contents* to the whole volume.

To class the several articles, in a Table of Contents, according to their different *subjects*, would, I conceive, render the table so complicated as to be almost, if not quite useless; and, indeed, after having long considered of the matter, I am well convinced, that the only rational classification that can be adopted is that which I have lately followed in each

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of the weekly numbers, the heads of which, without any reference to the *subjects*, which are of almost infinite variety, distinguish nothing but the *sorts of Documents*, or *papers*, which sorts are very few in number. I have, therefore, adhered to this division.—I. PUBLIC PAPERS; that is to say, Treaties, Conventions, Manifestoes, Armistices, Declarations, and, in short, all papers, of whatever name or purport, made or issued by any Government or Governments, and which treat of matters, in which more than one nation has a direct and evident part or concern.—II. FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS, such as Decrees, Proclamations, Dispatches, Orders, Petitions, Memorials, &c. &c. are and ought to be preserved. Many of them, indeed, it would be useless to insert in a work like this; but others are very necessary to enable the politician to form an opinion, not only as to the interior situation, but also to the exterior views of other countries; and, for the same purpose, he should have correct information respecting the pecuniary, the military, and other resources of the principal nations, particularly such as are, by their situation, power, and disposition, in any degree formidable to ourselves.—III. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS AND DEBATES, of which nothing need be said, but that they form a complete Parliamentary Register, elucidated occasionally by the Editor's notes.—IV. DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS, are of the same description as that which has been given of Foreign Official Papers.—V. INDIA PAPERS. This class is rather a deviation from my plan; the documents being of the same sort as, and coming fairly under the head of, Domestic Official Papers; but India is so considerable a branch, it is so distinct from the rest of the Empire, and the papers relative to it are so numerous, that it seemed convenient to give them a separate head.—VI. ESSAYS. Under this head I have placed all the Letters, Addresses, Dissertations, and Extracts; and also all articles of whatever description originating with the Editor and his Correspondents, amongst which are included, of course, the Summaries of Politics, the principal topics of each of which are merely pointed out.—VII. NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.—VIII. POETRY.—IX. JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS.—X. LISTS of various kinds.—Mere *Intelligence*, whether foreign or domestic, can never be very important without appearing, first or last, in an official document or paper of some sort or other; and, besides, the intelligence, as well as the tables of *Prices*, the Gazette articles, &c. recur too often and too regularly, and are too clearly pointed out by the Indexes to need being mentioned in a Table of Contents.

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Of the manner and quality of the work, I must leave the reader to judge, but respecting the *quantity* I beg to be permitted to say a few words.—A *guinea and a half* for *one octavo volume* has a high sound; but, if the purchaser will take the trouble to make the comparison, he will find, that this one octavo volume, which is sold for a guinea and a half, well and neatly bound with a Russia back, contains as much print as *ten common octavo volumes*, which ten volumes are sold, in boards, for *seven or eight shillings each*; and, of course, the Register is, as I stated with respect to the first volume, proportionally much *cheaper* than any other book published in London. In the advertisement of that volume, it was stated that it contained as much as *four* common octavo volumes; but it was meant to say *eight*. The present volume is much thicker, as well as fuller of print; and, indeed, I scruple not to say, that it contains as much letter press as the twelve volumes of Johnson's Works. This is a fact of which any one may satisfy himself with very little trouble.

London, January, 1803. WM. COBBETT.

TABLE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

	Page
Treaty between the United States of America and the Chickasaw Nation of Indians	33
Treaty between the United States of America and the Chactaw Nation of Indians	34
Treaty between France and the Duke of Wirtemberg	37
Convention between England and the United States of America	97
Letter from Mr. Livington, Amer. Min. at Paris, to the Amer. Consul at Paris, relative to Morocco	113
Letter to the Pope from certain of the French Bishops	161
Papal Decree of Absolution and Dispensation granted to some of the Fr. Bishops	161
Letters between Buonaparté and the legislative Body of the Italian Republic	164
Letter of R. Verninac, Fr. Min. in Swiss. to the Landaman, &c. respecting the withdrawing of the French Troops	181
Decree of the Imperial Commission respecting the Indemnities	202
Proclamation issued at Munster relative to the Entrance of the Prussian Troops	203
Treaty between France and the Prince of Orange	225
Letter of the Deputies of Part of the Swiss Cantons to the Fr. Min. Verninac, relative to a Change of the new Government	235
Full Powers for the Deputation of the Empire—Ratisbon	238
Note from the Portuguese Min. for Foreign Affairs to the Ministers of Foreign Powers respecting the Departure of Gen. Lasnes	243
Report of M. Talleyrand to the Consul of Fr. relative to the Partition of Germany	257
Declaration, on the same Subject, by Authority of Russia and Fr.	260
Representation of the Little Swiss Cantons to Buonaparté	278
Definitive Treaty of Peace between Fr. and Turkey	289
Buonaparté's Address, or Order, to the Ligurian Republic	291
Proclamation of the Bishop of Passau	292
Aulic Rescript delivered to the Diet by the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia	333
Note delivered to the Diet by the Bohemian Minister	335
Note delivered to the Diet by the Min. of Fr. and Russia	336
Note of the Reis Effendi to the English Plenipo. relative to the Bl. Sea	337
M. Talleyrand's Report to the Fr. Consul relative to the Treaty with Turkey	353
Copy of the original Grant relative to the Bl. Sea	354
Decree of the Imperial Commission addressed to the Extra. Dep. of the Emp.	417
Notes of the Min. of Fr. and Russia to the Extra. Dep. of the Emp.	418
Votes of certain Delegates at Ratisbon	420
Notes by the Fr. and Russian Min. to the Extra. Dep. of the Emp.	422
Buonaparté's Proclamation to the Swiss Cantons	423
Convention between the Com. of the Helvetic Troops and Mr. De Watteville	425
Letters from Aloys Reding, &c. to the Swiss	427
Convention between the Municipality of Zurich and the Commissary of the Helvetic Government	430
Note of the Austrian Plenipo. at Ratisbon to the Fr. Minister	466
Note of the same to the Russian Minister	468
Proclamation of the Swiss Generals to the Pays de Vaud	470
Armistice between the Gen. commanding the Helvetic Troops and the Gens. commanding the Troops of the Swiss People	485
Note from the Fr. Legation to the Deputation of the Empire	522
Manifesto of Count Mocenigo at Corfu	523
Answer of the Diet of Schwitz to the Procl. of Buonaparté	523
Proclamation of the Council of War of the Swiss League	524
Copy of a Letter from M. Talleyrand to M. de Cetto, Bavarian Min.	525
Letter from the Fr. and Russian Min. to the Directorial Min. at Ratisbon	526
Supplementary Plan of Indemnities	527
Treaty between France, Prussia, and Bavaria	559
Note of the Imp. Plenipo. to the Deputation of the Diet	559

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

Decree of the Senate at Berne respecting the sending of Deputies to Paris - 562
Letter of the President of the Diet of Schwitz to Gen. Rapp - - - 563
Communication from Imp. Plenipo. to the Diet of Ratisbon - - - - 586
Letter from the Swiss Deputies to Gen. Ney - - - - - - 590
Definitive Conclusion adopted by the Diet of Ratisbon - - - - 636
Note presented to the Diet of Ratisbon by the Swedish Min. - - - 640
Decree issued at Parma by the Fr. Min. Moreau de St. Mery - - - 658
Note to Gen. Ney from the Diet of Schwitz - - - - - - 658
Ordinance relative to the occupation of Osnaburgh - - - - - 659
Note from the Fr. Min. at the Diet to the Imp. Plenipo. - - - - 693
Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia at Hildsheim - - - - 693
Proclamation to the Helvetic People from the Helvetic Government - - 722
Declaration of the Sub-delegate of Bohemia at Ratisbon - - - - 844
Pope's Brief to the Archbishops and Bishops of France - - - - 1377
Report on the Differences between the Fr. Repub. and the Regency of Algiers 1381
Buonaparté's Letter to the Dey of Algiers - - - - - - - 1382
The Answer of the Dey of Algiers - - - - - - - - 1383
Address of the Envoys of the Republics to the People of the Valais - - 1384
Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate uniting the Departments of the Po, Marengo, Doire, &c. to the Territories of the Fr. Republic - 1386
Operations of Rear Adm. Leissegues at Tunis - - - - - - 1387
Note from the Fr. Min. at the Diet to the Imp. Plenipo. - - - - 1388
Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia at Hildesheim - - - - 1389

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Decree of the Fr. Gov. for establishing a mercantile Enterpôt at Marseilles - 20
Decree of Do., relative to Standards for the Demi-Brigades - - - - 21
Letter of Chaptal, the Fr. Min. of the Interior, relative to the Marriages between the brave young Men and the beautiful Maidens - - - - - - - 22
Decree of Gen. Leclerc for confiscating American Vessels - - - - 76
Proclamation issued at Paris, relative to the 14th July, 1802 - - - 77
Letter from Gen. Leclerc to the Fr. Min. of Marine, dated St. Domingo - 78
Letter from Gen. Richepance, Guadaloupe - - - - - - 79
Letter from Gen. Leclerc to the Min. of Marine, St. Domingo - - - 81
Letters from Gen. Richepance and Benezech, Guadaloupe - - - - 82
Letter of Chaptal, Fr. Min. of Interior, relative to Piedmont - - - - 110
Decree of the Consuls of France respecting Piedmont - - - - - 111
French Regulations respecting Ports of Entry and commercial Duties, with a Tariff 115
Proclamation issued by the Fr. Gen. Richepance at Guadaloupe - - - 140
Proclamation of Gen. Leclerc, St. Domingo - - - - - - 141
Letter from Toussaint - - - - - - - - - - 142
Decree granting an Amnesty to Emigrants - - - - - - - 165
Acts of the Government respecting Buonaparté's Consulship for Life - - 167
Buonaparté's pious Speech on the Occasion - - - - - - - 170
Chaptal's circular Letter for celebrating the Event - - - - - 171
New French Constitution - - - - - - - - - - 171
Letters from Gen. Richepance, Guadaloupe - - - - - - 197
Proclamation of the Helvetic Gov. to the People, upon the withdrawing of the French Troops - - - - - - - - - - - 200
Memorial of the Manufacturers of Rouen relative to English Goods - - 203
Decree of the Consulta of the Italian Republic relative to the Disturbances at Bologna 234
Proclamation of the Central Gov. of Switzerland - - - - - - 240
French Decree relative to foreign Merchandize - - - - - - 241
French Regulations respecting Prizes in the Schools - - - - - 242
Circular Letter from the Fr. Min. of the Interior to the Prefects, relative to a commercial Treaty with England - - - - - - - 244
Letter from the Emperor of Russia to Count Panin - - - - - 278
Decrees at St. Domingo relative to Commerce - - - - - - 299
Notification of the Amer. Consul relative to Morocco - - - - 338
French Decree respecting Commerce and Duties - - - - - 367

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
French Decree changing several of the Ministers	368
Project of a new Swiss Constitution	429
Letter from Gen. Andermatt to the Helvetic Government	430
Ukase of the Emp. of Russia relative to Preparations on the Road	430
Proclamation of the Council of Two Hundred at Berne	468
Letter of Daendels and Dumonceau to the Council of War of the Batavian Republic	473
Decree for regulating the Trade to St. Domingo	481
Report of the Trade to St. Domingo	483
Ukase of the Emp. of Russia relative to a change of Ministers, &c.	485
Plan of a Constitution agreed on by the Diet of Schwitz	487
Proclamation of the Prefect to the People of Rouen	563
French Decree relative to Foreigners settling in France	564
State of the Fr. Army in St. Domingo	756
French Dispatches from Tobago and Guadaloupe	845
Will of Prince Henry of Prussia	1375
Organic Articles for carrying into Effect the Concordat	1389
Gobert's Account of the Operations of the Fr. Army at Guadaloupe	1396
Decree of Fr. Consuls relative to Vessels arriving in the Port of Marseilles	1397
Magallon, Commander in Chief in the Isle of France, to Buonaparté on the State of that Colony	1398
Decree of F. Consuls prohibiting the importation of Blacks	1399
Decree relative to the Estab. of Catholic Religion in St. Domingo	1399
Bertin, Colonial Prefect of Martinique to the Minister of Marine	1399
Lacrosse, Capt. Gen. of Guadaloupe to the Minister of Marine	1400
Report of the Fr. Gov. upon the Situation of the Italian Republic	1401
Regulation for the Execution of the Senatus Consultum relative to new French Constitution	1404
Decree of Fr. Consuls appointing Gen. Brune Ambassador to the Porte	1408
Decree of Fr. Consuls appointing Persons to various Offices	1408
Fr. Minister of the Interior to the Prefect of the Depart. of the Dyle relative to contraband Merchandize	1409
Decree of Fr. Consuls relative to White Proprietors of St. Domingo, &c.	1409
Lacrosse, Capt. Gen. of Guadaloupe to Minister of Marine, on the Death of Richepanse and State of that Colony	1409
New Regulations in the Government of Russia	1410
Russian Manifesto on the new Formation of Administration	1412
Rear Adm. Villaret to the Minister of Marine on taking Possession of Martinico	1416
Decree of Fr. Consuls relative to Artillery and of Ital. Repub.	1417
Decree of Fr. Consuls relative to the Commerce of the Colonies	1417
Victor Hugues, Commiss. at Fr. Guiana to the Minister of the Marine	1418
Decree of Fr. Consuls relative to a Municipal Guard	1418
Regulations relative to the Bank of Amsterdam	1455

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, PAPERS, AND DEBATES. SESSION OF 1801-2.

For the Minutes of the Proceedings of this Session, as well as for a Part of the Papers and Debates, see Vol. I.—The rest of the Papers are inserted in this Volume, and also a complete Collection of the Debates, at length, relative to the Preliminary and Definitive Treaties.

Opening of the Parliament	657
King's Speech to both Houses	690
Minutes of Proceedings, from 19th to 25th November	691
Minutes to 30th November	720
Minutes to 7th December	751
Abstract of the Estimates of Army Services for 1803	753
Minutes of Proceedings to 10th December	776
Budget of the Minister	778
Minutes of Proceedings to 14th December	849
Minutes to 29th December	882
Papers on the Population of England and Wales	897

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

Account of the Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding to Jan. 1802 - - 905
Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Debt - - - 905
Account of the Total actual Expenditure of Great Britain for the Year, to Jan. 1802 911
Account of the Public Funded Debt, 1st Feb. 1802 - - - - - - 915
Account of the Ordin. Reven. and Ext. Resources, constituting the Public Income of Great Britain for the Year ending Jan. 5 1802 - - - - - 919
Account of the Net Amount of the permanent Taxes of Great Britain for the Year ending 5th Apr. 1802 - - - - - - - - - - - 927
Account shewing how the Monies for the Services of 1801 have been disposed of 933
Account of Ways and Means to answer the foregoing Services - - - 949
Account shewing how the Monies for 1801, for the Services in Ireland, have been disposed of - - - - - - - - - - - - - 951
Account of the Extraordin. of the Army in 1801 - - - - - - - 953
Account of the Total Produce of Customs, Excise, Stamps, for one Year, to Jan. 1802 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 954
Account of the Income Tax in Great Britain for the Year ending Apr. 1801 - 955
Account of the Increase or Diminution in Salaries, &c. in the Public Offices for the Year 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - - 957
Amount of the Annual Charge of the Public Debt from 1793 to 1802 - - 959
Account of the Sums received in the Excheq. upon the 4½ per Cent. Duties from 1785 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 959
Account of the Net Revenue of the Post Office from 1761 to 1802 - - 961
Account of the Distribution of the Sum of £1,000,000 granted for Exigencies - 962
Account shewing how the Million granted in Aid of the Naval Supplies has been applied - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 962
Account of all Pensions granted since 1797 - - - - - - - 963
Account of all Pensions or annual Gratuities charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and the 4½ per Cent. Duties - - - - - - - 966
Account of all Pensions and Allowances to the Royal Family - - - 968
Account of all annual Payments to the Royal Family charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and 4½ per Cent. Duties from 1786 to 1802 - - 968
Salaries of the Chancellor, Speaker, and Judges of England and Wales, from 1787 to 1802 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 970
Account of all Places for Life, whether held by Patent or otherwise - - 971
Account shewing the Amount of the temporary and hereditary Revenues of the Crown, &c. from 1777 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - 979
Report of the Commissioners for the Sale of the Land Tax - - - - 983
Account of the Expense of the Army for the Years 1793, 4, 5, and 6 - - 987
Account of the Expense of the Army for the Years 1779, 1780, 1, and 2 - 987
Account of the Number of Troops maintained by Great Britain in the Years 1793, 4, 5, and 6 - - - - - - - - - - - 87
Account of the Number of Troops maintained by Great Britain in the Years 1779, 1780, 1, and 2 - - - - - - - - - - - 987
Account of the Value of all Imports into, and Exports from Great Britain for 18 Years, from 1784 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - 990
Account of Sums received in the Excheq. upon the 4½ per Cent. Duties, from 1785 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 990
Account of the Value of Foreign Merchandize exported, and of all Imports into Great Britain for 1800 and 1801 - - - - - - - - - 990
Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage annually built in the several Ports of the British Empire, from 1789 to 1802 - - 991
Account of the Number of Vessels registered in the Ports of Ireland, and existing on the 30th September 1801 - - - - - - - - - - 992
Account of the Value of all Imports into and Exports from Ireland for 18 Years, from 1785 to 1802 - - - - - - - - - - - 992
Account of the Number of Vessels annually built and registered in the Ports of Ireland, from 1789 to 1802 - - - - - - - - - - 993
Account of the Number of Vessels, Amount of Tonnage, and Number of Men and Boys employed, which belonged to the several Ports of Ireland, in the Years 1789 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - - 994

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

Account of the Number of Vessels, Amount of Tonnage, and Number of Men and Boys employed in navigating the same, belonging to the British Empire, in the Years 1789 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - - 993
Account of Produce of Convoy Duty, from its Commencement to its Termination 997
Account of Vessels and Tonnage entered inwards from America in 1800 and 1801 998
Account of Vessels and Tonnage cleared out from Great Britain to America in 1800 and 1801 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 999
Account of Cinnamon and Cassia Lignea imported in 1708, 9, and 1800 - 1000
Account of Sugar, Rum, Coffee, and Cotton imported from the Colonies, &c. for Three Years - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1001
Account of Imports from and Exports to America and British Colonies for Six Years 1003
Account of Duties on Malt, from 1795 to 1801 - - - - - - - 1007
Account of Malt on which Duty has been paid, from 1783 to 1801 - - 1007
Account of Hops on which Duty has been paid, from 1783 to 1801 - - 1008
Account of Beer for which Duty has been paid, from 1783 to 1801 - - 1009
Account of Bounties on Corn and Rice for 1801 - - - - - - 1010
Account of Duties paid on printed Books for Two Years - - - - 1010
COLLECTION OF THE DEBATES IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, ON, AND RELATIVE TO, THE PRELIMINARY AND DEFINITIVE TREATIES OF PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE - - - - - - 1089
Debate in the House of Lords, Oct. 29, 1801, on the Motion for an Address in Answer to the King's Speech—Ld. Bolton—Ld. Lilford—Duke of Bedford 1089
Debate in the Commons, Oct. 29, 1801, on the Motion for an Address in Answer to the King's Speech—Ld. Lovaine—Mr. Wodehouse—Mr. Fox—Mr. Pitt—Mr. Windham—Mr. Addington—Mr. Sheridan—Earl Temple—Mr. Martin 1090
Debate in the Lords, Nov. 3, 1801, on a Motion for an Address to the Throne, approving of the Preliminary Treaty—Ld. Romney—Ld. Limerick—Earl Spencer—Duke of Clarence—Ld. Pelham—Ld. Westmeath—Ld. Grenville—Ld. Chancellor—Ld. Rawdon—E. of Warwick—Ld. Mulgrave—D. of Bedford—B. of Rochester—B. of London—E. Fitzwilliam—E. of Westmoreland—E. St. Vincent—Ld. Nelson—M. of Buckingham—E. of Caernarvon—Ld. Hobart - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1096
Debate in the Commons, Nov. 3, 1801, on a Motion for an Address to the Throne, approving of the Preliminary Treaty—Sr. E. Hartop—Mr. Lee—Ld. L. Gower—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. T. Grenville—Ld. Castlereagh—Ld. Temple—Mr. Banks—Mr. Pitt—Mr. Fox—Mr. Addington - - - - - - - - 1116
Debate in the Commons, Nov. 4, 1801, on bringing up the Address—Mr. H. Lascelles—Mr. Windham—Mr. Wilberforce—Dr. Lawrence—Mr. Wilberforce—Mr. Elliott—Mr. Yorke—Mr. Hobhouse—Mr. Baker—Mr. Dawson—Mr. W. Wynne—Col. Wood—Mr. Ellison—Mr. Nicholls—Mr. Babington—Mr. Thornton—Mr. Ogle—Mr. Addington - - - - - - - - 1150
Debate in the Commons, March 4, 1802, on the Army Estimates—Mr. Elliot—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. Cornwallis—Mr. Windham—Ld. Castlereagh—Dr. Laurence—Attorney Gen. - - - - - - - - - - - - 1192
Debate in the Commons, March 5th, 1802, on the American Treaty Bill—Dr. Laurence - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1199
Debate in the Lords, April 12, 1802, relative to the House of Orange—Ld. Carlisle—Ld. Pelham - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1199
Debate in the Commons, April 29, 1802, on bringing up a Copy of the Definitive Treaty—Lord Hawkesbury—Mr. Windham - - - - - - 1201
Debate in the Commons, May 3, 1802, for appointing a Time for taking the Definitive Treaty into consideration—Mr. Windham—Mr. Addington—Mr. T. Grenville—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. Pitt - - - - - - - - - 1202
Debate in the Lords, May 4, 1802, for appointing a Time for taking the Definitive Treaty into consideration—Ld. Grenville—Ld. Pelham—Ld. Thurlow—E. of Carlise—Ld. Chancellor—Ld. Auckland - - - - - - - - 1217
Debate in the Lords, May 5, 1802, relative to the House of Orange—E. of Carlisle Ld. Pelham—E. of Carlisle—M. Cornwallis—Ld. Chancellor—Ld. Auckland M. Cornwallis—Ld. Carlisle - - - - - - - - - - 1226
Debate in the Commons, May 5, 1802, on a Motion for certain Papers connected with the Definitive Treaty—Mr. Elliot—Ld. Hawkesbury—Dr. Laurence 1229

Digitized by Google

Page

Debate in the Commons, May 6, 1802, on a Motion for certain Papers relative to Malta—E. Temple—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. T. Grenville—Mr. Pitt—Mr. Jones—Dr. Laurence—Mr. Vansittart—Dr. Laurence—E. Temple—Ld. Hawkesbury - - - - - - - - - - - - 1233

Debate in the Lords, May 7, 1802, on a Motion for certain Papers relative to the Revenues of Malta—E. Spencer—Ld. Hobart - - - - - - 1239

Debate in the Commons, May 7, 1802, on Motion for an Address to the King on the Dismission of the late Ministers—Ld. Belgrave—Sir H. Mildmay—Mr. Wilberforce—Mr. Grey—Ld. Hawkesbury - - - - - - - 1242

Debate in the Lords, May 10, 1802, on a Motion for certain Papers relative to the Isle of Elbe, &c.—Ld. Minto—Ld. Pelham—Ld. Darnley—Ld. Carysfort 1250

Debate in the Commons, May 12, 1802, on a Motion for certain Papers relative to the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa—Dr. Laurence—Mr. Dundas—Mr. Grenville—Ld. Hawkesbury—Dr. Laurence - - - - - - - 1253

Debate in the Lords, May 13, 1802, on the Definitive Treaty—Ld. Grenville—D. of Norfolk—Ld. Pelham—Ld. Mulgrave—Ld. Auckland—E. of Caernarvon—E. of Westmoreland—Ld. Ellenborough—E. Darnley—E. of Rosslyn—Ld. Chancellor—E. Camden—D. of Richmond—Ld. Hobart—E. Spencer—Ld. Grenville - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1267

Debate in the Commons, May 13, 1802, on the Definitive Treaty—Mr. Windham—Mr. Pitt—Mr. Windham—Ld. Folkstone—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. T. Grenville—Mr. Dundas—Mr. Grenville—Gen. Gascoyne—Mr. Addington—Mr. Pitt—M. Grey—Sir W. Young—Ld. Castlereagh—Gen. Maitland—Ld. Temple—Master of the Rolls—Dr. Laurence—Mr. Bond—Mr. Wynne—Mr. Addington—Mr. Sheridan - - - - - - - - - - 1290

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, SESSION OF 1802-3.

Debate in the Commons, Nov. 16, 1802, on choosing the New Speaker - 1625

Debate in the Lords, Nov. 23, 1802, on the King's Speech—Ld. Arden—M. of Abercorn—E. Carlisle—D. of Norfolk—Ld. Grenville—Ld. Pelham—Ld. Carysfort—Ld. Hobart - - - - - - - - - - - - 1629

Debate in the Commons, Nov. 23, 1802, on the King's Speech—Mr. French—Mr. Curzon—Mr. Cartwright—Sir J. Wrottesley—Mr. Pytches—Mr. Fox—Mr. Canning—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. Windham—Mr. Addington—Mr. T. Grenville—Ld. Castlereagh—Sir H. Mildmay—Mr. Whitbread - - - 1641

Debate in the Commons, Nov. 24, 1802, on the Report of the Address on the King's Speech—Mr. Wilberforce—Gen. Gascoyne—Mr. Elliot—Sir F. Burdett—Mr. Dillon—Mr. Johnstone—Ld. Temple—Gen. Maitland—Mr. Yorke—Mr. Fox—Mr. Windham—Mr. Addington—Ld. Temple—Ld. Morpeth—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. Canning—Mr. Bragge - - - - - - 1673

Debate in the Commons, Dec. 2, 1802, on the Report of the Committee of Supplies—Mr. T. Grenville—Mr. Addington—Sir S. Smith—Mr. Sturges—Capt. Markham—Ld. Hawkesbury—Mr. Canning—Attorney Gen.—Dr. Laurence 1706

Debate in the Commons, Dec. 8, 1802, on the Peace Establishment—Mr. Yorke—Mr. Banks—Sir W. W. Wynne—E. Temple—Gen. Maitland—Gen. Tarleton—Mr. Cartwright—Mr. Whitbread—Mr. D. Ryder—Mr. Sheridan—Mr. Canning—Mr. Wilberforce—Mr. Fox—Mr. Windham—Mr. Addington - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1728

Debate in the Commons, Dec. 9, 1802, on the Report of the Committee of Supplies—Mr. T. Grenville—Ld. Hawkesbury—Sir F. Burdett—Mr. H. Browne—Dr. Laurence—Mr. Addington—Mr. Fox—Mr. Windham—Ld. Castlereagh - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1763

Debate in the Lords, Dec. 13, 1802, on the Question for the first reading of the Malt Bill—E. Spencer—Ld. Pelham—E. Carlisle—D. of Norfolk—E. of Limerick—Ld. Grenville—Ld. Chancellor - - - - - - - 1781

Debate in the Lords, Dec. 15, 1802, on the Malt Tax Bill—E. Spencer—Ld. Chancellor—E. Carlisle—E. of Darnley—Ld. Hobart—Ld. Carysfort—D. of Norfolk—Ld. Grenville—Ld. Pelham - - - - - - - - 1786

Debate in the Commons, Dec. 29, 1802, on the Motion for an Adjournment—Mr. Elliot—Mr. Addington—Mr. Windham - - - - - - 1797

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Orders issued at Martinico respecting the Mutineers of the West India Regts. 24
Orders respecting the Badge to be worn by the Regts. serving in Egypt - - 49
Orders relative to Serjeants who may become Blind in the Service - - 49
Letter of Ld. Hobart relative to Lands in Demerara - - - - - - 86
Orders by the Commander in Chief relative to Officers - - - - - 144
Speech of the Lieut. Gov. of Jamaica at the Opening of the General Assembly 182
Order of Council for proroguing the Parliament - - - - - - - 193
Order of Council relative to Free Ports in the West Indies - - - - - 193
Gazette Account of the Depredations committed in the West of England by the mutinous Manufacturers - - - - - - - - - - - 206
Message of the Lt. Governor of Jamaica to the Genaral Assembly - - 313
Continued and Concluded - - - - - - - - - - - 328
Notification of the Board for settling American Claims - - - - 371
Proceedings of the Ship Owners - - - - - - - - - - 489
Order by the Secy. at War for the return of all Out-Pensioners, &c. to their Duty 671
Official Account of the Cape of Good Hope - - - - - - - 1087

INDIA PAPERS.

Letter from Major Gen. Campbell to John Chaunier, Esq. dated Camp at Timakull, 1 Jan. 1802 - - - - - - - - - - - - 145

PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FROM THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY, CONCERNING THE LATE NABOB OF THE CARNATIC. ORDERED TO BE PRINTED JUNE 21 AND 23, 1802.

No. 1. Copy of Instructions to Lt. Col. Mac Neild - - - - - 1457
No. 2. Copy of Instructions to Lt. Col. Bowser - - - - - 1460
No. 3. Copy of Instructions to Messrs. Webbe and Close - - - 1462
No. 4. Report of Messrs. Webbe and Close, Explanatory of their Proceedings in the Palace of the late Nabob - - - - - - 1466
Appendix to the Third Day's Conference - - - - - 1468
Translations of Propositions from the Heir - - - - - 1470
No. 5. Treaty between the Comp. and the Nabob in 1792 - - - 1478
List of Polygars, with their respective Tributes - - - - 1483
List of the Districts, with the Amount of Revenues of each - - 1485
No. 6. Treaty between the Comp. and Azum ul Dowlah in 1801 - - 1485
No. 7. Declaration of the Gov. in Council of Fort St. George - - 1489
Correspondence of the Nabob, &c. with Tippoo - - - 1495
Key to a Cypher found among the Records at Seringapatam - - 1500
Correspondence with Tippoo continued - - - - - 1501
Extract from the Treaty in 1787, between the Comp. and the Nabob of the Carnatic - - - - - - - - - 1513
No. 8. Letter from the Gov. Gen. to the late Nabob - - - - 1513
No. 9. Proceedings of the Council of Fort St. George on the Treaty between the Comp. and Azum ul Dowlah - - - - - - 1514
No. 10.— 11. Correspondence between the Gov. Gen. and the Gov. of Fort St. George - - - - - - - - - - - 1516
No. 12. Copy of Orders published to the Settlement of Fort St. George - 1516
No. 13. Information submitted to the House of Commons - - - 1518
No. 14. Affidavit of the Physician of the late Nabob - - - - - 1518
No. 15. Extracts from the Examination of certain Persons - - - 1518
No. 16. Correspondence found in the Palace of Seringapatam - - - 1542
No. 17. Minute of Lord Clive relative to the pecuniary Provision for the Families of the late Nabob - - - - - - - - - - 1544
Mr. Dundas's Speech on the Situation of Affairs in India - - - - 1550
Six Letters of Aristides on the Deposition of the Nabob of Arcot, the Death of the deposed Nabob, and the Revolution in the Carnatic - - - - 1564
Translation of a Letter from the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family of Wallajaw and Omdut ul Omerah to Lord Clive - - - - - 1577
Lord Clive's Answer - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1579
List of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company for 1802 - - - 1586

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

Extract from "*Etat Commercial de la France*," containing Observations on Mr. Dundas's Speech relative to the Effects of the Peace on our Possessions in the East - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1824

ESSAYS.

Alarmist, No. 2 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 2
America—Observations respecting France received from that Country - - 6
Fox's Advertisement to the Electors of Westminster - - - - - - 12
Letter to Editor in support of Mr. Dundas's India Statements - - - 14
Mr. Cobbett's Answer to the said Letter - - - - - - - - 15
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Elections—St. Domingo—Negroes in Carolina - 25
Abbé Gregoire conducted to the British Musuem by Sir Joseph Banks - - 29
Letters from America relative to Louisiana and St. Domingo, with an Account of the Shipments from Louisville in Kentucky - - - - - - - 38
Mr. Cobbett's Answer to one of these Letters - - - - - - - 45
Messrs. Windham and Frere's Address to the People of Norwich - - - 46
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Elections—Mr. Huskisson—Mr. Pitt's System—Beloes 50
Memorandum of Mr. Huskisson's Friend—Remarks thereon - - - 65
Letter from an American Capt. relative to Fr. Tyranny in St. Domingo - 74
Extract of a Letter from Edinburgh respecting the French Princes - - 87
Letters to and from the Earl of Fife and the Ministers of Glenmuick - - 88
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Westminster and Middlesex Elections—Toussaint - 89
Advertisements of Mr. Mainwaring and Sir Francis Burdett - - - 117
Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Messrs. Nares and Beloe - - - - - - 119
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Elections—Turkey—Morocco—Piedmont—West Indies —Toussaint - - - - - - - - - - - - - 122
Letter from * * *, dated Stockholm, 5th July, 1802, relative to the Projects of France, Prussia, and Russia - - - - - - - - - - 129
Letter to the Editor respecting the Conduct of Sir Francis Burdett - - 132
Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Mr. Huskisson's Friend - - - - - - 136
Letter to the Editor from Baltimore, touching Louisiana, and our Trade with America 147
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Elections—Clerkship of the Pells—Mr. Fox—The Peace 151
Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Heriot, the Printer of the True Briton - - - 162
Extract from the Moniteur containing a gross Libel on the King of Gt. Britain - 179
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Clerkship of the Pells—English Republicans disappointed by Buonaparté—Russia and France—French Views on the Barbary States—Gen. Bowles - - - - - - - - - - - - 182
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Mr. Pitt - - - - - - - - - 195
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Moniteur—True Briton - - - - - - 208
Reply to a Ministerial Attack upon the political Character of Mr. Windham - 226
Account of the Tribute raised by the Barbary States on other Nations - - 236
Letter from Fort St. George (East Indies) respecting the Consequences of the Peace 245
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Projets of Russia and France—Barbary States—Louisiana —Black Sea—Division of Germany—Governor and Assembly of Jamaica—Mr. Peltier - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 255
Letter of a West India Planter relative to Dispute at Jamaica - - - - 265
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on Partition of Germany - - 271
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Jamaica—Mr. Fox—English Newspapers—Vandean Royalists - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 279
Agricola's short View of the Affairs of Germany - - - - - - - 295
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Vandean Royalists—Mr. Fox - - - - - 312
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Mr. C. J. Fox, touching his Visit to Buonaparté - 338
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Affairs of Germany—French Princes—Switzer.—Malta 351
Letter of Swenska relative to English and Continental Politics - - - 355
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the Partition of Germany - 361
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—The Valais—Emperor—Switz.—Louisiana—Malta—Revenue—Mr. Fox—Capt. D'Auvergne - - - - - - - 371
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the Partition of Germany - 393
Caractacus's Remarks on the Affairs of Germany - - - - - - - 399
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—War in Switzerland—Continental Connexions—Mr. Coke 410

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Summary of Politics—Germany—Switzerland—New Providence	434
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the Partition of Germany	449
Extracts from Demosthenes	458
Summary of Polities—Extract from the True Briton on the new hostile Mind of France	476
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the new Hostility of France	493
Summary of Politics—Switz.—Malta—Louisiana	510
Duke of Kent defended against the Aspersions of Heriot	513
Washington, La Fayette, and Mr. Hamilton, historical Anecdote respecting them	516
Letter from "A Lover of Truth and Decorum" respecting the Reading Ball	521
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the new Hostility of France	532
Summary of Politics—Switzerland—Piedmont—Continental Connexions—Supposed Change in the Politics of Russia—Egypt	540
Letter of Tietenser on the Reading Ball on the Peace	545
Letter of Swenska on the Capability of Resistance on the Part of Austria and Switzerland	548
Remarks on an Article in the Moniteur	554
Extract from the Moniteur	565
Summary of Politics—Submission of the Swiss—Vandean Royalists—Manifesto of Moniteur—Opinions respecting retaining Conquests	568
Letter to the Royal Society relative to the Conduct of Sir J. Banks	577
Buonaparté's Conduct in Syria, extracted from Sir Robt. Wilson	582
Abusive Extract from the Moniteur	592
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the new Hostility of France	594
Summary of Politics—Swiss—Moniteur—Prince Ruspoli	605
Letter of Swenska on the approaching Peace—dated 1st Sept. 1801	609
Observations on the Fr. Senatus Consultum relative to Emigrants	618
Remarks on the Situation of Malta	635
Letter on the Situation of the Irish Clergy	656
A Freeholder's View of the Situation of Europe and of Parties in Gr. Britain	641
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Lord Hawkesbury on the new Hostility of France	646
Letter of N. V. of Whitehall relative to the Ball at Reading	653
Summary of Politics—Parma—Holland—Buonapurté's tour—Lord Whitworth—Andreossi in London—Despard	661
Abuses in the General Post-Office—Letter to Lord Auckland thereon	673
Extract from the Paris Argus relative to Messrs. Fox, Erskine, aud O'Connor	687
Summary of Politics—Swiss—St. Domingo—Baring and Co.—French Navy—Fr. Moniteur—Sudden Change in the Tone of Ministers—Fr. commercial Agents	695
Picture of France in 1801, as drawn from the Procès verbaux	705
Letter to the Editor relative to the Post-Office	711
Letter to Mr. C. J. Fox on his Misrepresentations	714
Hostile Article published at Stutgard relative to England and India	725
Summary of Politics—The Continent—Stutgard Article—Honduras—State of the Country—The Navy—Count Stahremberg	727
A Freeholder's 2d Letter on the Situation of Europe and the Parties of Gr. Britain	737
Letter to Sir J. Banks by Misogallus	743
Letter of Mr. Cobbett to Mr. Wilberforce	745
Summary of Politics—Parties in the United States of America—Count Stahremberg—Dukes of Avry and Polignac—St. Domingo—Whig Club—Moreau de St. Mery	762
Letter of J. Tietenser in Answer to Candidus	769
Extract from the Moniteur respecting the British power in India	773
Summary of Politics—St. Domingo and Jamaica—Naval and Military Establishments—Revenue and Commerce—Indemnity to the Stadtholder—Capt. D'Auvergne—Conduct of New Opposition	784
Authentic Narrative of the taking of the Invincible Standard	801
Letter from Boston on the Situation of England, France, and America	823
Letter to the Bishop of London	827
View of "Mr. Sheridan's *fine* Speech"	830

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

Letter of Tyrtæus on the Retension of Malta - - - - - - - 83
Summary of Politics—French Troops in Holland—Emperor—King of Sardinia —Libels in the Moniteur—Extr. from True Briton; bold Tone - - 85
Letter respecting the Invincible Standard—Remarks on same Subject - - 86
Letter of Mr. Tietenser in Reply to the further Remarks of Candidus - - 87
Extract from the Moniteur, containing Strictures on the Debates in Parliament 87
Summary of Politics—Mr. Moore—the Moniteur—Capt. D'Auvergne—the Navy Bill—Bill respecting the Cloth Manufactories—Mr. J. H. Addington 88
A Collection of the various Articles which appeared in the public Prints on the Subject of Mr. Pitt's Statue - - - - - - - - - - 101
Proceedings at the Anniversary of Mr. Pitt's Birth-Day - - - - 102
Proceedings at the Anniversary of Mr. Addington's Birth-Day - - - 103
Account of the Ball at Reading - - - - - - - - - 103
Mr. Dundas's Statue - - - - - - - - - - - 103
Publius on the Ambition of France, and the Imbecility of the British Ministry 103
Sir F. Burdett's Letter to Dr. Parr, on presenting him with the Rectory of Graffham 107
Dr. Parr's Answer to the above Letter - - - - - - - - 107
Description of the French Funds - - - - - - - - - 107
Memoir of the Maltese on the Evacuation of Malta by the English - - - 107
Philalethes Letter on the Grand Mastership of Malta - - - - - 107
A Letter addressed to Philalethes on the same Subject - - - - - 107
Charmilly on the fatal Consequences of a Peace with the Fr. Republic - - 108
Count Dietrichstein's Observations on two Articles in "The Times," relative to a Letter said to be written by him to the Austrian Commandant at the Siege of Turin - - - - - - - - - - - - 136
Conduct of Mr. C. J. Fox - - - - - - - - - - 142
Our Relations with France - - - - - - - - - - 144
Fox's Definition of a Despot - - - - - - - - - - 145
Extract from Mr. Fox's Speech at the Whig Club - - - - - 145
Wilberforce's Address to the Freeholders of York - - - - - 161
Coke's Addresses to the Freeholders of Norfolk - - - - - 161
Empire of Germany divided into Departments, under the Prefecture of the Elector of * * *, to which is prefixed a Memoir on the Polit. and Milit. State of the Continent - - - - - - - - - - - 180

CRITICISMS AND NOTICES.

Review of Belsham's Remarks on the Treaty of Amiens - - - - - 26
Same Subject continued - - - - - - - - - - - 29
Same Subject concluded - - - - - - - - - - - 38
State of Europe by Mr. Gentz - - - - - - - - - - 62
Bowles's Thoughts on the General Election - - - - - - - 63
Vindication of the Polit. Conduct of Mr. Windham - - - - - 63

POETRY.

Addington and Hawkesbury, an excellent new Ballad, to the Tune of "Widow Saunderson" - - - - - - - - - - - - 65
Concert of Music, Vocal and Instrumental, to be performed at the Great Room, &c. &c. - - - - - - - - - - - - 70
Ode for the New Year, 1802 - - - - - - - - - - 101
Ode for His Majesty's Birth-Day, 1802 - - - - - - - - - 101
The Statue, an Epigram - - - - - - - - - - - 102
Verses to Mr. Pitt, on the proposed Statue - - - - - - - 102
Song by G. H. Rose, Esq. sung at the Anniversary of Mr. Pitt's Birth-Day - 102
Song by the Rt. Hon. G. Canning, sung at the Anniversary of Mr. Pitt's Birth-Day 102
Verses on a Great Man in Distress - - - - - - - - - 103
Michaelmas Day, a Song sung at the Anniversary of Mr. Addington's Birth-Day 103
A Simile, addressed to the Peace-Maker - - - - - - - - 103
The Pilot that moored us in Peace - - - - - - - - - 103

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS.

Page

Trial of Charles Beloe, Charles Wagstaffe, and John Harwood, for a Riot at the House of Mr. Cobbett, on the Night of the infamous Illuminations for the Peace of Amiens - - - - - - - - - - - - 99

JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS - - - - - - - - - - 1589

Parry *v.* Morris, for enticing away a Servant - - - - - - 1589

M'Lealan *v.* Field, for a Libel - - - - - - - - 1589

Cary *v.* Kearsley, for copying and pirating a Book - - - - - 1591

Waterhouse *v.* King, relative to Prize Money - - - - - - 1592

Furtado *v.* Rogers, upon a Policy of Insurance - - - - - - 1594

Assignees of Fisher *v.* Edwards, for recovery of a Bill of Exchange - - 1597

Blake *v.* Bank of England, on one of its Promissary Notes - - - 1598

Antonio *v.* Critico, for recovery of Money - - - - - - 1600

Storey *v.* Eagle, for a Breach of Promise of Marriage - - - - 1601

Hand *v.* Kustens, for the same - - - - - - - - - 1603

Captors of the Caroline Planter *v.* Bell, for Prize Money - - - - 1604

Trial of Codling, Read, Easterby and M'Farlane, for destroying the Brig Adventure - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1606

Knightly and Others *v.* Rogers, upon a Policy of Insurance - - - - 1618

The King *v.* Shutland, for a Libel - - - - - - - - 1618*

Collett *v.* Lord Keith, for detaining the Argonaut - - - - - 1620*

The King *v.* Philip Hamlin, the Tinman, for attempting to bribe Mr. Addington - - - - - - - - - - - - 1621*

Earl St. Vincent *v.* Lord Nelson, respecting Prize Money - - - - 1623*

Moore *v.* Dumford, for Criminal Conversation - - - - - - 1624*

Corder *v.* Emerton, for false Recommendation - - - - - - 1625*

Gill *v.* Hogg, for enticing away Plaintiff's Wife - - - - - 1626*

Tenant *v.* Slater, for infringing a Patent - - - - - - - 1627*

Lingham *v.* Hunt, for Criminal Conversation - - - - - - 1628*

LISTS.

List of the Times and Places for holding Summer Circuit in England - - - 48

List of Do., for holding the Summer Circuit in Wales - - - - - - 86

LIST AND SPECIFICATIONS OF PATENTS ENROLLED IN 1802 - - - - 1041

1. Mr. Chapman's, for Preservation of Cordage - - - - - 1042
2. Miss Young's, for teaching Music by Games - - - - - 1043
3. Mr. J. B. Denize's, for a particular Cement - - - - - 1043
4. Mr. Wilkinson's, for making Leaden Pipes - - - - - 1045
5. Messrs. Kendrew and Porthouse's, for spinning Yarn - - - 1045
6. Captain Bolton's, for an improved Rudder - - - - - 1046
7. Mr. Tidmarsh's, for a Substitute for Paint - - - - - 1047
8. Mr. Longmore's, for a Pattent in the Locks of Guns - - - 1047
9. Mr. Becker's, for Improvements in Musical Instruments - - 1047
10. Mr. Bosquet's, for Preservation of Ships from Decay, &c. - - 1048
11. Mr. Walker's, for Water-proof Caps and Hats - - - 1049
12. Mr. Jackson's, for a Drill to sow Turnips - - - - 1049
13. Mr. Brown's, for preparing Extract of Zinc - - - - 1049
14. Mr. Boaz's, for communicating Thoughts, &c. by Lights - - 1049
15. Mr. Pott's, for an artificial Leg - - - - - - 1050
16. Mr. Dickenson's, for improvements in Saddles - - - - 1050
17. Mr. Brewin's, for a Method of tanning - - - - - 1051
18. Mr. Murray's, for constructing an Air Pump - - - - 1052
19. Mr. G. Bodley's, for a portable Stove or Kitchen - - - 1052
20. Mr. J. Lewis', for preventing Accidents by Horses, &c. - - 1052
21. Mr. Philipstal's, for his Phantasmagoria - - - - - 1053
22. Mr. Donaldson's, for making all Kinds of Glass - - - 1053
23. Mr. Winter's, for covering the Floors of Rooms - - - 1054
24. Mr. Howard's, for making Barilla and Pot-Ash - - - 1054
25. Mr. Wilde's and Mr. Ridge's, for Saws, Steel Doctors, &c. - 1055
26. Messrs. Robertson's, for working Steam-Engines - - - 1055

Digitized by Google

Page

27. Mr. Thomason's, for an improvement on Corkscrews - - 1055
28. Mr. Wilson's, for obtaining a Vacuum, &c - - - - 1056
29. Mr. Williams', for disengaging Horses from Carriages - - 1056
30. Mr. Rusher's, for Improvements in Types - - - - 1056
31. Mr. Gould's, for an artificial Horizon, &c. - - - - 1057
32. Mr. Lawrence's, for a new Method of tanning - - - 1057
33. Mr. Lewis', for Improvements in dying - - - - 1057
34. Mr. Hawkins's, for a new Floating Mill - - - - 1058
35. Mr. Tickell's, for extracting the Oil of Hops, &c. - - 1059
36. M. Poggis', for Improvements in Ordnance, &c. - - - 1059
37. Mr. Maltby's, for a Stirrup - - - - - - 1060
38. Mr. Richardson's, for preparing the Skins of Sheep and Lambs 1060
39. Mr. Koops', for manufacturing Paper from Straw - - 1060
40. Mr. Dickinson's, for fixing Straps of, and to Saddles - - 1061
41. Mr. Collins', for a Cephalic Snuff - - - - - 1062
42. Mr. Bauer's, for Improvements in Carriages, &c. - - - 1062
43. Mr. Fryer's, for making Cottons, &c. look like Fur - - 1062
44. Mr. Dearborn's, for Steel-Yards - - - - - 1062
45. Mr. Hudson's, for making mineral or fossil Alkali - - 1062
46. Mr. Forder's, for stopping the Leeks, &c. of Ships - - - 1063
47. Mr. Sawdon's, for cutting Straw for Fodder - - - - 1063
48. Mr. Walmsley's, for battening and opening Cotton Wool - 1063
49. Lord Dundonald's, for preparing Substitutes for Gum Senegal - 1064
50. Mr. Smith's, for constructing Vapour-Baths - - - - 1064
51. Mr. Martin's, for Improvements in tanning Hides - - - 1065
52. Mr. Weekes', for a Machine to grind Bark, &c. - - - 1065
53. Mr. Wyatt's, for Improvements in Distilling, drying Coffee, &c. 1066
54. Mr. Fryer's, for manufacturing, cutting, finishing of Cloth, &c. 1066
55. Mr. Tate's, for Improvements in the Construction of Wheel Carriages 1067
56. Mr. Smith's, for fixing and setting an Alarum - - - - 1067
57. Mr. Pritty's, for a Method of hanging Springs, Joints, &c. - 1068
58. Messrs. Pennack and Dunkin's, for Improvements in sailing, &c. 1068
59. Mr. Ashworth's, for making Iron-Liquor for Dyers and Painters 1069
60. Mr. Fryer's, for dressing and finishing Woollen Cloth - - 1070

List of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company for 1802 - - - 1586
List of East India Ships for the Season 1802-3 - - - - - - 1587
List of the Members returned to serve in the New Parliament - - - 1609
List of New Books published in the United Kingdoms, on the Continent of Europe, and in America, during the last Six Months - - - - - 1849
Variations in the Price of the Quartern Loaf, from July to Dec. - - - 1849
Variations in the Funds, from July to Dec. - - - - - - 1849
Variations in the Bills of Mortality, from July to Dec. - - - - 1848
Index of Matter, 1903—Index of Names, 1931—Index of Places, 1932.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

N. B. *After this page comes the Register, beginning with page* 1, *and continuing on to page* 896. *Then follows the Supplement, which begins with page* 897, *and closes with the Index.*

☞ *This Volume must always be bound with a hollow Back.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 1.] *London, Saturday, 10th July,* 1802. [Price 10D.

CONTENTS.—*Alarmist*, 2. *Amer. and Fr.* 6. *Elec.* 9, to 14. *Let. on India Affs.* 14. *Ant.* 15. *King of Sardinia*, 17. *Book-Fair at N. York.* 17. *Meet. at Memel*, 18. *French Decrees*, 20, to 22. *Black Regts*, 24. *Mr. Windham's Elec.* 25. *Change in Min.* 26. *Arm. for Louisiana*, 27. *Neg. in Carolina*, 28. *Gregoire, Volney, &c.* 29.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In presenting to the public this first Number of the Second Volume of the Political Register, I think it necessary to give some account of the manner in which the preceding volume will be completed. A Supplement to that volume is now in the press. This Supplement will contain about thirty articles, relating to Affairs of the Church; to Finance, Commerce, Navigation, and Colonies; to Military and Naval Concerns; to the conduct, interests, and views of Nations and of Sovereigns. These will be followed with a list of the Acts of Parliament passed during the last session, and a comprehensive view of the estimates, accounts, reports, &c. &c. laid before the Parliament. To this will be added, a complete catalogue of all the Books published in every part of the world during the last six months. After which will follow, all the Promotions and Preferments, Bankrupts, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, in the United Kingdom, alphabetically arranged. A view of the Price of Stocks and of Bread for the half year, will succeed; to which will be added the Bills of Mortality for the same period. After giving a selection of occurrences, for the half year, more full and complete than could be given in the Weekly Numbers, the Supplement will close with a general and copious Index to the Volume. There will be prefixed, for the purpose of binding up, a general Title, an Introduction, and a Table of Contents, in which table the several parts of the work will be classed under appropriate heads.

In this Supplement, as well as in the body of the work, I have confined myself almost entirely to subjects belonging, either directly or indirectly, to politics or political economy, and to matters which have either arisen, or have reference to, the proceedings and events of the period for which the work professes to be a complete Register. It has not been my object to swell out a book, but to collect, in as small a compass as possible, every fact and remark, which is, in my judgment, likely to be useful to my readers. The articles, which compose the Supplement, are, in great part, either perfectly original, or to be found in no other English work.

The price of the Supplement cannot be exactly stated, 'till I know how many pages it will contain.—It will be supplied, to those who take the Weekly Numbers, by the persons by whom those Numbers are supplied.—It will be published on Saturday, the last day of July.

WM. COBBETT.

THE ALARMIST. NO. 2.

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
VIRGIL.

The fall of St. Domingo, pregnant with dangers of a most frightful aspect to Great-Britain, is nevertheless not wholly unaccompanied by beneficial effects, inasmuch as it tends to spread wider that alarm, which has continued to make its way since the treaty of Amiens, notwithstanding all the lulling opiate notions of our ministerial quacks. Englishmen begin to be roused from the golden dreams of commerce, peace, and plenty, and stand aghast at the huge spectres which having danced in masquerade before their deluded eyes, now exhibit all their native deformity, rendered ten times more hideous by the contrast. The consternation into which the ill-judged and ruinous tax upon tonnage had thrown the ship-owners, is now communicated to the West-Indians, by what is alone capable of reaching their hearts—their own private interest, and the security of their particular property. Their brethren of the East begin also to cry out for that commiseration and assistance to which their conduct so little entitles them. But it is not till the interest of each separate class of men, which compose the diversified system of this empire have been injured, that the outcry will become universal: ministers still have the manufacturers; their profits alone have not *yet* been injured: this class of men (without the imputation of malignity it may be affirmed) the most unworthy, because the worst af-

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fected to that government which gives them protection, has been selected by ministers with their usual judgment, to be cherished and aggrandized, at the expense of the dearest interests of the country. This exultation of the Alarmist in the success of those labours which he has long admired, and of which his zeal has lately thrust him forward as a humble partaker, the meritorious task of tearing the veil from this phantom dressed up by ministry in the shape of peace, will, he hopes, be pardoned, although foreign to the purpose of this paper, that of drawing the attention of the public to the army establishment.

A noble Lord (Castlereagh) to whose opinion considerable importance attaches, as it had evidently the approbation of Mr. Pitt, said in the course of the debate on the 15th of May, "that if France continues in peace to pursue the same system of encroachment and aggrandizement, which she has pursued between the signature of the definitive and preliminary articles, *it is impossible that peace can last.*" Mr. Addington has given such repeated proofs of his determination, to submit to Buonaparté in every thing, that much weight would not have attached to this assertion, notwithstanding the high authority from which it proceeded, had not the pressure of that debate forced from his trembling lips a solemn promise to resist all future encroachments. Now the Alarmist defies the most ingenious quibbler to devise the shadow of a reason, why our enemy (for such he still is, except in name) with all those advantages which the execution of the articles of peace throws into the scale of his power, should desist from those ambitious projects, which he boldly pursued when it was in the power of Great-Britain to renew war, with nearly the same degree of superiority, which she possessed on the cessation of hostilities. No man can be so simple as to suppose that his moderation will increase in proportion to our weakness: upon the union therefore of Switzerland or Piedmont with France, the appointment of Buonaparté to the Consulship of Holland or Tuscany, or the reoccupation of Egypt by his troops, (some of which events seem to be not very far distant) Mr. Addington must declare war, or drop the reins of government from his feeble hands. An argument on which he seemed principally to rely was the following: "supposing that peace cannot last more than two or three years, yet then it must be advantageous by enabling us to economise our resources and thereby to renew the war, with greater advantage than could now be carried on." Any one wi perceive by a superficial glance over th estimates for a peace establishment, how i adequate the savings of two or three yea will be, to the expenses of fitting out o fleet on a renewal of war, of recruiting t army, and of wresting from France all tho possessions which this disgraceful compa has placed in her hands: the sums requisi for these necessary efforts, must be rais also *en masse*, by a sudden and violent exe tion, which will be much more severely f than a regularly increasing expenditure du ing the whole of this truce: it must be rais also from a diminished commerce, diminis ed manufactures, and diminished resour of every kind; for the conviction that su must be the consequences of this treaty b gins now to be pretty strongly and genera felt: but what is most to be feared is a d terioration of confidence and spirit in t people, and what has caused the ruin half the nations of Europe, national pani and despondency, originating in the fright consequences of misconduct in their resp tive governments. That part of the ar establishment which seems to be most jectionable, is the cavalry: considering immense standing army of France, it is e dently the interest of this kingdom to h a large force, fit to take the field as soon possible, after the commencement of ho lities; now it appears that eight drag regiments of the line, together with all fencible regiments, are to be wholly disba ed: the rest consisting of 20 regiments to be kept up at the large complemen 480 men each. A few remarks shall r be offered upon a plan, which was submit by very high authority to the contemplat of the ministry, and rejected: viz. to k up all the regiments of the line, and whole number of their officers, but to duce the complement of men to a very standard. The justice of this projec manifest: it is no injury to a private sold who has received a bounty to inlist, and employ himself in his former business, t disbanded; though an officer on half finds great difficulty in sustaining the ne sary appearance of a gentleman: great is the injustice of taking his regiment (haps his whole subsistence), from a b and distinguished general, such as are commanders of some of those which so be reduced, though for the sake of av ing invidious distinctions no names mentioned, while such a raw boy as Paget, undistinguished by any partic

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merit (except parliamentary influence) is suffered to command one of the best regiments, to which he is not entitled by military rank, and of the profits of which his fortune places him far above the want.—As to the policy. 1. The expense might be lessened. Suppose for the sake of illustration, each regiment be reduced to 240 men; a saving of nearly 3000 men and horses, which would undoubtedly more than compensate for keeping the officers of eight regiments on full instead of half-pay; and this with equal security; for, 2, the effective force would not be diminished. Every one at all conversant in military affairs, well knows how difficult it is to form a dragoon regiment, and the length of time required to make it fit to meet an enemy, when an entire new body of both officers and men are brought together: the facility of increasing a regiment so as to fit it for actual service is equally well known, where it is only requisite to fill up the ranks of each troop. Under the present circumstances, upon a war breaking out, there will, it is true, be 20 effective regiments, but whatever further number it may be found necessary to raise, will scarcely be capable of making a figure in the field for two or three years; according to the above proposal the whole 28 might be filled up and ready to meet an enemy in as many months. The consideration here introduces itself of the policy of holding out encouragement to the yeomanry to continue their services, under the idea that they may, on a sudden emergency, supply the place of regular cavalry. The encomiums on their courage and loyalty, and their utility in preserving domestic tranquillity, are perfectly just; but they are not at present wanted for this service: suffer them to retire quietly from a service which has been productive of great inconvenience to them, of which they are weary, and for which they see no present necessity, and upon a fresh war they will again step forth with renewed and refreshed spirit. The holding forth invitations to them, to extend their services beyond the original design of the establishment, will produce the same evil consequences which a similar conduct has caused with respect to the militia; it will cause the most valuable members, to withdraw themselves from a service, which they cannot continue consistently with their other duties, and with the views with which they entered into it.

The vast field for observation on our military establishment, and more particularly on the yeomanry and militia, makes it necessary to postpone the continuation of these reflections to another paper. The measures here noticed strike at the very root of volunteer establishments, and threatening their total dissolution, open a very wide scope to *alarm*.

AMERICA.

The United States of America is of itself a most interesting object, but, when viewed in conjunction with Louisiana and the West-Indies, and with the contemplated operations of France in the western hemisphere, it must be regarded as of the very first importance by all those who endeavour to penetrate into the secrets of time. Thirty years ago England had to consult the opinions of no nation upon earth. She no longer enjoys that happy independence. By the two last disgraceful treaties of peace her situation has been completely reversed: previous to those treaties all the maritime nations looked to her to know their destiny: she was the arbiter of peace and of war: she must now look to other nations for her destiny, and learn from them whether she is to enjoy what yet remains to her. It is, therefore, of great consequence to her politicians to know, what are the opinions and inclinations of those, who have it in their power to contribute to her safety or her danger; and, we have no hesitation in saying, that there is no nation upon earth, which possesses this power to so great an extent as the United States of America, a country which, at all times, has the absolute command of ten millions of British capital, which receives nearly one-third of all our exported manufactures, and which has half as much shipping as Great-Britain herself. An hostile union between America and France, such as France is now, by our baseness become, would, in a very short time, give us a practical demonstration of the effects of the peace of Amiens. This being our sincere opinion, we watch with no little anxiety to learn the sentiments and inclinations of the Americans with respect to England and France. By the last ships we have received papers and letters, from both of which we shall give some very interesting extracts. The following extract is taken from a paper entitled the Palladium, dated early in May last. It must be observed, that this paper is in the hands of the party opposed to France.

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"While it is a doubt whether other nations can maintain their independence, every thing in France evinces the spirit that would invade it. No European power has so many soldiers—nor such military schools and institutions to form them to be conquerors—nor so general a taste and habit among the people for wars and conquests. In no state is the vanity of appearing terrible, more dear or more a principle of action. In no country do they bear poverty and oppression so willingly, or think it so much a glory for the nation to have a master as terrible to other sovereigns as to his own subjects. Self-love is concerned in their tyrant's victories, and Buonaparté interests the pride of every Frenchman, as much as Louis XIV. did. *Vive le grand Monarque*, was the cry an hundred years ago. Now it is *Vive le Premier Consul*. They know they have not liberty—they never had it for a day, but they know that they have something which they understand and love better—and that is the power to make all Europe tremble.

"With this form of government and such national manners and propensities, France cannot have much commerce nor any liberty, nor long tranquillity. The sword will continue to be her plough-share. She will reap where others have sown. Italy sows for her; Spain digs her mines; Holland is her banker. Like old Rome, she sits on her throne, and takes tribute.

"The exorbitant ambition of France has lately appeared in Buonaparté's electing himself chief of the Italian Republic.—This subordinate Republic was called Cisalpine, but to prepare the minor powers of Italy for subjugation, the title is changed. The Emperor of Germany, after yielding the Low Countries and his territories on the Rhine, will find Frenchmen once more near neighbours. His newly acquired dominions in the Venetian Terra Firma will be continually exposed in peace to French intrigue, and in war to the arms of the Italian Republic. It seems as if France was determined that none who escaped her yoke shall be free from the dread of it. Her ambition too in making a sort of Deputy King of Etruria, cannot fail to alarm the other powers. Formerly such great changes in the system of Europe engaged the different powers in long negotiations. Now Buonaparté in one hour frames the decree for a monarchy, and the business is no longer open to discussion.

"This king is of the family of Spain. It is said that this splendid establishment the bribe for the cession of Louisiana t France. Thus the United States are to tak a late, but not a little, share in the dange and toils which the restless ambition c France has called the world, perhaps for se veral ages, to endure.

"The expedition of Leclerc to St. Do mingo, shews how great this danger is.— With less than sixty ships of war, and ver few, if any transports, an army of near thirty thousand men has been transported t that island. England would certainly hav employed 400 sail of transports. This cir cumstance shews how little the health an comfort of the troops is an object, and hov much more it is in the power of the Frenc than of the British, to send great armies o distant expeditions. Like the Normans their ancestors, they croud men on shi board, as thick as sheep in a fold. Whe ther the destruction of the troops will b greatly lamented has been doubted by man persons. A thousand millions of Frenc livres were promised to them on the con clusion of the war.—The climate and th sword of Toussaint will quiet a great man of these clamorous creditors. It is yet doubt whether they will conquer the island It will afford employment for the restles spirits in the French army. While othe nations are returning to the habits of peace it will keep Frenchmen in arms: it wil also accumulate in peace, and while he fleets are free from blockade, a vast forc in this quarter of the globe, where Franc cannot be strong in any other way. Here as in Europe, she is planning to be *terribl* —In St. Domingo and in Louisiana, she i collecting the conquerors of Italy, the re storers of Dutch and Swiss *liberty*, th *peace-makers* of Europe! Already sh counts on her commanding influence ove the West-Indies and the United States Her arts have lost their power to deceive She now provides substitutes, her troops.

"It is another singular proof of the devo tedness of all Frenchmen to the affairs o war, that this mighty expedition has bee proposed, and got in operation withou money. A moneyless fleet and army arriv at Cape François. Hunger, that will brea through stone walls, will not stop for wal of paper. Disregarding treaties, they seiz and strip American vessels, consume thei beef and pork, and detain or imprison thei crews. More vessels arrive, and are plun dered. This supply failing, Mr. Picho talks of a loan of a million of dollars, an

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the grand fleet is expected in the Chesapeak. Ship's guns are well known negotiators. Just as the moment when a refusal was expected, and it was foreseen would not be taken, the news of a probable rupture of the peace with England, hurries the fleet back to France for a safe place in Brest-waters.—Thus the embarrassments of our government, and the violation of our rights are postponed for a season.

"As France can have no object in the war, as she wants peace to prepare Europe for her chains, as she intends to recruit her marine, her trade and her manufactures, as she has already begun her system of monopoly in commerce, and forced the Spaniards to forbid British manufactures, it is probable she will yield every point to the Marquis Cornwallis, and England and Europe will be permitted to suffer two or three years of peace, without honour or safety, or relaxation of exertion and expense. France will probably undergo new revolutions, and humbled Europe will have more wars. America will continue to grow richer in commerce, and weaker in arms. Her soldiers are disbanded—her ships worm-eaten—her revenues abolished—her government chasing popularity, and pursued by contempt."

ELECTIONS.

It is not our intention to fill the columns of this work with accounts of the debates and battles which the contested elections may give rise to; but there are certain circumstances relative to the elections in London and Westminster, which we think it proper to put on record.

CITY OF LONDON.

A common hall was held in the city on Monday, July 5, at which the following resolutions were passed:—"*Resolved*, That representatives in parliament being elected, not for their own private advantage or emolument, but to guard and maintain the rights, liberties, and property of those who elect them, it is therefore their bounden duty not to set up their own opinion and interest in opposition to the opinion and interest of their constituents, but upon all occasions to obey their instructions.—*Resolved*, That it is an indispensable duty we owe to ourselves and to our posterity, to select such candidates, whose abilities and independence will afford us the best security against the recurrence of those evils which have arisen for want of a due circumspection in the delegation of this most sacred trust, and upon the right exercise of which so essentially depends the happiness of the people.—*Resolved*, That the respective candidates be required unequivocally to declare their readiness, at all times, to obey the instructions of their constituents in common hall assembled, or to resign their trust."

On the 6th of July, the common hall being assembled for the purpose of proceeding to the election, Sir *Watkin Lewes* came forward, and said, that, when he had the honour to be one of the members for the city, he had always received the instructions of the livery with pleasure, and implicitly obeyed them, their sentiments had ever been congenial with his own; but had it been otherwise, he should have reckoned himself bound to sacrifice his individual opinion. He was not sent to parliament to represent himself, but his fellow-citizens.—Mr. *Alderman Curtis* presented himself, but for some minutes nothing was to be heard but hisses and groans. Order being at last restored, he observed, that he appeared there as an old servant, to render an account of his stewardship. This he considered the bounden duty of every one who had received the favours which the livery had conferred upon him. He then re-stated his opinions at some length about *instructions*. In all local matters he would obey them, but upon every public question he must judge for himself *(loud disapprobation)*. He was firmly attached to the constitution; and how could it be otherwise? He had risen from indigence and obscurity, and was now possessed of an ample fortune; which, whatever might be insinuated, he had made fairly and honourably. He appealed to his past conduct; as the livery approved of that, they would choose or reject him. Hissing succeeded, but it is hard to say whether it was meant for the worthy alderman, or for Sir *J. W. Anderson*, who succeeded him. He resigned, he said, the important trust of a representative unsullied as when it was put into his hands. He concluded by affirming, that if he should be again chosen, it should be his grand object to testify his gratitude for the distinguished honour.—Mr. *Alderman Combe* appeared, and the hall rung with applause. Upon that point, of obedience to instructions, he observed, his principles and his practice had ever been the same. Upon the contrary supposition, it was of no consequence whether the city of London had four representatives, forty, or none at all. He had done his best to approve himself a faithful servant, and

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he fondly hoped they would again take him into their service, and rely with confidence on his zeal and fidelity.—Mr. *Alderman Price* next came forward, and said, he was devoted to our glorious constitution, to the best of Kings, and to the city of London. If he was chosen, he should be found as active, and zealous, and upright, as any man that ever sat in the house of commons.—Mr. *Travers* next came forward, amid the plaudits of the hall, and observed, that without his concurrence he had been nominated as one of the candidates. If the other candidates would agree to sign the resolutions passed yesterday, he would resign his own pretensions, and give them his vote. Nevertheless, he considered it to be the duty of every honest man, and of every good citizen, to obey the call of the people. He then put it to the three old members, and Mr. Alderman Price, whether they would *sign*.—Mr. *Alderman Curtis* said, he had too great a regard for his own independence, and that of the city of London.—Sir *J. W. Anderson* asked, how in that case he could go to deliberate?—Mr. *Alderman Combe* observed, that he considered the ceremony as nugatory. However, he was ready to go through it; and he signed the declaration. —Mr. *Alderman Price* affirmed, that by setting his hand to this paper he would deprive the city of London of the most valuable part of the constitution.—Sir *Watkin Lewes*, after a violent speech against those whose boasted independence seemed only to be considering themselves independent of their constituents, subscribed the declaration, that he would either obey the instructions of the livery or resign his trust.

CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

On the 6th of July the nomination took place for the city of Westminster. The candidates, *Lord Gardner*, *Hon. C. J. Fox*, and *Mr. John Graham*, an auctioneer. Mr. Fox addressed the people as follows:—Gentlemen, Having had the honour for nearly twenty-two years of being one of your representatives in parliament, I now again appear before you to solicit your votes in my favour on the present occasion. This request I should not have made, if I had not been informed by some of the most respectable constituents, that my doing so would, at the present moment, contribute to the peace and independence of the city of Westminster. Such a request, from such constituents, was not to be resisted. It was impossible for me to hesitate in complying [illegible] expressed, without proving myself, what I hope I never sha prove myself, the most ungrateful of mar kind.—*(Loud applause.)* After the length time which has elapsed since our connectic was first formed, to speak, gentlemen, my principles would be trifling with yo My principles are the principles of the co stitution of Great Britain; the principl of the constitution as they have ever bee understood by the most enlightened p triots. They may be expressed, gentleme in a very few words. They are, that theory the sovereignty originates from t people, and that all the practical branch of the constituted authorities ought never forget the sovereign under whom they hol *(Loud applause)*. We have been too lo connected to render it necessary for me point out in what manner I have been gui ed by these principles in every part of m public life. I know, gentlemen, it has be asked, why then have I not been regul and diligent in my attendance in parliamen To this I have to say, that, after thi years of busy public life, and in a case whe honesty of intention is undoubted, (for trust that betwixt me and the electors Westminster there never can be a doubt the honesty of my intentions), in such a ca gentlemen, I say, where uprightness of tention is not in the smallest degree in dou I do not think that it is asking too much, request that I may be allowed to act on best judgment. This judgment I have ercised, and this decision I have followec

The rest of his speech consisted of a w that they would elect Admiral Gardner alc with him, and a promise, that if things t a more favourable turn, he would attend duty in parliament *.

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* Mr. Fox's advertisement is worth preserving.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen, Having for some years utterly des ed of rendering any useful service to you, or to country, by regular attendance in the house of c mons, I should not have presumed, upon the pre occasion, to offer myself to represent you in pa ment, if I were not informed by many respec persons among you, that by so doing I shall best sult the peace and independence of constituents whom I am under greater obligations than any man ever owed to persons in a similar relation.

In consequence of this information, and in c pliance with the desire with which it was ac panied, I once more offer myself as a candidat your favour, and request the honour of your votes support on the ensuing election.

At the same time it is fair to state, that I se the smallest reason to expect that the character c next parliament will be at all different from th

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Lord Gardner then addressed the meeting in a short speech, in which he thanked the electors for their past kindness, and hoped that no part of his conduct had been such as to induce them to withdraw their support. It was true, that since his last election he had been prevented from attending his duty in parliament. When it was considered, however, that he had been employed in the service of his country, he hoped his constituents would not consider his absence from parliament as any ground of objection to his now receiving their support.

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the last, and that if I find myself in like circumstances, my conduct will be the same.

To expatiate upon those measures of the late House of Commons, which have fixed in me so ill an opinion of public affairs, or even to point them out one by one, would far exceed the necessary limits of an address of this nature; suffice it to say, that according to the judgment which I formed of that Assembly, the principles of national policy, liberty, humanity and justice were with them as nothing—the will and pleasure of the Court every thing. No tax, however unjust in its principle, or tyrannical in its execution, did they ever refuse. No inquiry, however disastrous or disgraceful the occasion, unless called for by the ministers themselves, did they ever institute. No proposed suspension or surrender of the liberty of the subject seemed to cause among them the slightest hesitation; and if it happened that, in consequence of such measures, the liberty, character, and mean of livelihood of individuals were sacrificed to the alledged exigences of government, not compensation to the sufferers, but indemnity to those who inflicted the suffering, was the first object of their concern. Private misery excited no compassion; torture itself raised no indignation.

That our general situation is much improved by the peace, I was among the first to admit, and the disposition manifested by the First Consul and government of France, to preserve the good understanding between the two nations, a disposition which, I own, appears to be met with a correspondent desire on the part of our present ministers, has every day more confirmed me in my opinion. But it is not to the late parliament that we are in any degree indebted for that blessing. If the King's servants had peremptorily refused that very peace which has spread such universal joy through every part of country—if they had rejected those very terms which have been approved by a majority almost unexampled (on such an occasion) in the annals of parliament, is it a calumny upon the late House of Commons to say, that the conduct of the ministry would, in that case, have been equally sanctioned by their decided approbation?

When, therefore, my motives are considered, I trust, that even such among you as may have disapproved of my abstaining from a regular attendance in parliament, will not, at least very severely condemn me: and, if I feel any anxiety for your suffrages upon the present occasion, it is not for the sake of sitting in parliament, but as a proof that the city of Westminster continues to me that kindness and esteem which it has been the object of my life to deserve, and my happiness so long to have enjoyed.

I am, gentlemen, your most obliged and obedient humble servant,

St. Anne's Hill, July 1. *Charles James Fox.*

Mr. Graham, said that, if, through the favour of the electors, he should have the high honour of being the object of their choice, words would be wanting to express his feelings, or, to use his own emphatic phrase, "his life would speak his gratitude." He felt himself, he said, in that situation, that he was obliged to borrow an observation of Mr. Sheridan, and to say, that "never were words so much wanting as at the present moment." He had with him, however, a paper, which, with the permission of the electors, he would read to them, as the declaration of his parliamentary principles. To shew them how much he valued it, he secured it in a place nearest to his heart.—At first the meeting very naturally took this for an elegant figure of speech; but Mr. Graham soon convinced them that his words were to be literally understood. For, to the no small entertainment of all present, he proceeded to unbutton his waistcoat, &c. and from his bosom he drew out the paper containing his parliamentary creed, which our readers will certainly excuse us for not inserting here.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Although the note from me, which appeared in the Register of last Saturday,* was by no means intended for publication, I perhaps have no right, and certainly very little disposition, to complain of its insertion. Neither should I advert to your reply, if I did not feel myself called upon *most positively* to assure you that not one syllable of the Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, was written or dictated by Mr. Dundas.

Permit me, however, just to add the assurance of my regret, that I should have appeared (certainly without any intention) to trespass upon your exclusive claim to *rudeness*.

In your Introduction to your Extracts from the third Report of the Special Committee, you charge Mr. Dundas upon *ex-parté* evidence, and in a case you could understand but very imperfectly, with *mistakes*, *mis-statements* and *pertinacity*. This charge, and the general tenor of your observations respecting that statesman, lead some one to infer, that you are not impartial towards him. This you are told in a note intended for your own use only; and in a public reply, you first suppose Mr.

* Vide Vol. I. p. 750 and 751.

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Dundas to be himself the author of this note, and then, after asking him what possible reason he could have to suppose you were not impartial, you tax him with *insolence*, because (how unnatural!) he dares to doubt whether, instead of his being pertinacious and mistaken, you are not prejudiced and splenetic.

I shall wait with impatience for your Observations upon the Facts and Calculations contained in my Letter, but until it shall be proved to me that they are false and incorrect, and that the Comparisons and Statements of the third Report, are fair in principle and liable to no objection, as far as figures are concerned, which ought not in common candour to be ascribed to ignorance or inattention, I shall continue to assert what I think I have proved in that letter, that the authors of that Report have been guilty of a violation of truth, and a breach of their trust in their public capacity, as guardians of the interest, credit, and character of the East-India Company.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

The Author of a Letter, &c.

ANSWER.

Sir,

As you are yourself in doubt whether or not you have a right to complain of the publication of your former note, I should spare myself the trouble of any remark on that point, did you not, in a subsequent part of your present communication, appear anxious to infer that some degree of unfairness ought to be attached to the act of giving publicity to a note intended for private perusal only. I am, indeed, well aware, that you never intended that note to be read by any one but myself, and that you were much mortified when you saw it in print; but, Sir, it would be a great and most dangerous innovation in the laws of the press, were the editor of any work to be restrained from publishing what is communicated to him *anonymously*. If such a practice were to prevail, there would be no means of detecting falsehood, or of rebutting slander. When a writing is communicated without a name, there can be no breach of confidence in publishing it, because there is no confidence placed in the person to whom it is communicated. The author of an anonymous book has, in that character alone, a sufficient advantage over his adversary, without being permitted to make use of private letters in support of his public attack. Your attempt to prejudice me, and, through me, my readers, against the author of the third Report, was ungenerous and clandestine in the extreme. Not to publish your note would have rendered me, in some measure, your accomplice, a situation in which I was by no means desirous to stand.

As to your "*most positive*" assurance, that "not one syllable of the Letter to the Pro-"prietors of East-India Stock, was written "or dictated by Mr. Dundas," it will, perhaps, have more weight with me when I know your name and your character, and when I see, in the True Briton, an unequivocal contradiction of the paragraph, which I quoted from that paper. Mr. Dundas might not *write* one syllable of the letter; in the strict sense of the word, he might not *dictate* a syllable of it; but, Sir, I imagine, you will find it very difficult to persuade any person at all acquainted with the subject, that the pamphlet was not written and published under his direction, and that he did not furnish the materials, of which it is composed. To condescend to use such a subterfuge, for the purpose of extolling his own virtues and talents, (which is done in the letter with a most liberal hand) is not very consistent with the character of a "great and enlightened "statesman;" and to have recourse to it for the sake of vilifying a committee of most respectable gentlemen, who have affixed their names to the statements which they have given, merits a species of chastisement not in the power of words to inflict.

Your apology for trespassing on what you have the goodness to term *my* "ex-"clusive claim to *rudeness*" is very handsome, but comes rather too late; for, if I ever had any exclusive claim of that sort, it was most furiously invaded by those who accused the East-India Directors of *falsehood* and *treachery*, who styled Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham *conspirators for place*, and who have not unfrequently boasted of *bullying the King*. For such persons to apologize for the *appearance* of rudeness, argues a superabundance of affectation, or a miraculous reformation of manners.

While I would fain attribute your apology to the latter cause, I perceive with regret, that, so far from retracting your charges against the East-India Directors, you repeat them with additional hardihood. On this point, therefore, I have nothing to say, except that, in the Supplement to Vol. I. I shall endeavour to fulfil the pro-

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mise, made to you and the Public in my last letter.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Pall-Mall, July 5, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Rome, May 25.—The King of Sardinia arrived here on the 22d instant, with his whole suite, escorted by a detachment of pontifical dragoons. He alighted at the Palace Colonna, where every preparation had been made to receive him, and where a guard of honour attended, with colours flying, and drums beating. Next day his Majesty repaired to the Quirinal Palace, where the whole secret chamber were assembled, and where he was received by his Holiness with every demonstration of the tenderest friendship. The day after, his Holiness returned the visit to his Majesty. Scarcely had the Holy Father alighted from his carriage, when his Majesty attempted to kiss his feet, but his Holiness raised him up, and hastened with him into his apartment, where he had a long conversation with his Majesty.

Petersburgh, June 2.—During the absence of his Imperial Majesty, his august spouse will reside at Pawlowsky, with the Empress Mother; but the Grand Duke Constantine remains here. This Prince and Count Nicholas Soltikow have the direction of the Council during the absence of our Monarch. It is thought his Majesty will return in six weeks.

United States of America.—Philadelphia, June 6.—Under this date we have received letters and papers, from which we learn, that the negroes in North Carolina had made an attempt at an insurrection, but had failed; that nine of them had been tried, condemned, and hanged; and that thirty-five of the minor criminals had been whipped and cropped, that is, had had their ears cut off. At New York, there had been held (for the first time in the United States) a Book-fair, resembling that of Lepsic in Germany. This fair was held on the first of June last, and brought together a vast rabble of booksellers and printers.—The widow of General Washington died about the first of May last.

Guadaloupe.—The American papers contain some accounts respecting this island, which appear to contradict the official dispatches, which have been received in France. They state, upon the authority of an American captain, that the town of Basseterre had been burnt, and that the houses on the plantations were in flames. This *wants* confirmation.

Genoa, June 9.—We learn from good authority, that the First Consul has appointed Citizen Cattaneo, the present Minister of our Republic at Milan, the First Magistrate of our future Definitive Government, with the title of Doge. This Citizen is generally esteemed, and was one of the Members of the Provisory Government appointed by Buonaparté in 1797.

Vienna, June 9.—On its being notified to our Court by the French Ambassador Champigny, that the First Consul Buonaparté would be immediately elected Consul for life, his Imperial Majesty instructed his Ambassador to the French Republic, the Count de Cobenzel, to congratulate beforehand the First Consul, and to declare to him, that this important event would be so much the more agreeable to his Majesty, as he was persuaded it would have a great influence over the duration of the general peace.

June 12.—We have the pleasure to announce that his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles is better, and that there is ground for hoping that his health will be re-established in a short time.

Berlin, June 15.—We have received the intelligence of the arrival of the Emperor of Russia at Memel. The details of the entrance of their Prussian Majesties into Memel have been read here with much attention. The greater part of the royal suite arrived there before their Majesties, who on the 9th, at five in the evening, arrived in their carriage along the Haff de Courland, opposite the town. They had expressed a wish not to be received in state, but after they had alighted and taken a moment's rest in a tent, they were conducted to a superb barque prepared for their reception. As soon as they entered it, the ships of all nations fired a general salute; and when they put off from the shore a great number of other barques joined them. During the passage, and amidst the firing of cannon, a boat superbly decorated advanced with twelve beautiful girls of Lithuania in it, dressed in the different costumes of the country; they presented the queen with all sorts of works, and sung

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stanzas in honour of her. When their Majesties arrived in the city, they were received by the principal civil and military officers and all the clergy.

Hague, June 16.—The Government is distributing to several persons allotments of land on the coast of Guinea, on condition that they shall clear and cultivate them, and pay annually to the state a trifling ground rent, proportioned to the tract they may occupy. The same measure will be adopted with respect to the colony of the Cape; and there is not the least doubt that Germany will furnish a sufficient number of adventurers to people those fertile countries, the productions of which must so abundantly reward the labours of the cultivator.

June 19.—The Government has placed its seal upon those presses from whence issued numerous libels against many eminent functionaries of the Republic, and against different foreign powers.

Berne, June 19.—Although the constitution has not been accepted throughout the whole of Helvetia, the Little Council have already proceeded to take measures as if they were sure of its being adopted. It has decreed, that the new senate shall speedily assemble; the members are to assemble at Berne on the 29th of this month. Notwithstanding this, there exists an opposition, which, although it certainly forms the minority of Helvetia, yet has sufficient energy to throw considerable obstacles in the way of the new constitution. The small Cantons, which are the cradle of Helvetian liberty, still preserve that spirit of independence which distinguished the character of the companions of William Tell. They have rejected the new constitution. The Cantons of Schwiz, Uri, and Unterwalden, have unanimously voted against it. In Glaris and Appenzel, there was a great majority against the constitution, and there is some reason to apprehend that this spirit of opposition will extend itself to the other Cantons of Switzerland.

June 21.—The results of the votes of eight Cantons, on the subject of the constitution is, that 138,485 have accepted it, 40,236 having inscribed their acceptance, and 98,249 having tacitly accepted it, and 18,903 have rejected it. In the Canton of Argau, there were 6,336 written acceptations, 6,412 tacit acceptations, and 1,793 have rejected it.

Paris, June 25.—The Consuls of the Republic, on the report of the Minister of th Interior, made the following decree:

Art. I. There shall be established an *entrepôt* f foreign merchandize in the port of Marseilles.

II. The entrepôt shall be for all kinds of goods ar articles, the entry of which is or shall be prohibite as well as for those which do or shall require a certi cate of the place of their manufacture, and 2dly f the following articles.

Manufactured goods of every description, (di ferent kinds of soap are to be comprized in th denomination,) leaf tobacco, salt fish, wines, bra dies, *liqueurs*, oils, sugars, coffee, indigo, cocoa, ar all other articles of colonial produce coming fro foreign countries.

The magazines shall be prepared for commerc and locked with two keys, one of which shall r main in the hands of the commissioners of th customs.

III. Merchants who shall offer soap for export tion, and who shall shew that they have paid upo oils imported within the year the established rat of duties, shall have a drawback of three-fourths the said duties in the proportion of the quantity oils entering into the composition of the soap to b exported.

IV. The entrepôt shall be opened on the r quisition of the merchants for every species merchandize and goods not specified in the secon article.

V. The merchandize and goods destined for th real or nominal (*fictif*) entrepôt, shall, after verif cation, be entered in two registers kept by the r ceiver of the customs.

The persons consigning the goods shall lodge in th hands of this receiver a bond properly secured to r port those articles in the course of the year or to pa the duties.

VI. The duration of the real entrepôt shall not b more than two years. The goods and articles, whos entry is or shall be prohibited, may be re-exporte without this delay. Goods and articles, whose ent is allowed, are to be subject to similar conditions, shall pay the duties.

VII. Vessels arriving in the Port of Marseilles, lade wholly or in part with prohibited articles, shall n approach the shore, except at that place which th Director of the Customs shall point out, and whe the landing of the goods may be effected.

Prohibited goods and articles which shall be take out of the enterpôt for re-exportation shall be em barked with the same regulations as to place, and th ships on board of which they are to be stowed, sha not move from this place, but for the purpose of sai ing from the harbour.

VIII. The laws and regulations relative to the cu toms, shall continue to be executed in the Port Marseilles on their present footing, except so far as th present decree is concerned.

IX. The ministers of the interior and finances a charged as far as it depends on them with the exec tion of the present decree.

(Signed) *Buonaparté*, First Consul.
H. B. Maret, Secretary of Stat

June 26.—The Consuls of the Republi decreed on the 10th of June:

Art. I. There shall be given standards to all th demi-brigades of light infantry.

II. A deputation from each demi-brigade of ligh infantry, composed of the Chief of Brigade, the Fir Captain, the First Lieutenant, the First Sub-Lieut

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ant, a Serjeant-Major, a Serjeant, four Corporals, one Soldier per Company, and of the Standard bearer, will repair to Paris to receive them at the Parade on the 14th of July.

(Signed) *Buonaparté*, First Consul.

Three auxiliary companies are to be formed, each composed of 100 negroes of those who are in France, commanded each by three officers, one of the Isles of Hieres, the other at the Isle of Oleron, and the other at the Isle of Aix.

Auguste Dupaty, one of the sons of the ancient President, is one of the victims that perished during the late troubles of St. Domingo. This young man, interesting from the qualities both of his head and heart, was massacred in Cape Town, with circumstances that add to the horror of the crimes of his assassins. After having exhausted all the refinements of barbarity upon his body, they dragged his bleeding form under the eyes of his wife, whom they forced to embrace him, two hours after his death.

On the 24th June, the Chief Consul visited the national manufacture of porcelain at Sevres. He inspected with the utmost minuteness and the liveliest interest, during the course of an hour, this magnificent establishment, which has given birth to an art in France which no other nation is able to rival.

In an address to the First Consul, the merchants of Lyons unite with the rest of the commercial interest throughout the country, in demanding that the trade to India should be laid open, and that no privileged companies may be re-established. "The creation of privileged companies, say they, not only violates the principle, but necessarily compromises the prosperity of commerce. The experience of ages has proved that all privileged companies are ruinous. England itself would not have derived greater benefit from them, if she had not united to the advantages of her commerce, those that resulted from her sovereignty. Never were the French companies so valuable or important as those which were established in the East, from the year 1773 to 1779, by individual speculation. In all cases it is observable that privileged bodies abuse their monopoly in promoting their own interests, without any consideration to those of France. Exclusive privileges would, above all, be disastrous to the manufactures of Lyons, for it is admitted that individuals have the means of introducing a greater quantity of our manufactures, such as gold wire, hats, cloths, &c. than any company can possess. It is no less evident that individuals could, more effectually than any company, import into France those productions of India which are necessary for our manufactures."

June 27.—The following circular, of this date, was written to the several Prefects by the Minister of the Interior.

Fête of the Anniversary of the 14*th July.*

It is the desire of the Government, that Morals and Virtue shall be particularly honoured at the fête, and receive public recompense.

At Paris, in each of the twelve Municipalities, there shall be celebrated, on the day of the 14th of July, the marriage of a young maiden with a young man, chosen from amongst those who are distinguished for traits of courage.

The same ceremony shall take place at the chief place of every district, on the 23d of September next.

The Prefects and Sub-Prefects shall concert with the respective Municipalities, respecting the dower of the young women, and shall draw up the form of the ceremonies which shall take place on the occasion of these marriages.

At Paris, on the evening of the 14th of July, there will be a grand concert on the terrace of the Thuilleries. The Palace of Government will be illuminated, as well as the gardens of the Thuilleries, and the Palace la Concorde.

The Minister of the Interior,

Chaptal.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Letters from Leghorn, of the 15th of June, state, that our troops had delivered up *to France* Porto Ferrajo, and the whole of the Isle of Elba. They also evacuated Mahon on the 27th of May.

Thirteen new ships are to be launched this year for the service of the Honourable East-India Company, viz. seven of 1200 tons, and six of 800 tons, comprizing, in the aggregate, 13,250 tons.

The Committee appointed by the Lords of the Treasury to examine the models which have been formed for the monuments to be erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, in consequence of addresses to his Majesty from the House of Commons, consists of the following persons. The Right Hon. Charles Long, Sir George Beaumont, R. P. Knight, Esq. J. Townley, Esq. H. Bankes, Esq. W.

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Locke, Esq. and R. P. Carew, Esq. They have allotted the execution of the monuments to the under-mentioned artists:

Mr. Flaxman,	the Monument of	*Earl Howe.*
Mr. Westmacott	.....	*Sir R. Abercrombie.*
Mr. Banks	.....	*Capt. Westcott.*
Mr. Rossi	.....	*Capts. Moss & Rice.*

The two former are to receive 6000 guineas for each of the monuments of the Commanders in Chief; the latter 4000 guineas for each of the others.

On Saturday morning, the 3d instant, Quarter-Master Young, of the third regiment of Guards, was dismissed from his Majesty's service, for embezzling Government stores. He was brought on the Parade at the Horse Guards, his sword broke over his head, his sash cut to pieces, and drummed out of the regiment.

His Majesty's ship Mermaid sailed from Gibraltar the 15th of June, with his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex on board for Lisbon.

All passports granted by our ministers for France are in French. The reason, perhaps, is, that the officers, particularly in the provinces to whom passports must be submitted, do not understand English.

The Saturn, of 74 guns, arrived on Tuesday night at Plymouth, from Martinique, with the body of Rear-Admiral Totty, who, we are sorry to say, died of the yellow fever on the 2d of last month. He was taken ill at Martinique and sailed from thence on a cruize, in hopes of recovering from the disorder, but finding its violence increase the ship bore away for England on the 24th of May. The Admiral died nine days afterwards.

Admiral Lord Keith arrived at Saint Helen's on Saturday evening in the Foudroyant, of 80 guns, Captain Searle. She sailed from Gibraltar on the 20th of June, at which time his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was in good health.—The Foudroyant left in Gibraltar Bay the Dragon, Superb, Europa, and Thetis; the two latter were bound to England with a battalion of the 40th, and a detachment of the 79th regiment. The Genereux, with troops from Minorca, for England, was going into Gibraltar, when the Foudroyant sailed: she has brought home a detachment of limited service men, from the 5th regiment.

From the London Gazette.—Windsor, July 6, 1802.—Their Majesties and their Royal Highnesses the Princesses set out from hence at seven o'clock on the evening of Friday last, the 2d instant, and arrived at Weymouth the following evening in perfect health.

At Bridgewater Fair on Thursday, the 1 instant, the quantity of cheese produced was very small, and mostly of the inferior kinds, and as there were many buyers, the prices kept up: best cheese fetched from 63s. to 70s.; middling 42s. to 56s.; inferior 35s. to 40s.; bacon 10d. per lb. per flitch. The shew of cattle was tolerably large, and met with a brisk sale, particularly those in good condition; as did sheep and pigs. Good horses bore high prices.

On Saturday the 3d instant, the foundation of a new School for the Charterhouse was laid, in the presence of Dr. Ramsden, Dr. Raine, the Assistant Masters, and the principal part of the Scholars. The building is to be on a very improved scale. It will be considerably larger than the present school, and will, in other respects, be much more convenient. The dimensions are 75 feet long, and 35 feet wide. On the right hand corner of the building were deposited, in a glass tube, on a roll of parchment, the names of the present Governors, Masters and Scholars, attending the Institution.—We understand that the Governors of Christ Hospital have it in contemplation to rebuild one of the wings of that ancient edifice in the course of the next year.

The following is a copy of General Orders, issued by the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces at Martinico, relative to the late mutiny of the 8th West-India Regiment at Dominica:

"*Adjutant General's Office, Fort Royal Martinico, 27th April,* 1802.

GENERAL ORDERS.

"The Commander in Chief has been under the necessity of performing a painful duty, that of ordering the execution of several mutineers of the 8th West India Regiment.

"This unfortunate event will not induce him in the smallest degree to suspect the fidelity of the other West-India Regiments; he will not confound the innocent with the guilty, and he sincerely hopes that no person will be so unjust as to do so.

"This mutiny is to him no cause of apprehension that other Regiments will follow the example—he, on the contrary, believes that the soldiers of the West-India Regiment will, as well as those of other Regiments, consider with abhorrence the cruel murders committed by some of the 8th West-India Regiment.

"The 1st West-India Regiment is in Fort Edward, and the other troops in the town of Fort Royal where the Commander in Chief resides, as are detachments from the 4th and 10th West-India Regiments these three corps furnish the guard of his quarters. He does not intend to make any alteration, but will continue surrounded and guarded by these troops

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with the most entire confidence in their fidelity and good conduct.

"Should a change of circumstances occasion his again going on service in this country, he will take under his command as many West-India Regiments as the nature of the service will admit. It has been said that a report was spread amongst the soldiers of the 6th West-India Regiment, that they were to be sold as slaves:—if any such report has been circulated in the 6th or any other West-India Regiment, by evil-minded persons, the Commander in Chief assures the soldiers of those Regiments, that the report is entirely without foundation, no such thing either will or can happen. But his Excellency does not mean to extend this assurance to mutineers and murderers. He will protect and encourage such men of the 6th West-India Regiment as shall appear not to have joined in the mutiny.

"This order to be read at least three times to every West India Regiment—the Officers of those Regiments will use their utmost endeavours to make the men understand the purport of it.

"The Commander in Chief is highly sensible of the merit of the prompt and effectual measures adopted by Brigadier-General Johnstone to suppress the late mutiny.

"The very favourable report made by Brigadier-General Johnston, of the good conduct, zeal, and spirit of the Officers and Soldiers who acted under his orders, afforded the Commander in Chief much satisfaction.

(Signed) "*J. Thomas*, D. A. G."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The attention of this country is totally occupied with the elections, several of which are carrying on with great warmth. An accurate account of the contests, and the result, will be finally published in the Register; but, in the mean time, we cannot forbear to express our deep regret, that any body of persons, calling themselves Englishmen, should have been so detestably base as to prefer Messrs. Fellowes and William Smith, to Messrs. Windham and Frere. This triumph of whiggism was most gratefully received at Mr. Fox's dinner, whither it was brought express from Norwich on the evening of the 6th of July. Mr. Fox, upon receiving the intelligence, communicated it to the company (amongst whom were Lord John Townsend and Lord William Russel), with the exultation naturally to be expected from the friend of Fitzgerald and O'Connor, and the communication, produced an effect proportioned to the malignity and cowardice of the convives, and to the merits of the men whom they honour by their hatred and their fear *. It is said, that Mr. Windham means to offer himself for the county of Norfolk. We are not certain of this; but we mention it for the purpose of taking an opportunity to exhort all those of Mr. Windham's friends, who have a vote for that county, to ascertain the fact without delay.

The *test* proposed at the city election, and subscribed by some of the candidates, is something new in the annals of democracy. We have often heard of the doctrine, that members of parliament ought to act under the instructions of their constituents; but we never before heard of their entering into a *written* contract so to do. It is, however, pleasing to observe, that the sense of the livery is very different from that of the common hall; for there is every appearance, that three out of four of the members who will be returned, are those who refused to sign this unconstitutional, this foolish, this degrading test.

The partial change which has taken place in the ministry, is of no other importance, than as it is a proof that Messrs. Pitt and Dundas have no intention to resume their places, for some time at least. Lord Castlereagh is a nobleman whom no one can be sorry to see in office. His principles are sound, his character fair, his industry great, and his talents by no means of the inferior order. He will certainly act, in some sort, under the direction of Messrs. Pitt and Dundas; but, if he acts wisely, as we sincerely hope and believe he will, that circumstance is nothing to his disadvantage. We hope he will profit, not only from the wisdom and experience, but from the errors of Mr. Dundas.

With the new-modelling of the treasury department the nation has less reason to be satisfied. For a *lord* of the treasury to become *secretary* of the same department, had the appearance, at least, of meanness and avarice; but when we behold the same identical secretary again become a lord, we are compelled to believe, that though the

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* The following is the account given of this scene by the Morning Chronicle.

"The most important circumstance during the evening was the arrival of a Gentleman with the intelligence that Messrs. Smith and Fellowes, had succeeded at the Norwich election. Mr. Fox immediately on receiving the news, communicated it to the company. As might be expected this most decided and important triumph of the popular interest, excited the liveliest emotions of satisfaction.—It being suggested that Mr. Windham intends to offer himself as a candidate for the County of Norfolk, Mr. Fox followed up this intelligence by proposing the health of

"Mr. Coke and Sir Jacob Astley, and success to their election for the County of Norfolk."

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former place was thought fit for the man, the man was found unfit for the place. Such chopping and changing backward and forward, down and up, and up and down, naturally creates the idea of accommodation and jobbing, and weakens the respect which the people ought to have reason to entertain for the servants of his Majesty.

Respecting foreign affairs, we have only room briefly to notice some of the more prominent circumstances. In the Register, vol. I. p. 253, we stated, that an armament, under the command of General Bernadotte, was, in the month of March last, preparing to sail for New Orleans. This armament is now ready. It consists of seven thousand French troops, and the native Indians, whom Buonaparté has, for some time past, retained in his pay. It is said, at Paris, that a great number of the blacks of St. Domingo will be sent to join Bernadotte, and this we think a measure well calculated to promote the objects which France has in view. To be in readiness to convey the army to Louisiana was, doubtless, one of the resons why Villaret returned with part of his ships. We imagine, that, for the present, the Havannah will be the grand rendezvous for the allied fleet, (French, Spanish, and Dutch); New Orleans and St. Domingo will be the stations for the army; and, when all is well prepared, we shall begin to taste of the "*blessings of peace.*" Not, however, in a greater degree than we deserve. Losses of no common magnitude, lashes of no common severity, can sufficiently reward the people of this country for their base approbation of the treaty of Amiens.

Piedmont, which has never been formally joined to France under the name of department, is, nevertheless, enumerated, *sans cérémonie*, amongst the *military divisions* of that amicable and harmless republic, of which divisions it forms the 27th, and its quota of troops has just been fixed at 2,000. Well may the the King of Sardinia resign his crown and retire to a convent!

The Maltese have not yet raised, nor have they begun to raise, that famous body of troops which, by our wise statesmen, are intended to preserve the independence of the island. That the King of Naples will risk the safety of his states, merely for the love which he bears to the Addingtons and the Hawkesburys, can hardly be supposed; and, if he refuses to continue a garrison at Malta, the task will naturally devolve upon the guaranteeing powers, of which *France* is happily at the head. She will have both th means and the will to yield this new-fledge state an efficient protection; and, as to th consequences, they cannot be more fat to us than many other of those which wi result from the treaty of peace.

Accounts from Martinico of the 24th May, represent the restoration of order i Guadaloupe as a work of difficulty, an requiring long time. They speak of a endless war in the woods, and of the tot destruction of the plantations. We do nc altogether discredit these accounts; but w cannot but recollect, that we received si milar accounts from Saint Domingo.

The orders of the Commander in Chie at Martinico, respecting the West-Indi or Negro regiments (see p. 24.) discove a considerable degree of timidity with re spect to those sooty savages. Miserable the lot of a commander, when he is com pelled to flatter his men, particularly whe those men are of such a description.

In North Carolina the Negroes have, seems, attempted another insurrectio The consequence has been, whipping, crop ping, banishing, and hanging. To the jus tice of these punishments, considering the applicable to the crime of insurrection i the abstract, we have nothing to object but, that Negroes ought to be so punishe for attempting to extricate themselves fro slavery, in a country where the very fir article of the Constitution declares, tha "all men are born equal and free, an "that they have certain *unalienable* right "amongst which is *liberty*," is a positio which we leave to be made out by som member of the Whig Club, some able ad vocate of representative government an written constitutions. Let it not, howeve for a moment, be understood, that we wis to cast any blame on the judiciary of Nort Carolina, for the judgments it has passe on these sable insurgents. If the Consti tution consists of impracticable nonsense, th people are not, for that reason, to lose the property and their lives for fear of infringin it. The fact is, a *written Constitution* make a very pretty pamphlet, and, sometimes very profitable to the bookseller who pub lishes it; and this appears to us to be th only good it ever can produce. Whe indeed, the amiable youths, whom Messr Thornton and Wilberforce are educatin in their academy at Clapham, have brough their studies to maturity, they may pro bably be able to draw up a Constitutio that shall provide for the liberty and equa

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lity of all nations and of all colours; but, for white men to amuse themselves with writing Constitutions, appears to us to be, not only a shameful waste of time, but a most scandalous libel on their species.

POSTSCRIPT.

The *Abbé Gregoire* has arrived in this country, and has been received, with great honour by Sir Joseph Banks, who, together with the Secretary of the Royal Society, have conducted him to the British Museum and elsewhere. This Gregoire was a Member of the Regecide Convention, and, being absent from Paris at the time his Sovereign was arraigned and tried, he sent a written notification to the President of the Convention, that he voted for the *death* of the king! It must be known that he was, or professed to be, a Roman Catholic clergyman; and it should be remembered, that he was the first man to vote for the pillage and destruction of that church, the members of which had confided their rights to his protection, by choosing him one of their representatives in the States General. It is notorious, that, since that epoch, he has openly vilified and blasphemed, not only the Roman Catholic, but the Christian religion and its founder. We should be glad to know whether it be the *politics* or the *religion* of Gregoire, that Sir Joseph Banks most admires.—*Volney*, too, the notorious Volney, the sworn enemy of England and of Christianity, is in England; and of two other Frenchmen, who have lately received no small degree of public patronage and applause, one was a purveyor to Robespiere's guillotine, and his brother *assassinated* the man who actually carried the head of the Princess de Lamballe on a pike!—Such are the persons, who are encouraged by some, at least, of the *great* and the *rich* of this country, while hundreds of the French emigraut loyalists are dying by inches for want of a sufficiency of food! Can such a country escape destruction? *Ought* such a country to escape destruction? Let it not be said, that the nation is not to blame. The nation is to blame. It is to blame for its *silence* on these topics. If there were any public virtue left, it would discover itself in a general abhorrence of these things.

From *the* LONDON GAZETTE *of the 3d and 6th July*, 1802.

Whitehall, July 2.—The King has been pleased to appoint John Smyth, Esq. Master and Worker of the Mint.

Whitehall, July 3.—The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Right Hon. Henry Addington, Charles Small Pybus, Esq. George Thynne, Esq. (commonly called Lord George Thynne,) Nathaniel Bond, and John Hiley Addington, Esqrs. to be Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

Whitehall, July 3.—The King has been pleased to present the Reverend James Hook, Clerk, Master of Arts, to the Rectory of Epworth, in the Isle of Axholme, in the County and Diocese of Lincoln, void by the Cession of the Reverend John Marshall, Clerk, the last incumbent.

Downing Street, July 5.—The King has been pleased to appoint Francis Drake, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine.

Whitehall, July 6.—The King has been pleased to appoint the Hon. William Wellesley Pole, to be Clerk of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the room of John Sargent, Esq.

Whitehall, July 6.—The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Right Hon. Robert Stewart, (commonly called Viscount Castlereagh,) his Grace William Henry Cavendish, Duke of Portland, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; the Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, (commonly called Lord Hawkesbury,) the Right Hon. Robert Baron Hobart, and the Right Hon. Thomas Baron Pelham, his Majesty's three Principal Secretaries of State; the Right Hon. Henry Addington, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer; his Grace James Duke of Montrose, Knight of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle; the Right Hon. Sylvester Baron Glenbervie, (of that part of his Majesty's United Kingdom, called Ireland); the Right Hon. William Dundas; the Right Hon. Thomas Wallace; the Right Hon. Charles John Baron Arden, (of that part of his Majesty's United Kingdom, called Ireland); and Edward Golding, Esq. to be his Majesty's Commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

Ordnance Office, July 2, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Darby Joseph, Gentleman Cadet, to be Second Lieutenant, vice J. Rollo, promoted. Dated July 1.

Loring William, Gentleman Cadet, to be Second Lieutenant, vice H. Bates, promoted. Dated, July 1.

Commissions signed by the Deputy Lieutenants, for the County of Northumberland.

Burrell William, Esq. to be a Deputy Lieutenant. Dated, June, 1.

Jobling Robert, Esq. to be a Deputy Lieutenant. Dated, June 1.

Reay Henry Ulrick, to be a Deputy Lieutenant. Dated, June 1.

BANKRUPTS.

Ball George, of the Borough of Launceston, Cornwall, dealer in spirits.

Bowen Joseph, of Swansea, mariner.

Braint Joseph, late of Monkgate, Yorkshire, butter and bean-factor.

Brewer Edward, of Grichdale, Wiltshire, money scrivener.

Campbell Matthew, and Teasdale William, of Manchester, grocers.

Coulthard Ann, of Orchard-house, Cumberland, innkeeper.

Dancaster John, of New Arlesford, Southampton, grocer.

Daffin Michael and Duffin Henry, of Stratford upon Avon, linen drapers.

Freeman John, of Fleet street, London, hat manufacturer.

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Furniss Mark, White John, and Styring Robert, of Sheffield, silver-platers.
Halfhide James, the elder, Halfhide James, the younger, and Halfhide Edward, of Merton, Surrey, callico-printers.
Lloyd Henry, late of Kingston, Herefordshire, baker.
Stainbank Christopher, of Old Bond street, Piccadilly, print-seller.
Turner John, of Kingston upon Thames, malster.
Wilson Bingley, of Thornhill Lees, Yorkshire, limeburner.

BIRTHS.

Baker, Colonel, Lady of, on Tuesday the 29th ult. at Champion, Isle of Wight, of a daughter.
Curry, W. W. Esq. Captain of the 3d King's own Dragoons, Lady of, on the 11th ult. at Dumfries, of a son, who lived only a short time.
Ellis, Hon. Mrs. Charles, on Saturday the 3d instant, at Clare Mount, Surrey, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Barclay, Sir Robert, Bart. to Madame de Cronstedt, on Sunday, June the 20th, at Hamburgh.
Crichton, Rev. James, Minister of Wamphray, Scotland, to Miss Anna M'Millan, on Monday se'nnight.
Gordon, Lieutenant Frederick, of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, to Miss Eliza Murdock, on Monday last, at Everton, Nottinghamshire.
Groat, Dr Robert, of Kirkwall, to Miss Jean Traill, on the 12th ult. at Papay, Westray, Orkney.
Groves, Major George, of the 28th Regiment, to Miss Alethea Blackstone, on Saturday last, at Winchester.
Marric, Lieutenant, of the Royal Marines, to Miss F. Weayeve, on Tuesday se'nnight.
M'Lauchlan, Rev. James, Minister of the Gallic Chapel at Edinburgh, to Miss Lilias Frazer, on the 16th inst. at Kirkhill, Scotland.
Simpkinson, Rev. James, Rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, to Miss Vaux.
Stuart, Hon. Lord Henry, third son of the Marquis of Bute, to the Right Hon. Lady Gertrude Villiers, daughter and sole heiress of the late Earl of Grandison, on Thursday last, at the Countess of Lincoln's.
Sydenham, Rev. H. I. to Miss Abingdon, on Wednesday last, at Cobham, Surrey.
Tucker, Captain, to Miss Ann Mulcaster, at Doddington.

DEATHS.

Brandling, Charles, Esq. of Gosforth, late Member of Parliament for Newcastle, on the 29th ult. at his house in Newcastle.
Elliot, Robert, Esq. M. D. of Edinburgh, on the 7th of April, at Bilboa, in Spain.
Fendlieton, William, Esq. F. A. S. on Wednesday last, at his house at Clapham.
Glasse, Miss, daughter of the Rev. George Henry Glasse, on Wednesday morning, at the Rectory-house, Wanstead.
Hutcheson, Mr. David, late Sheriff-Substitute of Renfrewshire, on the 20th inst. at Edinburgh.
Monsell, William, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel of the 29th Regiment of Foot, at Manchester.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	190	190½
3 per Cent Red. Ann.	74¼	74½	74½	74½	74½	74
3 per Cent Consols	—	—	73⅞	74	74¼	74⅛
4 per Cent Consols	90⅞	89⅞	90⅛	90⅛	90⅛	90⅛
5 per Cent Ann.	—	—	102⅞	102⅞	101½	101⅜
Bank Long Ann.	21	21	21⅛	21⅛	21⅛	21⅛
D° Short 1778 & 1779	—	—	—	—	5	—
Imp. 3 per Cent.	72⅜	72⅛	—	73⅛	72½	73
D° Ann.	—	—	12⅛	—	12⅛	12⅛
5 per Cent. 1797	105⅛	105	105⅛	105	105⅛	105⅛
Omnium	¼ pr	1 pr	par.	¼ pr	par.	¼ pr
India Stock	—	—	213½	—	—	215¾
D° Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer D°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 £. C.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 10½	us.	LEGHORN	51⅝
D°, at sight	10 18		NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 17½	us.	GENOA	47½
HAMBURGH	33 2 2½	us.	VENICE, 59 livres	piccol
ALTONA	33 3 2½	us.	effective per £.	ster.
PARIS 1 day	23 17		LISBON	67½
PARIS	2 us. 24 2	liv.	OPORTO	67½
BOURDEAUX	24 8		DUBLIN	12½
CADIZ	33½	in paper	BILBOA	36 D°
DITTO	35½ a 36	eff.	PALERMO	
MADRID	33½	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
DITTO	36½	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	58	to 74	Hops per cwt.	85	to 16
Foreign	00	00	Hay per load	60	14
Rye	31	35	Beef, per stone	4s.	4
Barley	29	32		to 5s. 6d.	
Malt	45	59	Muttou 5s. od.	to 6s.	0
Oats	13	22	Veal 4s. od.	to 5s.	6
Pease (white)	35	37	Pork 5s. 6d.	to 6s.	6
Beans (horse)	30	33	Tallow	8s.	8
Flour per sack	50	55	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	45	50	per cwt.	37s.	4½
Coals per chal.	35	40	Salt, per Bushel	14s.	6

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of July, 1802.*

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
1		Rain Wi	sw	sw	29,27	29,27	55	61
2		Showery.	sw	sw	29,24	29,23	58,5	58
3		Squally.	w	w	29,5	29,55	55	57
4		Fair.	w	w	29,81	29,79	56	62
5		Fair Rain	w	w	29,9	29,9	62	63
6		Fair Rain	sw.	sw	29,8	29,75	59	61
7		Fair.	NW	NW	29,9	29,9	65	70

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 2. No. 2.] London, Saturday, 17th July, 1802. [Price 10d.

Contents.—Tr. bet. the U. St. & Indi. 33, 34. Tr. bet. Fr. & Wirtemburg, 37. Louisia. 38. Ex. from Louisville, &c. Let. from N. Yk. 43. Answer, 45. Add. to the Vo. of Norwich, 46. Circuits, 48. Mili. Ord. 49. Mr. Windham's Elec. 50. Dover Elec. 52. Pros. of Mr. Pitt's coming into Pow. 56. Guadal. 59. Tri. of Beloe, &c. 60.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

A Treaty of reciprocal Advantage and mutual Convenience between the United States of America and the Chickasaws.

The President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson Brigadier General in the service of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins of North-Carolina, and Andrew Pickens of South-Carolina, Commissioners of the United States, who are vested with full powers, and the Mingco, principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation, representing the said nation, have agreed to the following articles.

Art. I. The Mingco, principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation of Indians, give leave and permission to the President of the United States of America, to lay out, open and make a convenient waggon road through their land between the settlements of Mero district in the States of Tennessee, and those of Natchez in the Mississippi territory, in such way and manner as he may deem proper; and it shall be a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws shall appoint two discreet men to serve as assistants, guides, or pilots, during the time of laying out and opening the road, under the direction of the officer charged with that duty, who shall have a reasonable compensation for their service: Provided always, that the necessary ferries over the watercourses crossed by the said road shall be held and deemed to be the property of the Chickasaw nation.

Art. II. The Commissioners of the United States give to the Mingco of the Chickasaws, and the deputation of that nation, goods to the value of seven hundred dollars, to compensate him and them and their attendants for the expense and inconvenience they may have sustained by their respectful and friendly attention to the President of the United States of America, and to the request made to them in his name, to permit the opening of the road. And as the persons, towns, villages, lands, hunting-ground, and other rights and property of the Chickasaws, as set forth in the treaties or stipulations heretofore entered into between the contracting parties, more especially in and by a certificate of the President of the United States of America, under their seal of the first of July, 1794, are in the peace and under the protection of the United States. The commissioners of the United States do hereby further agree, that the President of the United States of America shall take such measures from time to time, as he may think proper, to assist the Chickasaws to preserve entire all their rights against the encroachments of unjust neighbours, of which he shall be the judge, and also to preserve and perpetuate friendship and brotherhood between the white people and the Chickasaws.

Art. III. The Commissioners of the United States may, if they deem it adviseable, proceed immediately to carry the first article into operation, and the treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, we, the plenipotentiaries have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals at Chickasaw Bluffs, the 24th of October, 1801.

James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Chinmimbe ⋈ Mingco, Immattaubaw ⋈ Chummaube ⋈ George ⋈ Colbert, &c.

A Treaty of Friendship, Limits and Accommodation between the United States of America and the Chactaw Nation of Indians.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, by James Wilkinson, of the State of Maryland, Brigadier General in the army of the United States, Benjamin Hawkins, of North-Carolina, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States on the one part, and the Mingos, principal men and warriors of the Chactaw

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nation, representing the said nation in council assembled, on the other part, have entered into the following articles and conditions, viz.

Art. I. Whereas the United States, in Congress assembled, did by their Commissioners Plenipotentiary Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin, at a treaty held with the chiefs and head men of the Chactaw nation at Hopewell on the Keowe, the third day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, give peace to the said nation, receive it into the favour and protection of the United States of America: It is agreed by the parties to these presents respectively, that the Chactaw nation, or such part of it as may reside within the limits of the United States, shall be and continue under the care and protection of the said States, and that the mutual confidence and friendship which are hereby acknowledged to subsist between the contracting parties shall be maintained and perpetuated.

Art. II. The Mingos, principal men and warriors of the Chactaw nation of Indians, do hereby give their free consent, that a convenient and durable waggon way be explored, marked, opened, and made under the orders and instructions of the President of the United States, through their lands; to commence at the northern extremity of the settlement of the Mississippi territory, and to be extended from thence, by such route as may be selected and surveyed under the authority of the President of the United States, until it shall strike the lands claimed by the Chickasaw nation; and the same shall be and continue for ever a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chactaws; and the said Chactaws shall nominate two discreet men from their nation who may be employed as assistants, guides, or pilots during the time of laying out and opening the said highway, or so long as may be deemed expedient, under the direction of the officer charged with this duty, who shall receive a reasonable compensation for their services.

Art. III. The two contracting parties covenant and agree that the old line of demarcation heretofore established by and between the officers of his Britannic Majesty and the Chactaw nation, which runs in a parallel direction with the Mississippi river, and eastward thereof, shall be retraced and plainly marked, in such way and manner as the President may direct, in the presence of two persons to be appointed by the sai nation; and that the said line shall be th boundary between the settlements of th Mississippi territory and the Chactaw na tion.—And the said nation does by thes presents relinquish to the United State and quit claim for ever, all their right, titl and pretension to the land lying betwee the said line and the Mississippi rive bounded south by the thirty-first degree north latitude, and north by the Yazo river, where the said line shall strike th same; and on the part of the Commissio ers it is agreed, that all persons who ma be settled beyond this line shall be remove within it, on the side towards the Mississipp together with their slaves, hou-hold furn ture, tools, materials and stock, and th the cabbins or houses erected by such perso shall be demolished.

Art. IV. The President of the Unit States may, at his discretion, proceed execute the second article of this treat and the third article may be convenient the government of the United States, a without unnecessary delay on the part the other, of which the president shall the judge; the Chactaws to be seasonab advised, by order of the president of t United States, of the time when, and t place where, the re-survey and re-markin of the old line referred to in the precedi article, will be commenced.

Art. V. The Commissioners of the Uni ed States, for and in consideration of t foregoing concessions on the part of t Chactaw nation, and in full satisfaction f the same, do give and deliver to the Mi gos, chiefs and warriors of the said natio at the signing of these presents, the val of two thousand dollars in goods and me chandize, nett cost of Philadelphia, the r ceipt whereof is lately acknowledged, a they further agree to give three sets of blac smith's tools to the said nation.

Art. VI. This treaty shall take effect a be obligatory on the contracting parties, soon as the same shall be ratified by t President of the United States of Ameri by and with the advice and consent of t Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the Comm sioners Plenipotentiary of the Unit States, and Mingos, principal men warriors of the Chactaw nation, ha hereunto subscribed their names a affixed their seals at Fort Adams, the Mississippi, this seventh day December, in the year of our L

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one thousand eight hundred and one, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-sixth.

James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Taskono ⋈ Hopoia, Prota ⋈ Homo, Mingo Homo ⋈ Massatubloy, Oak ⋈ Shummo, Mingo ⋈ Poasco.

Treaty concluded the 20th of May, 1802, between the French Republic and His Serene Highness the Duke of Wirtemburg.

Art. I. There shall be good understanding and amity between the French Republic and His Serene Highness.

II. His Majesty the Emperor, and the Empire of Germany, having consented by the 7th article of the Treaty of Luneville, that the French Republic should possess in full sovereignty and property, the countries and territories situate on the left bank of the Rhine, and which made part of the Empire of Germany, His Serene Highness the Duke of Wurtemburg, renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, in favour of the French Republic, the rights of sovereignty, territorial superiority, property, and all other rights which he exercises, and which belong to him over the countries and territories on the Left Bank of the Rhine, and in particular,

1. The principality of Montbeliard.
2. The county of Sterburg.
3. The seignories of Riquewir, Ostheim, Aubure, Franquemont, Blamont, Clermont, Sericourt, Châtelot, Granges, Clerval, and Passavant.
4. The fiefs arising out of the said principalities, counties and seignories.
5. The seignories, fiefs, and domains, possessed by the heirs and successors of the natural children of the Duke Leopold Eberhard of Wurtemburg Montbeliard, and which are revertible to the Ducal house.
6. The territories, rights, and revenues at Spire, Dudenhoven, and in the environs on the Left Bank of the Rhine.

III. His Serene Highness in like manner renounces all claims of restitution which he might make upon the French Republic for arrears and non-enjoyment of rights and revenues, and for all other causes, anterior to the present Treaty.

IV. In pursuance of the 7th Article of the Treaty of Luneville, the French Republic promises and engages its good offices to obtain for His Serene Highness, those territorial indemnities which shall be as much as possible suited to the convenience and pleasure of His Serene Highness, equivalent to the losses of all kinds resulting to His Serene Highness, from the war, and conformable to the advantages and privileges attached to the ceded possessions.

V. The 8th Article of the Treaty of Luneville, concerning the debts of the countries on the Left Bank of the Rhine, shall serve as the basis of the regulations to be made respecting the debts of the countries comprised in the cession made by the 2d Article of the present Treaty.

VI. The private debts of communes and other corporations, shall remain charged to them, and by them paid.

VII. On the day of the ratification of the present Treaty, all sequestrations placed on account of the war, on the goods, effects, and revenues of citizens of the French Republic, in the states of His Serene Highness, shall be taken off, and they shall be at liberty to carry away their goods and effects, and also to sell their property, or receive its revenues, without any hindrance whatever.

LOUISIANA.

The cession of this country to France will be one, if not the first and most powerful, cause of the *next war*, which, it is greatly to be feared, will be the *last war* that Great-Britain will ever wage. It is, therefore, of great moment to watch the events and circumstances connected with this cession, and to prepare ourselves for acting as the case may require.—It is evident, that the result of the projects of France on the continent of North-America must, in a great measure, depend on the disposition and conduct of the United States; and, for that reason, it is of vast importance for us to be early acquainted with that disposition and conduct.—That the people of the United States, from one end of that immense country to the other, are *alarmed* at the prospect of seeing the French in their neighbourhood is very certain; but, that they will take any measures to prevent what they so much dread is very doubtful indeed. The perusal of some few of the articles, which have lately appeared in the American papers, will, however, enable the reader to judge of the probabilities in this respect.

"*Baltimore, May 20th*, 1802.

"We find nothing, among the articles of the treaty of Amiens, by which the interest

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of the United States can be in any degree affected; and there is nothing, therefore, to alloy the pleasure which every friend of humanity must derive from this auspicious event. We had hoped, however, and had been led to believe, that the convention between France and Spain, by which Louisiana is ceded to the French, would be annulled by this treaty. In this expectation we have been disappointed; and it now appears, that this important province is to be annexed to the territories of the French Republic. Whether an attempt will be made, by the government of France, to establish a colony there, is not yet apparent. We stated, sometime since, upon the authority of information which we then considered authentic, that the project had been abandoned. We never questioned the cession of the territory, but denied its intended colonization by the French Republic. Nothing has yet transpired, either giving the stamp of authenticity to the report which had led to this opinion, or convincing us that our information was altogether erroneous and unfounded. We can only say, that we most sincerely hope it may be true, and that we are satisfied, nothing will be wanting on the part of the American government, to induce a relinquishment of the plan. Whatever may have been our attachment to the cause for which the people of France were contending, in the commencement of the revolution, we have now no hesitation in believing, that the government of that country ought to be watched with a jealous eye. We have had strong indications of a departure from the first principles of their revolution. Great and wonderful as is the character of their Chief Consul, we have had too much reason to believe, that universal conquest and domination are the leading objects of his policy. We do not see in him the tyranny of Philip, the cruelty of Alexander, or the brutal ferocity of Charles the XIIth; but we trace in his life and character, the ungovernable ambition of a *Cæsar*, and the aspiring temper of a Cromwell. While the energies of the French Republic, therefore, shall continue under the direction of Buonaparté, we should most sincerely deprecate the event, which should give them an establishment on any section of our continent. The inert and sluggish Spaniard is less to be dreaded than the active and enterprizing Frenchman. Bred, and almost born in the camp; trained to the use of arms, and inured to scenes of pillage and slaughter, the peaceful settlers, on our frontiers, would be constantly exposed to their hostile incursions. If the waters of the Levant have been no security against their ambitious and desolating schemes of conquest; the course of the Mississippi would hardly serve as a line of demarcation, by which they would measure the rightful extent of their possessions. Add to this, the chance of being *deprived of the navigation of this river, so immensely important to our western territories; and we may consider the possession of Louisiana, by the French, as one of the greatest evils which could befall us*; short of an open and predatory warfare. We have the fullest confidence that it will be viewed as an evil by our government, and *that every effort will be made to avert it.* That these efforts may be crowned with success, must be the ardent wish of every American, of whatever sect or party who is not deluded by a blind and enthusiastic attachment to this too powerful Republic."

"*New York, May 24th*, 1802.

"The operations in St. Domingo may retard the French in taking possession of Louisiana, and, possibly, afford an opportunity for negotiation, respecting that vulnerable quarter of our continent.—England, Spain, and the United States, are alike concerned in preventing France from gaining foothold on this continent—a single demi-brigade of French *invincibles*, will form the entering wedge to rend asunder the Northern and Western possessions of all the powers.—*Can Great-Britain remain a calm spectator of the gigantic strides of the French Colossus to universal empire?* Will Spain yield up her inexhaustible mines, with the largest and fairest portion of the Western world possessed by any European power, without a struggle? *Pour nous autres*, what can we do alone? To Americans, will not be left the last dire consolation of the wretched Ulysses in the Cyclops clutches, we shall not be the last, but the first, to be devoured —The United States would furnish but a breakfast for the French, who would make a dinner of Spain, and sup on the rest of the world!!!—at least this is the creed of every man, of every woman, and of every child, composing the *Grande Nation.* The French Generals, in St. Domingo, speak in the foulest manner of our country and our government. They talk of sending an army to New Orleans; "then" as one of them was heard to say, "*We'll give laws to the United States.*"

The Editors of the New York paper, after inserting Mr. Cobbett's remarks on t

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consequences of the cession of Louisiana (Vide Register vol. I. p. 199) say,

"These remarks deserve the serious attention of every American citizen interested in the integrity and tranquillity of his country. If some measures be not adopted, either by negotiation, *or otherwise*, to divert the French from taking possession of Louisiana, *it will not be long ere the foregoing prediction is accomplished.*" For the purport of this prediction we must refer the reader to Mr. Cobbett's letter, the opinions of which, though ridiculed by that profound politician, Sir Frederick Morton Eden, will, when it is too late, be attended to in England as well as in America.

So serious are the Americans on the subject, that the Governor of Georgia had, in the month of May, issued a proclamation, calling an extra meeting of the legislature of that state, on the 10th of June, the object of which was, *to take into consideration the cession of Louisiana to France.*—Georgia is very much exposed towards the Mississippi. Indeed, it is totally at the mercy of a powerful French army. But, Bernadotte will be there before the state of Georgia can have raised a corps of militia, which, after they are embodied for actual service (no easy matter), cannot move without the orders of Mr. Jefferson, who, if we are to judge from the language of the prints of his faction, will have little inclination to give such orders.—The extracts, which we have above made from American papers, are taken from prints hostile to the present general government, or, at least, to the persons administering it. We have carefully examined those prints, which are well known to speak the sentiments of the government, and have, as yet, not been able to discover any direct proof of its opinion on this subject, either one way or the other; but as these prints are extremely solicitous to palliate, and even to *justify*, all the infamous conduct of the French towards the Americans in St. Domingo, there is every reason to believe, that Jefferson and his party are resolved not to break with France on any account; and, though we are fully persuaded, that they will see with great regret the arrival of the French force in Louisiana, they will take no measures to prevent it. Without *the aid of Great-Britain*, it is, indeed, out of their power to prevent it, and that they would not, were they to ask it, obtain that aid, will be readily believed by every one who has the least knowledge of the character and sentiments of His Majesty's present administration. In fact, they *cannot* lend their aid to assist the Americans, or any other people, against the encroachments of France. They *dare* not do it. They have, by their late measures, completely extinguished the warlike spirit of the country. War, of whatever kind, or for whatever object, they have caused to be regarded as an evil; as something detestable; as something to be avoided and hated at all events. Yet we must finally go to war; we must go to war in a very very few years, or we must sink without a struggle. But, the consequence of the peace will be, we shall, though at war in a year from this time, find that we have begun too late; we shall, in every quarter of the world, find the vantage ground taken by the enemy; and, as to the important territory of the Mississippi, all the evils of its cession to France will have taken place before any ministry will dare to talk of arming.

Of what vast importance the absolute command of the Mississippi is, may easily be gathered from the following account of exports down the river from the port of Louisville alone, during the quarter of a year, ending in March last.

LOUISVILLE, (*Falls of Ohio*) *April* 15.

Exports from the Port of Louisville, in the district of Kentucky to Floridas and Louisiana, for the quarter ending 31st March, 1802. (Taken from the Custom-house books.)

350 Barrels apples,
2,225 Gallons cyder and cyder-royal.
50 Barrels beef.
97 Ditto ship-bread,
4 Bushels beans,
2,229 Pounds butter,
4 Pair boots,
1,121 Bushels corn,
443 Pounds cheese,
55 Do. wax-candles,
171 Do. tallow candles,
896 Cwt. 3 qrs. 18lb. cordage,
2 Pleasurable carriages,
45,385 Barrels flour,
Household furniture 340 dollars,
5 Bushels flax-seed,
386 lb. gun-powder,
Hats, 50 dollars,
198,856lb. Bacon & hams,
20,000 Do. hemp,
Castings 30 dollars,
Manufactured iron, 60 dollars.
59,302 lb. Hogg's lard,
562 Bushels Indian meal,
Merchandize, 13,062 dls.
179 Bushels oats,
202 Do. potatoes,
2,268 Barrels pork,
7,620 Gallons domestic spirit,
3 Pair shoes,
Sadlery, 146 dolls.
1,007 lb. Soap,
2,640 Do. manufactured tobacco,
517 Hogsheads ditto,
4 Barrels tar,
2,450 Feet plank,
Aggregate value, 312,263 dollars, or about £.80,000 sterling.

Now, let the reader refer to the speeches on the peace, by Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, by the Master of the Rolls and General Maitland, as also to the observations of Sir Frederick Morton Eden, and he will at once perceive, that neither of them was in possession of the most trifling degree

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of knowledge of this part of the subject, on which they were speaking. They believed, or at least, they wished to make the nation believe, that, because Louisiana was of but little value to France *a hundred years ago*, it would be of no value to her *now*. This was begging the question; it was drawing a conclusion upon premises by no means granted or established; for, Louisiana *was* of great value to France a hundred years ago; but, allowing that it was not of any value before an inch of land had been cleared on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, before the very name of Kentucky was known, does it follow that it will be of no value *now*, when from Louisville alone, the exports amount to £320,000 a year? On this, and on every other subject, we shall be careful never to make hazardous assertions, never to proceed upon vague and uncertain foundations; but, it may not be amiss to state, what we think will be fully confined by future details, that the whole of the exports down the Mississippi, for the year ending on the 31st of March last, will not amount to less than *a million and a half sterling*—a fearful amount, when we consider that it will now be placed entirely at the mercy of France!

We shall close this interesting account with an extract of a letter, addressed to Mr. Cobbett, by a gentleman residing in New York, and to the contents of which we may, without hazarding the displeasure of the reader, venture to call his utmost attention.

New York, May, 12. 1802.

As to public matters, since the liquidation of the old debts took place, in which the Virginians were so much interested, they have had no particular motive to prolong ancient animosities, or to excite new ones between the two nations. The French mania, which this country once affected so unwisely, grows weaker, and will be succeeded by a more sincere hatred, if Buonaparté executes his project of colonizing Louisiana. Whether this hatred will ever rise to hostilities, or whether it will sink into *a prudential* acquiescence, in case of such an event, will depend much on circumstances. At present the French are viewed with an evil eye by a great majority of the people, not only on account of their pretensions to Louisiana and the Floridas, but for the advantages they took in the last treaty, and for their treacherous and profligate conduct towards the American traders at St. Domingo. On their side, I believe, they despise and hate us as sincerely. *Tant mieux!*

The liberal manner, on your part at least, in which the old claims of British creditors have been settled, was a wise and happy measure: it has cut up the ancient enmity by the roots, in the minds of many influential men who were prejudiced against you merely on that account. To use a well known Indian phrase, the hatchet is buried, and I believe there are few who wish to dig it from its grave, except the French, and [illegible] if the former take [illegible] place, or ought to take place, between the parent and her children. We must either go to war with the grand republic, in which case we shall want your aid, or we must agree to lose Georgia, Tenessee, and all the western territory, or we must grant the enemy certain exclusive privileges in trade, injurious to you. The latter I apprehend is not very probable. But what a fatal neglect it was that Great-Britain did not seize on the mouth of the Mississippi before the peace was concluded! What a world of trouble and expense it would have prevented!

I am happy in believing that the strange delusion that took place in your countrymen, at and after the signing of the preliminaries, is passing away, and that, if the definitive treaty is signed, you have obtained more just and adequate terms. The preliminaries, indeed, would disgrace an idiot. They are a monument of human imbecility. With the best terms you have any chance to obtain from a government of such enormous size and ambition as the French, you will always be unsafe: the sword which has been drawn principally for your destruction will always be hanging over your heads. It has long been a settled point with me that Great-Britain and France cannot long co-exist as equals. This is an opinion founded on the politics of France for more than a century, and is confirmed, beyond a doubt, by her present unexampled thirst for universal dominion. The war will be renewed again, and again until one or other is crushed. How impolitic therefore was your ministry to submit to such terms, indeed to any terms which would leave your implacable enemies in possession of all their conquests, say nothing of the surrender of your own conquests when you had it so much in your power, when indeed it was your duty, to reduce them to a more moderate size.—It is a folly, worthy only of a whining hypocritical philanthropist, to declaim against the horrors of a war *ad internecionem*, when the matter is not left to your choice—when your enemies have long resolved on your destruction—and destroyed you must be, or you must destroy them. As to yourself I see with pleasure you have made a nobler choice: you have resolved to wage perpetual war, with the pen at least, against the foes of your country, foreign and domestic, and I hope your labours will not be lost, that they will help to keep alive the old anti-gallican British spirit, which like the vestal fire of the ancients ought never to be extinguished.

Excuse this leap across the Atlantic, and I will lead you once more back to the woods of America. —Party spirit still rages among us with all its appropriate features. The outs are cursing the ins; the ins, as far as they are able, are sending the outs to perdition. You have sometimes had such scenes in your country, but party rage has never been carried to such extremes as here. Here the change of offices have been almost universal: it has extended even to the poor clerks.—Nevertheless I can excuse the present administration so far: the revolution though pretty complete, does not contradict republican principles, or threaten any material injury to the body of the people. It is only shifting the loaves and fishes of government into new hands. But some of the late acts of the national legislature appear to be extremely impolitic. The abolition of the taxes on luxuries, and other articles to which the people were reconciled, while the duties on certain necessaries such as tea, coffee, and sugar, are continued, will render the authors unpopular in a very short time; and the liberty that has been taken to remove a great number of judges from their offices, without the pretence of misconduct, looks too much like a

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mination to render the courts of justice the mere engines of a party.—These two articles excepted, I cannot discover any very tremendous charge, as regards the general interest of the community. As to our foreign relations, the present system appears to be completely pacific, and towards your country rather friendly, than indifferent—though if you had obtained from the domineering French, more honourable conditions of peace, you would have stood higher in our esteem.

I remain your most faithful friend.

Mr. Wm. Cobbett, London.

ANSWER.

Dear Sir, *Pall Mall, 14th July*, 1802.

You will, perhaps, be surprized to see so great a part of your letter in print; but, I place so much reliance on every thing you say, that I could not forbear communicating your present remarks to my readers.

I can readily conceive, that *the liquidation of the old debts* has softened the asperity of the Virginians, from whom, chiefly, those debts were due; but I am very far from giving my entire approbation to the manner in which that liquidation has been effected. The debts due to British creditors amounted to about *three millions*, in lieu of which we have obtained *six hundred thousand pounds*. That it was very unwise in Lord Shelburne to make any stipulation for the payment of these debts I allow; but, it having been made, and a fair and honourable mode of settling the amount having been agreed upon in a second treaty between the two nations, that mode ought to have been adhered to. In diplomatic transactions this country is ever out-witted, but by no nation has she been out-witted more glaringly than by America. Observe, that, while we forego all the advantages of the treaty of 1794, you forego none of them. While the decisions of the board, which were to obtain justice for British creditors are wiped away, because they operate against the wishes of America, those of the board, constituted to examine and decide on the claims of Americans, are to have their full effect. This system of concession may procure us a short respite from attack; but, be assured, that, if persevered in, it will, in a few years, as certainly effect our ruin as it has already exposed us to contempt.

Your opinion respecting the final consequences of the cession of Louisiana differs somewhat from that which I have formed, though, indeed, you do not speak very positively. You say, that you must either *go to war with France*, (with our aid), or *lose the Western countries*, or *grant to France certain exclusive privileges in trade, injurious to us*, which latter, you think, is not very probable.—I am glad to hear you say this, because it accords with the interests of my country, and because I have the utmost deference for your judgment and foresight. I must, however, confess, that I greatly fear that you over-rate the spirit and good disposition of your countrymen. The tameness with which you have submitted, and are now submitting, to the injuries and insults of France, gives me no encouragement to hope, that you will, when she is become more formidable to you, buckle on your armour and resist her encroachments. Besides, she will be very careful for some time, not to proceed, in her colonization of Louisiana, in such a way as shall furnish the real friends of American independence with a ground of complaint against her. She will not attack you by storm but by sap. She will have you completely in her power ere she draws the dagger from her cloak.—*Truth*, however, is what I wish to convey to my readers, and, therefore, I publish your opinion with the acknowledgment that I regard it as of much greater weight than my own. Nevertheless, as you make the refusal to the granting of France certain privileges in trade injurious to England, to depend on the other alternative of *war*, with *our aid*, or upon the losses after *yielding the Western countries to France*, I must confess, that I see little ground to hope for such a war; and, if France obtains possession of the Western countries without war, your and our ruin will be only postponed for a time.

As to your hope respecting the definitive treaty, it will, ere this, have been completely blasted by a perusal of that disgraceful instrument. I perceive, that your countrymen in general had adopted the opinion, that the circumstance of the French fleet having sailed to the West Indies would operate greatly in our favour at Amiens. This was the opinion here also. It is precisely what Lord Grenville urged in the House of Lords; but, alas! little do you know of the ministers who have made this peace. Inadequate indeed is the notion that you can possibly form of their miserable policy, and of the paltry motives by which they have been actuated.

The *delusion*, which prevailed at the signing of the preliminaries is wearing away: indeed, it is no more; but the vestal fire of Britain, the old anti-gallican spirit, is not to be kept alive by any exertions, much less by the puny efforts that it is in my power to make. It is *already extinguished*, or burns in the breasts of but a very trifling portion of the people of this country. The love of money and of ease has overpowered every noble sentiment. There is not more *profligacy* than formerly. I believe not so much. But there is infinitely more effeminacy, more cant, and less courage. The French revolution has not destroyed our bank, our parliament, nor our courts of law and justice; but it has imperceptibly sapped the hearts of the people, it has neutralized their feelings; eradicated the patriot passion, and has rendered loyalty a matter of expedience rather than what it used to be, a principle of equal force with filial affection or the love of life. The lower orders of the people live better than formerly, that is, they eat better food, and are clad and lodged better; the towns and villages increase in population, in neatness, and in convenience; the houses, the roads, the fields, the cattle, the carriages of every description, present a picture of prosperity and opulence such as never was beheld in any other country; but we want the virtues by which alone these blessings are to be preserved. We want a high sense of national honour; we want a contempt of wealth and of life, when put in competition with the glory of England.

I am, yours, &c. &c.

Wm. Cobbett.

ADDRESS *to the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders, of the City of Norwich.*

Gentlemen, we trust it will not be thought the language of disappointment (we are sure it is not that of presumption,) if we say that we regret the event of the late contest less on our own account, than with a view to the effects which it is likely to produce in this city, and the example which it gives to the kingdom at large.

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We have declared our opinion from the beginning—an opinion which our adversaries will be the last to dissent from,—that this has been a great political contest, in which we are now compelled to add, that victory rests entirely on their side. With a deduction made for the effects of money, and of those arts, which though practised perhaps at all times, have in this city rarely been seen to the same extent and in the same forms as on the late occasion, the triumph of that system of politicks, which we can describe only by the name of jacobin politicks, will in few instances be found to have been more complete. Those who know the state of parties in this city, with the characters of some of the principal actors and leaders, will be at no loss for proofs of this remark; and those who judge at a distance will require probably no other proofs than that which they will derive from the event itself. We have said, in a former address, and the assertion is in no degree contradicted by what has happened, that a great majority of the property and consequence of the city was on our side. We fear that that consequence has suffered itself to be defeated and overborne precisely by the same means, which we have seen lead to the destruction of great states and empires; (we hope from our hearts that others may not be exposed to equal danger,)—by the supineness of long-established power, and by the want of estimating truly and in time, the effect of those arts now employed systematically for the overthrow of establishments of every kind.

In this view of things it would not be respect, it would be presumption in us, if we were to dwell on our own individual losses, and the concern which we must feel at being deprived of an honour, which one of us had so long enjoyed, and which we had both so eagerly solicited. What we *may* be allowed to regret (and no terms can express too strongly our feelings in that respect,) is the separation from those friends whose virtues, public and private, have long endeared our situation to us, and who never gave stronger proofs of those virtues, or did more to render separation painful than at the moment when it was about to take place. In one view, we trust, we shall *not* be separated from them: we still hope to preserve the connection of private friendship; as undoubtedly no time will ever efface from our minds the memory of what we have owed to their kindness. Never were persons supported in a cause by more ardent, honourable, and disinterested zeal, or by those of whose support they might be more proud. This must be our consolation (and a great and efficacious one it is) under our present disappointment. With this impression upon our minds, with the liveliest sense of gratitude to our friends, and with the best wishes for the prosperity of the city of Norwich, we have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient, and faithful humble servants,

Norwich, July 10th, 1802. *W. Windham.* *J. Frere.*

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Dates for the holding the Summer Assizes.

NORTHERN CIRCUIT.

Lord Ellenborough, L. C. J. and Justice *Chambre*.

York and City	Saturday,	July	31.
Yorkshire	Saturday,	....	31.
Durham	Tuesday,	Aug.	10.
Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, & County	Saturday,	....	14.
Northumberland	Saturday,	....	14.
Cumberland	Friday,	....	20.
Westmoreland	Wednes.	....	25.
Lancashire	Saturday,	....	28.

NORFOLK.

Lord Alvanley, L. C. J. of the Court of Common Pleas, and Justice *Grose*.

Buckinghamshire	Monday,	July	26.
Bedfordshire	Thursday,	....	29.
Huntingdonshire	Saturday,	....	31.
Cambridgeshire	Monday,	Aug.	2.
Suffolk	Thursday,	....	5.
Norfolk	Monday,	....	9.
City of Norwich	Monday,	....	9.

HOME.

Lord Chief Baron *Macdonald* and Baron *Hotham*.

Hertfordshire	Monday,	July	26.
Essex	Wednes.	....	28.
Sussex	Monday,	Aug.	2.
Kent	Wednes.	....	4.
Surrey	Monday,	....	9.

OXFORD.

Justice *Lawrence* and Justice *Le Blanc*.

Berkshire	Monday,	July	26.
Oxfordshire	Wednes.	....	28.
Worcestershire	Saturday,	....	31.
City of Worcester	Saturday,	....	31.
Gloucestershire	Wednes.	Aug.	4.
City of Gloucester	Wednes.	....	4.
Monmouthshire	Saturday,	....	7.
Herefordshire	Tuesday,	....	10.
Shropshire	Saturday,	....	14.
Staffordshire	Wednes.	....	18.

MIDLAND.

Justice *Heath* and Baron *Thompson*.

Northamptonshire	Tuesday,	July	27.
Rutland	Friday,	....	30.
Lincolnshire	Saturday,	....	31.
City of Lincoln	Saturday,	....	31.
Nottinghamshire	Thursday,	Aug.	5.
Town of Nottingham	Thursday,	....	5.
Derbyshire	Saturday,	....	7.

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Leicestershire	Wednes.	11.
Borough of Leicester	Wednes.	11.
City of Coventry	Saturday,	14.
Warwickshire	Saturday,	14.

WESTERN.

Justice *Rooke* and Baron *Graham*.

Southampton	Tuesday, July	27.
Wilts	Saturday,	31.
Dorset	Thursday, Aug.	5.
Devon	Monday,	9.
City and County of Exeter	Monday,	9.
Cornwall	Monday,	16.
Somerset	Saturday,	21.
City & County of Bristol.	Friday,	27.

BRECON.

The Hon. *George Harding* and *Abel Moysey*, Esq.

Presteigne	Monday, Aug.	16.
Brecon	Saturday,	21.
Cardiff	Saturday,	28.

CIRCULAR.

Horse-Guards, July 6, 1802.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant permission to the several regiments of his army, which served during the late campaign in Egypt, to assume, and wear in their colours, a badge, as a distinguished mark of his Majesty's Royal approbation, and as a lasting memorial of the glory acquired to his Majesty's arms, by the zeal, discipline, and intrepidity of his troops, in that arduous and important campaign.

His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief has directed me to make this communication to you, in order that the regiment under your command may avail itself of the honour hereby conferred by his Majesty; and I am commanded, at the same time to apprise you, that a pattern of the badge, approved by his Majesty, is lodged at the office of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, there to be had recourse to, as circumstances may require.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(A true Copy.) *Harry Calvert*, A. G.

☞ The badge is a Sphinx, with the word "EGYPT" over it.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse-Guards, June 12, 1802.

His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief directs it to be made known to the army, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his Royal Pleasure, that every serjeant (whether of the cavalry, foot guards, or line,) who has in the course of the late war, or may hereafter, become blind on service, shall receive an allowance of 1s. 6d. per diem; every corporal, in the like circumstances, 1s. 2d. per diem; and every drummer and private man, in like circumstances, 1s. a day, for the remainder of their lives.

It is the Commander in Chief's pleasure that his Majesty's gracious intention, above expressed, shall be communicated to the men, and inserted in the orderly book of every regiment.

By order of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief,

Harry Calvert, A. G. of the Forces.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The elections continue to be the leading political subject.—A very numerous body of Mr. Windham's friends met, at the Angel in *Norwich*, on Saturday last, without his knowledge or concurrence, to support his nomination for *Norfolk*.—Colonel Wodehouse having already declared himself a candidate on the loyal interest of the county, found it necessary to have some understanding with that gentleman's committee, in order either that a junction might be formed between them, or that the latter might withdraw.—Colonel Wodehouse perceiving that the two interests would materially clash, relinquished his pretensions in favour of the superior claims of Mr. Windham. A large subscription was immediately begun, for supporting Mr. Windham's election, and the gentlemen present entered into a resolution, to bring their tenants and neighbours to the poll, free of expense. The next morning, through the activity of his friends, almost every town and village in the county was in motion for Mr. Windham.—At *Yarmouth* in particular, 700 freeholders volunteered themselves, free of expense, under the direction of the Mayor, Sir Edmund Lacon, and the principal gentlemen of the town, and a handsome subscription was set on foot and increased with great rapidity. But, on Mr. Windham's return to *Norwich*, having received the intelligence of his being already elected at another place, he thought it right to request that his friends would not carry their exertions in his favour any further, as he would not appear any longer to occupy a post which he thought might be filled by others with greater advantage to their interest.—In consequence of this determination, Colonel Wodehouse again came foward, with the full support of Mr. Wind-

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ham's friends, and the loyal and independent freeholders of the county, as well as of his own most respectable family interest, and from the result of the poll, there is every reason to believe that he will be returned with a considerable majority.—The numbers, at three o'clock on Thursday, (the fourth day of the poll) are, for Mr. Coke, 3,612, Colonel Wodehouse, 3,071, Sir Jacob Astley, 2,918; great reinforcements are hourly expected for Colonel Wodehouse.—There is no doubt, had Mr. Windham stood, that he would have been elected by a large majority; and so great is his general popularity in the county, that it is now confidently believed, that notwithstanding Mr. Coke's vast county influence, Mr. Windham would have headed the poll.—In *Hertfordshire* we are sorry to perceive, that Mr. Baker has been rejected, in consequence of the great exertions of the adverse interest. An old, faithful, and industrious member is here lost to the great council of the nation. We hope he will come in for some other place. Men should, in such cases, lose sight of their private injuries in pursuit of the good of their country. Mr. Baker is not less remarkable for his attention to, and his knowledge of, public business, than for his integrity. Such men should not be discouraged by an electioneering defeat.—The *City of London* has behaved well, upon the whole. Three out of four of the members chosen are those who refused to sign the abominable test, which they were so impudently called upon to subscribe; and, if we are rightly informed, Mr. Alderman Combe did not actually *sign*, though he gave his unequivocal assent to the principle of the test.—The *County of Middlesex* has, too, resisted the clamours of Democracy. To read the bills and advertisements that have been published, one would believe, that the contest in this county was not between two gentlemen, but between the magistrates and the thieves, and that the great body of those who have espoused the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, have done so with a hope, that, if he were successful, there would be an end to all legal punishment, and that crimes of every sort would be committed in perfect security.—The contest at *Dover*, from some very singular circumstances attending it, has excited a great share of public attention. Mr. Spencer Smyth, brother of Sir Sidney, both of whom are natives of this place, stood upon what is called the independent interest. Mr. Trevanion has a family and proprietory interest. Mr. Huskisson stood upon the interest of the Lord Warden of t Cinque Ports, of which Dover is one. Soo after it became certain, that Mr. Huski son's pretensions would be contested, a hand bill in the following words, was publishe by a Mr. Fector, who is a banker at Dove and a principal proprietor in the pack boats of that place:

"That no false rumours may prejudice M
"Huskisson's election, I think it a justi
"due to him to declare that I had not ev
"a common acquaintance with him, n
"knew any thing of his intention of offeri
"for Dover, previous to my hearing fro
"Mr. Pitt on Saturday the 20th June la
"that it was *his wish*, and *the wishes of g*
"*vernment*, that he should succeed M
"Pybus, who meant to decline. The stron
"est testimony I can afford the town, th
"I shall never be instrumental in attem
"ing *to force* any person upon them is, th
"in this very instance I actually did give
"one of my most intimate friends (Colo
"Churchill) then a member, and equa
"anxious to come forward with the go
"wishes of government. The gentleman
"question, I have every reason to belie
"might have had the countenance of M
"Pitt, if I had pressed it. To have do
"so I thought would have been a presun
"tion, particularly as Mr. Huskisson's p
"lic character was not unknown to
"High in the confidence of Mr. Pitt and
"present administration, I felt convin
"Mr. Huskisson would prove an *active*
"*useful* member to the town. No other
"tive induced me to give him my suppo
"and should any person be disposed to qu
"tion these facts, I can and will afford h
"undoubted testimony that this is the tru
"and the whole truth upon the subject.

(Signed) "J. M. FECTOR.

This is, indeed, a very extraordinary p lication, and one which we have anxio wished to see contradicted; but, as it *not* been contradicted, we are certa bound to regard it as authentic, and so garding it, we feel ourselves called upon bestow on it some few remarks. Its ob appears to have been to convince the e tors, that by choosing Mr. Huskisson, t would please Mr. Pitt (the Lord Ward and the ministry. It appears to have been prevailing notion, that Mr. Fector had his own accord, and to answer his own vate purposes, resolved to bring in Huskisson. To remove this impress which might be injurious to that gentlem

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Mr. Fector informed the electors, that it was not to gratify his own wishes, but the wishes of Mr. Pitt and the ministry (for we cannot in the language of Mr. Fector, call the ministry the *government*), that he had proposed and supported Mr. Huskisson. Such an explanation, in *private*, might have been proper enough; but to make it the subject of a hand-bill, though it may not deserve the name of treachery, was, to give it the mildest term, certainly a most glaring instance of indiscretion. That Mr. Pitt, being out of the ministry, should take upon him to express their wishes, in this instance, will most assuredly lead to a belief, that he has ruled the cabinet, not only in the whole of the electioneering arrangements, but in every measure adopted since his resignation, and that the present ministers are, to all intents and purposes, the mere puppets of others, who govern in reality, while they are securely sheltered from even the appearance of responsibility. It is hardly possible that Mr. Pitt should have authorized this publication of Mr. Fector; but, we cannot help lamenting, that he should have communicated in such a manner with such a man. To request Mr. Fector to give his support to a particular candidate would have had nothing objectionable in it. It was what Mr. Pitt had an undoubted right to do; it was even what he ought to do; but, to communicate "the wishes of the government" on the subject, was either too high or too low for Mr. Pitt. As the *master* of the ministry it was too high, as the *agent* it was too low. As Mr. Pitt and as Lord Warden he should have spoken, and as nothing else. —With respect to the merits of the opposent candidates, it is hardly fair to suppose, that Mr. Pitt, in recommending Mr. Huskisson, wished to oppose Mr. Spencer Smyth, because it is not certain that he was apprized of that gentleman's intention to stand for Dover; if he had known it, we would fain believe, that he would have been the last man in the world to attempt to frustrate his views. With regard to Mr. Huskisson, however, we cannot refrain from expressing our surprize and even our regret, that he should have been the person fixed upon by this great and penetrating statesman. That the talent of public speaking is by no means an indispensable qualification in a member of parliament we are ready to allow; and, if it were so, Messrs. Huskisson and Pybus are, in this respect, much about upon a level, each of them being, we believe, fully adequate to the task of articulating the monosyllable and *no*; but, when we see what we c but regard as extraordinary exertions, to bring in a candidate, and made t such a man as Mr. Pitt, we are nat and irresistibly led to inquire into th ture and extent of that candidate's pr sions to a post of so much honor and p importance; and, without the least to detract from the merits, which Mr. kisson may possibly possess (though have never come to our knowledge) must say, that we think he has been al more thsn sufficiently loaded with th vours of government. Either high distinguished talent, or great public vice, is, and ought to be, a sufficient tension to public honours and emolum but, as far as we have been able to learn Huskisson has a claim upon neither of grounds. Lord Gower found him a ker's clerk at Paris. We are very w to believe that his lordship's patronag not improperly conferred when he pro him an appointment as clerk in the Office; nor are we inclined to questio propriety of his being promoted in t fice of Mr Dundas; but, we cannot ourselves the right of questioning bot propriety and the justice of giving seat in Parliament, in addition to the a not to say extravagant and prodigal pro which he had already obtained fro Majesty's ministers. It was in the 1793 that he was first noticed by Gower. In six years afterwards (d the far greater part of which time h been in very inferior situations) he ob a pension, during pleasure, of no les £1,200 a year; and, upon the cha ministry in 1801, this pension was ch from *during pleasure* to a pension *fo* He, at the same time, enjoyed the ag for the Cape and Ceylon, each of £600 a year. The former of these is of course, but the latter he still enjoys that, if the peace had not unfortu robbed both him and the nation of the of Good Hope, he would, to this hour been in the enjoyment of £2,400 a As it is, he has for his services, as a clerk, received a reward nearly as gr that which was bestowed on Lord Rc or the Hero of the Nile, and *much* than that bestowed on the *Defender of* This, one would think, was enough w a seat in parliament! It was enou give him a fortune, without setting h to be the rival of the nobility and gen

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England; without sending him to make laws for the government of the empire! Far be it from us to rail against places and pensions: they are the rewards, which government bestows, and ought to bestow, on those who render services to the nation. Nay, we go further, and allow that it is perfectly proper, not only to entail such rewards on widows or children, but, for the support of the aristocracy of the kingdom, to bestow emoluments, in certain extraordinary cases, on persons who have rendered no services at all to the state. This is a prerogative which belongs to a king, and without which a crown would not be worth having. The writer of this article has witnessed the fatal effects of a niggardly system of economy, and is well convinced that no part of the public money is, generally speaking, better employed, than that which goes to answer the demands of national gratitude, generosity, and munificence. Nor do we grudge Mr. Huskisson a pension; but that pension should have been proportioned to his services, or to his birth, neither of which entitled him to any thing like the provision, which he has secured. Such being our opinion, we cannot but express our pleasure at the result of the Dover election; not so much, however, at the defeat of Mr. Huskisson (for we bear him no ill-will) as at the success of his opponent, who, besides his own merits, has the honour to be the brother of Sir Sidney Smyth. Sir Sidney is chosen for the City of Rochester; and we observe with great pleasure, that those gallant officers Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Edward Pellew will also be seated in the next parliament. We have never enquired what are the politics of these gentlemen. We feel no anxiety about the side they will take, being well assured, that, unless they are deceived (which the wisest men sometimes will be) they will never give their consent to a measure hostile to the interests or honour of their country. They will bring into the new House of Commons that best of all possible ingredients, courage, of which the last was so miserably destitute; and, from the result of the elections in general, we are led to hope, that the race of "well-" meaning men," of "ecodomists" and "philanthropists," will have experienced a considerable diminution. The disorder of this nation is not a fever, but a palsy. Any thing that will enliven is good. An actual rebellion would not be half so dangerous as that torpor, that total indifference, which has lately prevailed; the former might b quelled, but the latter, if it continue fo any length of time, must end in radica destruction. The decline of life and o genius has ever been marked by a return t childish fancies and amusements; and really the last House of Commons, with its bill about "bull-baiting" and "rabbit's dung," exhibited a scene strongly resembling th last stages of mortality; a scene so disgust ing, so humiliating to the nation, and s pleasing to its enemies, we hope never agai to behold within the walls of St. Stephen With the new parliament we hope to se also a new ministry; or, at least, an effici ent and responsible ministry. We believ Mr. Addington to be a very *honest* man, bu what is that? Honesty alone is not a re commendation for a footman, and shall i be for a first minister? He is not altogether destitute of talents as an orator and even, perhaps, as a financier. In truth, he is what may be called a clever man. But he wants those great and commanding qualities, which mark th statesman, and which are at this time, more than ever, necessary to the preservation o the country. There are several persons in the ministry possessed of very good talents nor are they at all deficient in point of industry and zeal; but they want weight, they want consequence, they want birth. At no period of our history were the powers o government ever shared by so few men o family. The ancient nobility and gentry o the kingdom have, with a very few exceptions, been thrust out of all public employments: this part of the aristocracy has been in some measure, banished from the councils of the state. A race of merchants and manufacturers, and bankers and loan jobbers and contractors, have usurped their place, and the government is very fast becoming what it must be expected to become in such hands. We think it probable, that Mr. Pitt may again be minister, and if he should, we hope he will perceive and avoid the evil consequences of surrounding himself with *low* and *little men*. In a minister who is himself a little man, it may be excused but Mr. Pitt must always be great, ever among the greatest. If Mr. Pitt should ever cast his eye upon this page, we are well persuaded he will not impute any selfish or malicious motive to the writer of it, and we, therefore, beg leave to tell him what many good men think, what is thought by many of his warmest admirers, but what he will never hear from any body but our

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selves; and that is, that his preference of low-churchmen has excited great jealousy and suspicion in those who are sincerely attached to the hierarchy, amongst whom are certainly to be reckoned a vast majority of the clergy; that the project, imputed to him, for rendering the clergy pensioners of the state, has greatly strengthened this suspicion; that, in short, the clergy do not regard him as a friend of the church. While Jacobinism was at our doors, while all was in jeopardy, the clergy supported him, because the existance of the Church and State was, in some sort, identified with his administration; but, now that the danger of commotion and rebellion is past, the minds of men will return to considerations of a nature somewhat more private, and, he may rest assured, that the attachment of this powerful body, powerful by their numbers, their talents, their character, and their local situations, is to be preserved by nothing short of unequivocal testimony, that he harbours no intention of invading or undermining the established Church, to effect which was, as many persons believe, the sole object of the establishment of the Board of Agriculture, a belief which has been but too strongly corroborated by the proceedings and publications of that board. We also beg leave to tell him, that his partiality for young and new men, for persons of his own creation, to the almost total exclusion of the old nobility and gentry, is a subject of complaint with a great number of very good men. In the present state of this country a minister might set the nobility and gentry at defiance, if the ill-will excited amongst them could be confined to their own breasts; but it cannot; the people, we mean the better sort of the people, resent the neglect and ill treatment of those whom they have been, from their infancy, in the habit of respecting, more especially when the honours and favours due to them are conferred on persons of mean birth. *Il vaut mieux qu'une cité périsse qu'un parvenu la gouverne*, is an old Norman proverb; and, though the age of chivalry is certainly gone, men yet retain soul enough to dislike the power that places them beneath an upstart. This upstart system naturally grew out of the peculiar circumstances, under which Mr. Pitt came into power. It was adhered to, with some exceptions, from the first moment of his administration to the last: he appears never to have voluntarily and cordially given the hand to any thing great, whether of birth, character, or talent. Let us hope, that, if he should again come into power, he will discard a system so injurious to the harmony and welfare of the State. Another error, which it is to be hoped Mr. Pitt will correct, is, that superabundant caution, which prevents him from clearly and unequivocally stating his object and his resolution, which leaves the public mind for ever in a state of uncertainty, and which has, in so many instances, proved injurious to the country. To this very error, and to this error alone, the French Republic owes all its successes. The British Parliament never, at any one time, knew the real object of the late war; and how, then, should Europe know it? From an over anxiety not to fail in any enterprize, the British minister acted in a way in which he never could be said to undertake; and, therefore, he was never cordially joined, either at home or abroad. No man voluntarily embarks to be drifted to and fro by the tide, or to shift his course with every change of the wind; but, tell him his destination, and he chearfully braves the toils and dangers of the sea.—Mr. Pitt's fort lies in the domestic rather than the foreign department of politics. Having, from his very youth, had one eye constantly upon the Bank and the other upon the Parliament House, he has never been able to look abroad into the great world of politics. Without, therefore, at all detracting from the powers of his mind, we may venture to say, that he has discovered no great degree of penetration as to the conduct, the interests, and views of other nations. This is a science, however, which he must now apply himself to. The career, on which he is now about to enter, bears no resemblance to that which he has heretofore run. The present peace has laid the foundation for an entirely new distribution of power, the effects of which must be felt in a very few years. We must then have war; and it behoves him to consider how we shall be able to resist the confederacy, which France can, and will, form against us. It behoves him to consider, *in time*, how the people of this country are again to be roused to arms. "Husbanding our resources" will not save us. France has neither "commerce, capital, nor credit," yet, at only six weeks notice, she ships off an army of thirty thousand men across the Atlantic. She has, in the whole, sent 45,000 men, and more are preparing. This shows that "commerce, credit, and capital" are not essentially necessary to the power of France;

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and we hope, that Mr. Pitt will no longer regard a contest with that power as "a war of finance." Men are very apt to attach the greatest degree of importance to that science which they best understand: "You "may," said the currier, "think what you "please about stone and oak, but, if you "have a mind to have the town well forti-"fied, take my word for it there is nothing "like leather." We have opposed money to a military spirit, and we have failed. Let the eloquence of Mr. Pitt be employed to create something more efficient than wealth; something that France cannot rob us of; then will he acquire a renown more lasting than brass and marble.

The length of these remarks has left us but little room for other matters, and, indeed, there is nothing very important to notice. The dispatches from Guadaloupe, notwithstanding the unfavourable accounts lately received and industriously promulgated in London, state, that the French have completely succeeded in restoring order and submission in that island. An article in the French papers informs us, that Toussaint, the famous black hero, who was to maintain a war everlasting, is arrived, in high health and spirits, at the port of Brest. If this be true, the English philanthropists may repair thither, and give him the fraternal embrace.

The United States of America is, at this moment, the most interesting scene. The people of that country are, at last, seriously alarmed at the prospect of seeing the French in their neighbourhood (vide p. 38). They even talk of *preventing* what they so much dread; but, their resistance will be confined to words, though we shall not be surprized to hear, that Bernadotte, if he be not very rapid in his movements, has met with some annoyance at the mouth of the Mississippi. Bernadotte will have about 7,000 French soldiers, to which will, probably, be added 4 or 5,000 blacks from St. Domingo. If the Americans support General Bowles, either openly or secretly, the French General may have some trouble, but we think he will finally triumph, and, from that moment, the American States are at his mercy. So much the better, says Sir F. M. Eden, "this will create a jealousy of France, "which will attach the Americans more "closely to us." This doctrine has not been very fully exemplified in the case of Holland. If we were ready *to lend the Americans aid*, then, indeed, the cession of Louisiana would have been a happy circumstance; but we want peace, "*peace and a large loaf*," as the base rabble of Norwich replied to the arguments of Mr. Windham. Should there be any attempt, on the part of the Americans to resist the French, the English ministry so far from lending them aid, will be the first to protest against their resistance; nor should we be at all surprized, if His Majesty were to be advised to issue a declaration to that effect.

TO THE PUBLIC.

On Wednesday last CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), *a clerk in the General Post-Office*; CHARLES WAGSTAFF, *another clerk in that Office*; and JOHN HARWOOD, an amanuensis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe and to the British Critic, were tried at the Sessions at Clerkenwell for a riot committed at the house of Mr. Cobbett in Pall Mall.—They were convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine, the two former of £30 each, and the latter of £1 and were bound to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for the space of two years. This brief notice would have sufficed; but, as the proceedings of the trial have been most shamefully misrepresented in the London Newspapers, we think it our duty to publish a faithful account of them, a duty which we shall discharge as soon as possible. In the mean time we think it right to observe, that, it appeared from the evidence of the Deputy Comptroller of the Foreign Post-Office, that neither of the two clerks had been for a moment *suspended* from their places or emoluments, since the commission of the crime, for which they were several weeks ago, indicted; and that a letter of Lord Auckland was shown in court, for the purpose of proving, that the crime *had in no degree injured the character of the criminals*. We do not say that his lordship so expressed himself, but the letter was shown to the prosecutor's counsel with a view to convince him that such was his lordship's opinion; and it does, we confess, appear somewhat strange, that men who had been committed to gaol, and who were afterwards indicted by the Grand Jury, should, nevertheless, still retain their places in a government office, under the controul of a nobleman, remarkable for

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attention to business. Nor is our surprize, in this respect, diminished, when we contrast the conduct of his lordship with that of the Commissioners of the Excise, who instantly *suspended* an Exciseman that was taken up at the same time with Beloe and his associates, and who kept him suspended, 'till his *innocence* was ascertained by the decision of the Grand Jury.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Whitehall, July 10.—The King has been pleased to appoint his Grace Hugh Duke of Northumberland, K. G. to be Custos Rotulorum of and in the County of Northumberland, and of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Letters Patent bearing date the 13th day of June last.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Evan Nepean, of Loders and Bothenhampton, in the County of Dorset, Esq. and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

July 13.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Baker Littlehales, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

The King has also been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Archibald Dickson, Esq. Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

War-Office, July 10, 1802.

1st Reg. of Dragoons, Cornet Lawrence Craigie to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Murray, promoted in the 15th Light Dragoons.

15th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Lieut. Walter Nathn. Leith to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, vice Mansfield, who retires.

Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Home Murray, from Half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Frewen, who exchanges.

Ditto, Capt. Jas. Macdonnell to be Major, by purchase, vice Gore, who retires. Lieut. Jo. Werge to be Capt. vice Macdonnell.

Ditto, Surgeon Ch. George, from the 22d Light Dragoons to be Surgeon, vice Robinson, who retires upon the Half-pay of the 22d Light Dragoons.

4th Reg. of Foot, Lieut. Alex. Anderson, from the 77th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Law, who exchanges.

Ens. Massey, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Hasslip, promoted in the 9th Foot.

Lieut. Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Teale, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. vice White, who exchanges.

15th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Mackenzie, from the Macleod Fencibles, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Cranton.

21st Ditto, Ensign Wm. Dennie, from the 30th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Darley, placed upon half-pay.

29th Ditto, Lieut. Rich. Egerton, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Seymour, who exchanges. Lieut. Walter Birmingham, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Bamford, who exchanges. Lieut. Rob. Birmingham, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Tandy, who exchanges.

40th Ditto, Ensign H. John Macquarrie, from the 77th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Fyffe, promoted in the 1st West-India Regiment.

41st Ditto, Sam. Hughes, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Colthurst, promoted.

42d Ditto, Lieut. Fred. Campbell, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Simon Fraser, who exchanges.

43d Ditto, Capt. Lieut. Rich. Elers, to be Capt. of a Company, without purchase, vice Philpot, promoted in the 59th Foot. Lieut. Adrian De Yonge to be Capt. Lieut. vice Elers. Tho. Lawrence Hen. Delamain, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Imlack removed to the 3d West-India Regiment.

93th Ditto, Ensign Martin Macpherson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Evatt, promoted.

60th Ditto, Lieut. John White, from the 21th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Teale, who exchanges. Jas. Nethery, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Blacker, whose appointment does not take place.

62d Ditto, Major Wm. Myers, from the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Fisher, who retires.

77th Ditto, Lieut. John Law, from the 10th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Anderson, who exchanges.

90th Ditto, Capt. Jas. Lord Ruthven to be Major, without purchase, vice Vigoreaux, promoted in the Royal Garrison Battalion. Capt. Lieut. Wm. Austin to be Capt. vice Lord Ruthven. Lieut. Rich. Butler to be Capt. Lieut. vice Austin. Ensign Benj. Martin to be Lieut. vice Butler.

3d West-India Regiment, Adjutant J. Hawkesworth to be Quart. Mast. vice Robertson, deceased. Serjeant-Major —— Burke to be Adjutant, vice Hawkesworth.

8th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Hen. Raikes, from the 3d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cumming, who retires.

10th Ditto, Wm. Skipton, Gent. to be Adjutant, vice G. H. Skipton, deceased.

Colonel Broderick's Reg. Col. the Hon. John Broderick to be Col. Commandant.

STAFF.—Lieut. Col. Hen. Clinton, of the 1st Foot Guards, to be Adjutant-Gen. to the King's Troops serving in the East-Indies, vice Craufurd, who resigns.

Lieut. Col. Miles Nightingale, of the 38th Foot, to be Quart. Mast. Gen. to the King's Troops serving in the East-Indies, vice Gordon, who resigns.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of Lieut. Fred. G. Carmichael to be Capt. by purchase, in the 10th Reg. of Light Dragoons, vice Macdonald, who retires, as stated in the Gazette of the 22d ult. has not taken place.

Lieut. Jas. Bird, of the 9th Reg. of Foot, is superseded.

BANKRUPTS.

Banks, Thomas, of Hill-house, Sedgeley, Staffordshire, Carpenter.

Barrett, John, of Wakefield, Gardener.

Bonsor, William, Red Lion Street, Spital-fields, Silk-weaver.

Bulfield, William, of Lancaster, Shopkeeper.

Carter, Thomas, the younger, of Waltham Holy Cross, Essex, Corn-chandler.

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Chilcott, William, late of Lamb Street, Spital-fields, Plumber.
Collishaw, Charles, of Wych Street, St. Clement Danes, Cabinet Maker.
Forbes, Colin, of Chichester Rents, Chancery Lane, Baker.
Formby, John, late of Newburgh, Lancashire, Blacksmith.
Hope, Peter, Liverpool, Merchant.
James, John, of Hatton Garden, Dealer.
Jenkins, Walter, of Bristol, Broker.
Lambert, Thomas, late of West Grinstead, Sussex, Shopkeeper.
Longfellow, William, of Horseforth, Guiseley, Yorkshire, Clothier.
Parslee, John, of Holt, Norfolk, Bookseller.
Smith, George, of Barnsley, Yorkshire, Grocer.
Sunderland, James, of Sandall Magna, Yorkshire, Corndealer.
Yeates, John, of Portsmouth, Coal Merchant.

BIRTHS.

Lenox, Maj. Gen. Lady of, on Saturday morning last, in Harley Street, of a son.
Mason, Col. Lady of, on Tuesday last, at Nash-house, Gloucestershire, of a son.
Talbot, Countess, on Saturday the 11th instant, at Ingestree, of a son and heir.

MARRIAGES.

Hudson, Chas. Thos. Esq. eldest son of Sir Chas. Grave Hudson, Bart. to Miss Pepperell, youngest daughter of Sir Wm. Pepperell, Bart.
Parker, Wm. Esq. of the Civil Establishment, to Miss Catherine Jane Seton, second daughter of Dan. Seton, Esq. Lieut. Gov. of Surat, on the 14th February last, at Sir John Anstruther's, Bart. in Calcutta.
Trettet, B. A. Coutts, Esq. to Miss Margaret Gordon, youngest daughter of the late Hon. Alex. Gordon, Lord Rockville, brother to the late Earl of Aberdeen, at Hendon, Middlesex.

DEATHS.

Bleamire, Rich. Esq. of Penrith, Cumberland, father of Mr. Bleamire, Police-magistrate of Hatton-Garden, a few days since.
Hawtayne, Mrs. wife of the Rev. W. Hawtayne, lately at Bristol Hot-wells.
Howell, his Excellency Richard, late Governor of New Jersey, lately at Trenton.
Jay, Mrs. wife of His Excellency John Jay, late Governor of New-York, and daughter of his late Excellency W. Livingston, formerly Gov. of New Jersey, on the 28th of May last, at Bedford, N. Y.
Munro, Geo. Esq. of the Custom-house, Kingston, Jamaica, second son of the late Sir Harry Munro, of Fowlis, Bart. on the 22d of April last, at Kingston.
Smith, Miss Eliz. sister of the late Rev. J. Smith, on the 26th ult. at Downe.
Spry, Lieut. Gen. W. commandant of the corps of Royal Engineers, lately at his house in Howland-st.
Turnbull, Jas. Esq. advocate, on the 6th inst. at his house in Hill-street, Edinburgh.
Washington, Mrs. relict of the late Gen. George Washington, on the 22d of May last, at Mount Vernon.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.....	—	—	—	—	—	190
3 per Cent Red. Ann.	74⅜	74½	74⅜	74⅜	73⅝	74⅛
3 per Cent Consols..	74¼	74	73⅝	73⅝	73⅝	74
4 per Cent Consols..	90⅛	90⅛	90⅛	90⅛	90⅛	90⅛
5 per Cent Ann.....	102⅛	101⅝	101⅝	101⅝	101⅝	101⅝
Bank Long Ann.....	21⅛	21⅛	21	21⅛	21⅛	21⅛
Dº Short 1778 & 1779	—	—	—	—	—	5
Imp. 3 per Cent.....	—	72⅛	72⅛	72⅛	72⅛	72
Dº Ann.....	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12
5 per Cent 1797....	105⅛	105⅛	105⅛	105⅛	105⅛	105
Omnium	pr	pr ⅛ ½	dis ½	dis ½	dis ½	di
India Stock.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dº Bonds.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dº Old Ann.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dº New.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751....	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer dº	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent....	111⅛	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets....	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 17½ 2 us.	LEGHORN	51½
Dº, at sight	10 14½	NAPLES.....	44
ROTTERDAM	10 18½ 2 us.	GENOA	47½
HAMBURGH..	33 3 2½us.	VENICE, 58 livres pic	
ALTONA	33 4 2½us.	effective per £.	ste
PARIS 1 day	23 14	LISBON.....	67
PARIS....	24 2 us.	OPORTO.....	67
BOURDEAUX,	24	DUBLIN.....	12
CADIZ	33½ in paper	BILBOA.....	36 D
DITTO	36 eff.	PALERMO	
MADRID ..	33½ in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	
DITTO	37 effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	£. s.		s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	29 to 74	Hops per cwt...	90 to
Foreign.....	00 .. 00	Hay per load..	115 .
Rye.....	30 .. 34	Beef, per stone....	4s
Barley.....	28 .. 32	to 5s. 6d.	
Malt.....	46 .. 51	Mutton 5s.	0d. to 6s
Oats.....	14 .. 22	Veal	4s. 8d. to 6s
Pease (white)....	36 .. 39	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 5s
Beans (horse)....	31 .. 35	Tallow	3s
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 55	Average of Sugar	
Seconds.....	45 .. 50	per cwt.....	38s
Coals per chal....	34 .. 40	Salt, per Bushel	14s.

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford Surrey, for the Month of July*, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Ther me Deg M.
8	☾	Fair Rain	s	s	29,78	29,78	66
9		Fine.	NW	NW	29,7	29,8	62
10		Rain.	NW	NW	29,7	29,57	64
11		Fair.	W	W	29,77	29,8	60
12		Fine.	NW	NW	29,82	29,85	59,5
13		Fair.	NW	NW	29,83	29,82	60
14		Fa. Ra. Fi.	NE	NE	29,95	29,95	61

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *Last*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 3.] *London, Saturday, 24th July,* 1802. [Price 10D.

CONTENTS.—*Mr. Huskisson*, 65. *Royal Interview at Memel*, 71. *St. Domingo, state of it*, 73. *French general Treatment of Americans*, 75. *Buonaparté's Propl.* 14th *July*, 77. *Lett. of Gen. Leclerc*, 78. *Guadaloupe*, 79. *Intrw.* 85. *Riot at Hull*, 86. *Monsieur at Edinburgh*, 87. *Earl of Fife*, 88. *Elec.* 90. *Tr. of Antwerp*, 92.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The observations, (see p. 54) relative to Mr. William Huskisson, having, by a friend of that gentleman, been thought to contain certain statements and insinuations, injurious to Mr. Huskisson, and unfounded in fact, I requested this friend to furnish me with a memorandum, pointing out the errors, which he conceived me to have committed. This he very readily complied with, declaring, however, in the most positive manner, that his application to me was entirely an act of his own, and by no means at the desire or suggestion of the party or parties concerned. This memorandum I here insert.

"Mr. Huskisson never was, directly or "indirectly, either in the capacity of clerk "(as stated in the Register of Saturday the "17th instant) or in any other capacity "whatever, connected with any banking-"house or commercial establishment of any "description, either at Paris, or in any "other quarter of the world.—He was not "promoted to be a clerk in the Alien Of-"fice; but when the Alien Act was first "passed in 1793, was appointed to super-"intend the execution of it (a situation "held jointly with the Under Secretaries of "State in the Home Department) with the "necessary assistance of clerks, instead of "being himself one of those clerks. In "March 1795, he became Under Secretary "of State, and continued in that situation "until May 1801, when he obtained leave "to retire. The rewards he has received "were granted, it is presumed, for his ser-"vices in this latter capacity. No Under "Secretary of State, at least for a consider-"able number of years past, has retired "without such a provision, and most of "them have held at the same time with "that situation, other offices of emolument. "Mr. Huskisson has not enjoyed his pen-"sion from the period of its being granted, "it being a contingent one to commence "when he ceased to be Under Secretary of "State, and to terminate whenever he "might hold any other office or offices, of "equal amount. As long as he remained "in office he not only received nothing "on account of the pension, but the "amount of the salary annexed to the "agency of the Cape, of which he did the "duty, was deducted from that to which "he was entitled as Under Secretary of "State, so that in fact no additional charge "was incurred by that appointment. With "respect to the agency of Ceylon, an ap-"pointment of some trouble and responsi-"bility, attended also with some expense, "it was given to Mr. Huskisson so lately "that he has not at this hour received one "farthing on account of it. The same "may be said of his pension, owing in this "latter case to the arrears of the Civil "List; and the real value of it after pay-"ing fees and deductions can scarcely ex-"ceed £900 per annum. The provision, "therefore, made for Mr. Huskisson can "neither be considered unusual in itself, "nor equal perhaps to what has been done "in the case of any gentleman who pre-"ceded him in the office of Under Secre-"tary of State, and held it an equal length "of time. As Mr. Huskisson's birth is "more than once mentioned in a particular "manner, in the paper above alluded to, "although perhaps no reflection was in-"tended on that score, it may not be amiss "to add, that he can scarcely feel it any "mortification to avow that his father was "nothing more than a country gentleman, "or in other words, one of the honest "*yeomanry* of England, who lived respected "and beloved upon the estate he had in-"herited from his father, in the parish of "Bushbury in Staffordshire, and which in "the course of the entail, devolving at his "death to Mr. Huskisson, placed him at "least above dependance."

As I have had no desire to misrepresent facts, so I have no inclination to rest under the charge of misrepresentation; and, therefore, I must trouble my readers with a few observations on this memorandum.

1. It appears (for I am by no means inclined to question the veracity of the writer of the memorandum), that Mr. Huskisson "never was connected with any banking-"house, or commercial establishment of "any description," either at Paris or else-

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where, and, consequently, Lord Gower could not, as mentioned in the Register, find him "a banker's clerk at Paris." But, is this circumstance very material; and is not the mis-statement rather in favour of Mr. Huskisson than against him? I had always understood, that he was living, at Paris, with his uncle, who was an apothecary, and that he himself, followed the same business; but, having, just before the Register went to the press, been told, that he was a banker's clerk, and regarding that as somewhat the more reputable profession of the two, I adopted it in preference to the other. Since, however, I received the above memorandum I have made particular inquiry, and I am now fully convinced, that Mr. Huskisson's uncle was an apothecary, and that the nephew, sometimes at least, prepared the prescriptions, and visited the patients, in which latter office, it seems, he was first noticed by Lady Gower, in consequence of his attendance on some of her ladyship's female domestics. That he should be at Paris, without any occupation at all, appeared to me extremely improbable, and most persons will allow, that (with the exception of the learned and the warlike professions, to neither of which he ever belonged) I could not have fixed one less degrading than that in which I stated him to be; therefore, my mis-statement in this respect, though very immaterial, is, as I before observed, in favour of Mr. Huskisson rather than against him.

2. He was not "*promoted* to be a *clerk* in "the *Alien Office*," but was, it seems, appointed to *superintend* the execution of the Alien Act, passed in 1793, a situation held jointly with the Under Secretaries of State in the Home Department, and having clerks under him, "instead of being himself one "of those clerks." The real state of the case is this: Mr. Nepean was, when the Alien Law passed, Under Secretary of State in the Home Department, at the head of which was Mr. Dundas. Mr. N. could speak little or no French, and, therefore, it was necessary to have in the office some person capable of interpreting, translating, and, occasionally, writing in, that language. This was the employment of Mr. Huskisson, and I appeal to the reader whether I detract from the dignity of his situation in describing him to be "a clerk in the Alien "Office." As to *superintending* the execution of the Alien Act, *jointly* with the Under Secretaries of State, I know not what to make of the phrase. The words have no definitive meaning as they are here applied. That Mr. Huskisson was a subaltern to the Under Secretaries of State, I believe, his friend will not deny: what, then, could he be more than a clerk?

3. The pension and sinecures bestowed on him are represented as granted for services as *Under Secretary of State*, and are stated not to be greater in amount than the emoluments enjoyed by other Under Secretaries upon their retiring from office. In the first place, I by no means approve of the word *retire* as applied to Mr. Huskisson "When he *obtained leave to retire*"!!! Would not one imagine, that the personage here spoken off were a duke, at least? "Obtain "ed leave to retire"! In dudgeon, perhaps because the royal ear was become deaf to his counsels? What did he retire for? Pensions and sinecures are, as far as relates to the subaltern offices of government, provided for men, who are, in a manner, worn out in the service, or who, in consequence of the new arrangements of a ministry, are displaced: they never were intended as a provision for those, who may choose to quit their offices. Because Mr. Dundas might think it necessary to resign, shall Mr. Huskisson be suffered to resign also? With all my heart, provided that he carries no pension with him; but, if he receives the public money, we have a right to follow him into his retreat. In fact, nothing can be more presumptuous than this affectation of *obtaining leave to retire* (on the part of such a person as Mr. Huskisson), on account of any opinions entertained in the Cabinet —As to Mr. Huskisson having been, for the far greater part of the time, a *mere clerk* I still persist in my assertion. He went with Mr. Dundas at the creation of the new office, and was promoted; but he never was an *Under Secretary of State*; if he had, he could not have been in Parliament at the same time with Mr. Frere. He might be called Under Secretary of State, he might have a salary suitable to such a situation, but, without an open and scandalous violation of the law, he could not be an Under Secretary of State; and, if not a Secretary he must have been a clerk. The fact is, that the business transacted by him was not that of a Secretary of State. It had nothing in common with state affairs. He was the first person that filled the new and undescript office; as to *precedents*, thereto none can be found. But, were I to acknowledge him to have been an Under Secretary of State, I should still insist, that the provision made for him was, and is, all circumstances considered, totally unprecedented

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On whatever scale it is computed, it is out of all proportion, and must, by every candid man, be allowed to be a shameful waste of public money.

4. Never did I mean to say, or to insinuate, that Mr. Huskisson enjoyed his pension and sinecures *during the time that he was in office*; nor do I think that my words will bear any such interpretation. Indeed, upon a re-perusal of page 54 of the Register, I perceive, that it is absolutely impossible to understand me as having added the pension and sinecures to the emoluments of the office; for, I state the amount of the whole at £2,400; whereas with the addition of the official salary and emoluments, the total would have been £4,400, and perhaps much more. I meant to confine myself, and I think I did confine myself, to the emoluments received by Mr. Huskisson, *since he "obtained leave to retire,"* I state that he has taken care to secure to himself £1,200 for life; that he is furthermore in the enjoyment of £600 a year for the Agency of Ceylon, and also £600 for the Agency of the Cape, which last he will, of course, lose, but which he will, however, enjoy from the time he "obtained leave to retire" 'till the last hour that we shall hold the Cape, and perchance for a *few hours* longer.—As to the pension being *in arrear*, does Mr. Huskisson's friend really suppose, that that circumstance will induce one to believe, that the pension is of uncertain value? And with regard to the subtraction on account of fees, &c. &c. what estate is there which is not liable to deductions, &c.? When Mr. Huskisson's friend talks of his real estate of £500 a year, he certainly means the full rent of it, undiminished by taxes and expenses. I did not state that Mr. Huskisson's pension amounted to so much *net*: I merely said it was a pension of £1,200 a year. It will be recollected too, that, it was not so much the positive as the comparative magnitude of his provision, which formed the subject of my complaint. It was not so much that £1,800 a year had been bestowed on Mr. Huskisson, as that he had obtained *nearly as much again as the defender of Acre*. If Mr. H.'s pension be in arrear, so is Sir Sidney Smith's; if the former be really worth no more then £900, the latter is worth no more than about £780. But, it is not pretended, that the agency suffers any considerable diminution, and, therefore, it is by no means unfair to conclude, that Mr. Huskisson receives from the public purse a reward of *double* the magnitude of that received by Sir Sidney Smith! The result of the enquiry is this: while Mr. Huskisson was in office, he received, in various ways, about £3,000 a year; since he has "obtained leave to retire," he has hitherto received (or it is become *due* to him, which is the same thing) £2,400 a year; but, as the Agency of the Cape will, *perhaps*, drop off in nine or ten months after our final evacuation of it, his permanent receipt from the public will be £1,800.

5. Most assuredly no *reflection* on the *birth* of Mr. Huskisson was intended by me. I said his birth did not entitle him to such extraordinary favours; but, is it not evident, that I only meant to say, that he did not belong to the *nobility* or the *gentry* of the kingdom? I did not say, or insinuate, that his birth was disreputable: I said nothing that could render the explanation of his friend at all necessary; and, indeed, I am almost tempted to believe, that he has feigned a misconception of my words, for the purpose, not of defending Mr. Huskisson against any charge of *dishonourable* birth, but for that of inculcating a belief that his birth was *honourable*, that his immediate ancestors were of the *gentry* of England. With this view it undoubtedly is, that we are told, "His father was a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, or, in "*other words*, one of the HONEST YEOMANRY of England, from whom he received an estate, which placed him above "dependance." *Honest yeomanry* are not only *other words* than *country gentleman*, but they convey quite another meaning. I am very willing to allow that Mr. Huskisson's ancestors were *yeomen*, and as to their *honesty*, no one, as far as I know, ever presumed to call it in question; but, as to *country gentleman*, especially when spoken of at Whitehall or at St. Stephen's, I can by no means give that title to a farmer of £500 a year. This income, it seems, placed Mr. Huskisson "*above dependance*." What proof have we of this? Is it to be found in the records of the Alien Office, or of the war department? Is it to be found in the list of pensions or of sinecure places? Is it to be found in the circumstances under which the pension was obtained, or in the motives from which the tenure of it was changed? As a farmer, as a yeoman, indeed, he might have been above dependance; but, I imagine it would be very difficult to point out one person in all England more dependant than he now is, if unmeritedly living upon the public money can be called dependance.

Having thus endeavoured to obviate the objections made to any statement respecting Mr. Huskisson, I must beg leave to say, that I cannot but regard those objections as

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being rather vexatious; and that, instead of complaints on account of my hostility, I really should have expected thanks for my forbearance. Mr. Huskisson must know, that I could have touched upon several subjects, which I have even now passed over in silence. The very positive assertion, that he has never been concerned, either at Paris or elsewhere, in any *commercial affairs* might easily have been combatted, and that too with the introduction of circumstances not altogether uninterresting to the public. I have said nothing about the secret history of the pension: "*Tiens, Gil Blas, je te donne cela pour cadeau de noces.*" Mr. Dundas is no very feeble imitator of that faithful friend and generous patron, the Duke of Lerma; nor do I think it is at all over-rating either the talents or integrity of Mr. Huskisson to say, that he, in certain points, bears a strong resemblance to honest Gil Blas. There was, unfortunately, no parliament in Spain, or, to render the semblance more complete, Gil might possibly have been a law-giver.

Let it not be forgotten, that I, a long time, forbore to meddle with Mr. Huskisson and his emoluments, and that I was at last provoked to break silence by nothing short of an attempt to thrust him into parliament in opposition to the brother of Sir Sidney Smyth. It cannot be supposed that I had, till the other day, been ignorant of Mr. Huskisson's history; yet, till then, I never did write a word on the subject; nor should I have done it at all, had he been content to use his acquisitions for any other purposes than those of a public and political nature. To attempt to force him upon the country as a member of parliament, was the very last excess of indiscretion: it was an act of which no one would have suspected Mr. Pitt; and, indeed, it is said, that it ought to be ascribed solely to Mr. Dundas, whose domineering influence has, in too many instances, thwarted the will of his more scrupulous and less selfish colleague. What are the *motives* of Mr. Dundas in heaping favours upon Mr. Huskisson, I shall not, in this place, enquire; but, that they are very powerful no one will doubt, and I am far from being certain, that they may not become the subject of some subsequent page of the Register.

WM. COBBETT.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Memel, June 12.—To shew honour to our distinguished visitors, the town has had two triumphal arches erected; one before the gate of Lieban, representing a portico, the entablature of which was supported by four groups of pillars, and in the frize the inscription—*Alexandro et Frederico Wilhelmo diis a Deo junctis civitas.* In the middle of the attic were the arms of the town—a savage leaning on an anchor, wreathed with flowers. The other triumphal entry, at the end of Linden street, was formed by two obelisks entwined with garlands of flowers, one bearing the Russian, the other the Prussian flag. On the 10th his Imperial Majesty arrived, under the name of a "*Comte de Russie,*" at Bolangen, the last frontier town of Russia, three German miles hence, where he was received by Comte Kalkreath, General of Cavalry, who accompanied his Majesty to the entrance of the town. On the way from Bolangen to Bommels, half a mile off, the royal state coach with eight horses, was ready to receive him; he was accompanied by several piquets of hussars, placed there for the purpose, and thence to the town by a squadron of dragoons, and by the merchants' guard of this place. His Majesty did not accept the state coach, but remained in his chariot, attended only by an Adjutant. His Imperial Majesty had put on the Insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle. He was saluted from the camp with 100 guns. His Majesty the King, ornamented with the Russian Order of St. Andrew, rode in the mean time on horseback, about a quarter of a mile from the town. On perceiving the Emperor's chariot, his Majesty dismounted, as did the Emperor likewise, and the two illustrious personages welcomed and embraced each other. The Emperor then mounted one of the King's led horses, and the two Monarchs rode side by side, followed by their united suites (all on horseback) into the town. Before the house of Mr. Lorck, where the King and Queen were lodged, Her Majesty the Queen came to meet the illustrious guest, and surprised him with an embrace, which the Emperor returned by pressing her Majesty's hand to his lips. He remained to dinner with their Majesties, and about four o'clock, accompanied by the Royal Princes, went to his apartments at the Merchant Glagon's, in Linden-street. Before entering, his Imperial Majesty passed twice before the guard of one hundred and twenty-seven men and four officers, and inspected the grenadiers with visible satisfaction. He then presented Major Von Bulow with a gold snuff-box set in pearls, and each of the officers commanding the guard with a gold ditto, and each

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private with a ducat. He conversed much with Major Von Bulow, concerning the arming and equipment of the Prussian grenadiers, and requested that the greatest part of the guard might be dismissed; which was immediately complied with, only 50 men being left for this purpose. His Imperial Majesty passed the evening also with their Majesties, the bands of three regiments performing Turkish music before the house all the time. On Friday morning he was present at the review, at the end of which his Majesty the King placed himself at the head of the infantry, saluted the Emperor, and then rejoined him; on which the whole line passed before the two Sovereigns. The Emperor dined again with the King, and afterwards both, accompanied by the Queen, who rode between them, all three on horseback, took a ride to the camp, and afterwards through a great part of the town. To-day their Majesties have again dined together, and in the evening are expected to honour with their presence a ball, given by the Company of Merchants trading abroad. The proprietor of the house where his Imperial Majesty is lodged receives 200 roubles per diem. The price of all provisions is immensely risen. The ladies of the Prussian court have had the honour of a visit from the Emperor, under the name of Comte de Russie. Their Royal Highnesses the Princes Henry and William, the King's brothers, have received from him the Russian Order of St. Andrew, and different noblemen of the Court other Russian Orders: in like manner the King has honoured several persons of the Russian Court.

June 16.—The departure of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia was at first appointed for the 15th instant; it did not, however, take place till to-day, when, between ten and eleven o'clock, he set out on his return, under the discharge of 100 pieces of cannon, with the same retinue, and in the same order as he arrived. About noon the King and Queen of Prussia likewise left this city, amidst the loudest acclamations and blessings of the populace, and proceeded to Tilse, whence they will go by the way of Takehmen and Rastenberg to Jerutren.

The tour of the Emperor of Russia through his States resembles a triumphal procession.

St. Domingo.—The present state of the French colony, in this island, may be guessed at by the following letter from an American merchant, dated Cape François, 25th April, 1802.

Dear Sir,

I am about to depart from this iniquitous hole, consequently this will be the last letter you will receive from me for some time—then

"Ye infernal Gods, who rule the shades below,
"Chaos and Phlegethon, the realms of woe,
"Grant what I have heard, I may to light expose;
"Secrets which earth, and night, and hell inclose."

My last to you was on the 5th inst. per the brig Favourite, Captain Brown—that morning Mr. Couriée, a venerable and respectable planter, stood upon the pillory, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun for six hours in the market place, and imprisoned for months in a dungeon, for demanding (as I was informed) the services of one of his former slaves, which he had recognized in Paul Louverture's detachment.—This worthy old man is rich, and also a royalist; they expected that rather than remain so exposed, he would part with *a few of his dollars*—he however disappointed them.

9th. General Leclerc returned from Port Republican, and I believe the following morning; Mr. Lear waited on him, no doubt to congratulate his Excellency on his safe return. But lo! before the good-natured man had time to make a *congé*, he was told his functions as Consul were no longer valid. This salute was to be sure *a sideration* to the feelings of Mr. L. who had hitherto done every thing in his power to please: a harsh measure, considering that he was very smooth, and very docile in submitting to all the imperious mandates, that have been issued respecting the Americans—Towards evening the arms were pulled down—and the hotel shut.

12th. His Britannic Majesty's ship Cerberus, Captain M'Namara, came in, with a letter from Admiral Campbell, cruizing off the Mole, to the Captain-General, and was saluted accordingly.

13th. Captain Rogers, late of the United States navy, and Captain Davidson, of the ship St. Domingo Packet, were arrested, and confined, first, in a dungeon, and afterwards at liberty, to mix with the common vagabonds in the prison yard. The allegations against these unfortunate gentlemen, have not yet officially transpired; there are however many surmises in circulation, respecting the former, which ought not to preponderate with his friends on the Continent. The real cause of their barbarity towards him, is in consequence of a letter which was written to a person of the name

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of Clemont, who at present acts as Harbour Master. Words took place, and a challenge ensued, which Clemont refused, but applied to the Commander in Chief for protection. *Rather honourable to be sure!* however, when Captain Rogers goes back, I presume from his well-known courage, the author of the letter will have to lament his officious rashness, and malicious conduct. Regarding the latter, the general says, "the name of "his ship has given uneasiness to the "army." They are denied pen and ink, and the sight of their friends.—Captain D. is in a bad state of health, and probably cannot long sustain so much cruelty. The general's conduct towards these gentlemen is flagitious and insulting, and may be compared to those of a mischievous boy, who tortures and mutilates a wretched animal, and smiles at its agonies; had the subtle general the good fortune to be born in Turkey, with the same education and bent of temper, his name might have been handed down to posterity as a notable *Bashaw*, and his merits displayed by the number of his tails. I am aware he aims at greatness of character—this I am afraid he will never attain. I am however ready to pronounce him an extraordinary minion of caprice. He may, it is true, at a future period (if he subdues the Cosmopolites) be called an *uncommon* man. But he will never be considered as a *great man*, or a *great general*; his endeavours to hand down his name to future ages, may be about equally successful with those of the antient candidate for fame, who, to make himself talked of by posterity, burned the temple of Ephesus. It may however stand conspicuous on the historic page of the colonies; but it must be with the unenviable distinction of a character, possessed with the most arbitrary and oppressive spirit that ever was invested with delegated authority—He who should turn over the pages, in which are transcribed his mandates, arrêtés, and proclamations, would experience some affection of his risible muscles, was not his disposition for mirth repressed by indignation; and did not false professions and ridiculous assertions, excite the strongest emotions of contempt for the duplicity and detestation of the principles of the author, and those employed under his authority.

One instance I fancy will suffice to elucidate their want of integrity, even in the most solemn engagements. Captain Fuller, of the brig Constellation, arrived with a cargo of lumber prior to the destruction of the Cape, which he afterwards sold by contract to the French contractor, at 72 dollars per M. but they would not pay him more than 30 dollars; the contractor's motive was no doubt to pocket the difference; he has often asserted that he came from France to make his fortune. Nothing can be done without a bribe: for every 1000 dollars there is a poundage of 2½ per cent. besides 1 per cent. for provisions, and other deductions. There is another instance which I cannot help noticing: the ship Ann, Captain Terry, of New-York, arrived here about a month before the Cape was destroyed, in ballast, to load a cargo of coffee; the Captain had for his private adventure ten kegs of gunpowder, which were regularly reported at the Custom-house, both before, and after the French arrived; the magnanimous General Boyer granted permission to have them landed; they were accordingly deposited in the arsenal; the government were to have it at a certain price, provided they wanted it.

17th February. All the ports in the island were declared in a state of *blockade*, the Cape and Port Republican excepted, the 3d article declares all warlike stores, brought after that period liable to condemnation. 8th March she was seized, and on the 18th April condemned. A copy of the condemnation I have obtained, which, for its modesty, resembles the countenance of its author.

LIBERTY!!! EQUALITY!!!

In the name of the French Government.

ARRÊTÉ.

The ship Hanna, of New-York, arrived here with a cargo of powder, it is evident she came to supply the rebels with the means of supporting themselves against the authority of the mother country.

In consequence of, and after all the commercial regulations which prohibits the trade of powder,

The General in Chief orders!!!

Art. I. The ship Hanna, of New-York, is confiscated; the cargo and hull shall be sold, and the fund arising from the sale, shall be lodged in the military chest.

Art. II. The Commissary charged with the sale of the ship Monton, shall proceed to that of the ship Hanna.

Art. III. Merchandize remaining on board shall be landed, and immediately after, the sale shall be made known by public notice, and shall take place ten days after the publication.

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Art. IV. The hull of the vessel shall also be sold, if it is not found to be useful to the army.

Art. V. General Ledoyen, President of the Commission, is charged with the execution of the present arrêté; which the Chief of the Etat-Major will cause to be printed.

Dated. Head-Quarters at the Cape, 24th Germinal, 10th year of the French Republic.

The General in Chief,

Leclerc.

Paris, July, 14.

A PROCLAMATION.

The Consuls of the Republic to the French.

"Frenchmen,

"The 14th of July began, in 1789, the new destiny of France. After 13 years of labour, the 14th of July returns still more dear to you, and more august to posterity. You have conquered every obstacle, and your destiny is fulfilled. Within, all acknowledge the Empire of Equality: without, there is no longer any enemies who menace your safety and your independence; no longer any French colony refusing to submit to the laws, without which it cannot exist as a colony. In the bosom of your ports, commerce calls forth your industry, and offers you the riches of the universe. In the interior, the genius of the republic is fruitful in all the germs of prosperity.

"Frenchmen, that this epoch may be for us and for our children, the epoch of a durable happiness; that this peace may be embellished by the union of virtue, learning, and the arts; that institutions suitable to our character may environ our laws with an impenetrable intrenchment; that youth, eager to receive instruction, may learn in our lyceas to know their duties and their rights; that the history of our misfortunes may preserve us from the repetition of past errors; and that this edifice of grandeur, raised by the courage of our citizens, may be preserved in the bosom of wisdom and of concord:—

"Such is the wish and hope of the French government: second its efforts, and the felicity of France will be as immortal as its glory.

"*Buonaparté*, The First Consul."

"*Buonaparté*, First Consul of the Republic, orders that the above proclamation be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, published, printed, and posted up in all the departments of the Republic.

"Given at Paris, at the Palace of Government, the 10th July, 1802.

"*Buonaparté*, The First Consul."

Extract of a Letter from General Leclerc, dated St. Domingo, 11th June, to the Minister of Marine.

"Citizen Minister,

"I informed you by one of my last dispatches, of the pardon which I was disposed to grant to General Toussaint. This ambitious man has not ceased to conspire secretly since the moment I pardoned him. He only surrendered because Generals Christophe and Dessalines saw that he had deceived them, and refused to carry on the war any longer; but seeing that he was abandoned by them, he endeavoured to organize an insurrection among the cultivators, and to make them rise *en masse*. The information I received from all the Generals, even from General Dessalines, of his conduct since his surrender, left me no doubt upon the subject. I intercepted the letters he had written to a man of the name of Fontaine, who was his agent at the Cape. These letters prove beyond a doubt, that he was conspiring to regain his former influence in the colony. He placed considerable reliance upon the sickness which prevailed in the army. Under these circumstances, I did not think it right to give him time to effect his criminal purposes. I ordered him to be arrested: this was not easy to be accomplished; it was nevertheless effected by the skilful measures of General Brunet and of Citizen Ferrari, my Aid-de-Camp, whom I had entrusted with this business.

"I have sent to France, with all his family, this man, who is so profoundly perfidious, and who with so much hypocrisy, has done us so much evil. The government will see what is fit to be done with him.

"The arrest of General Toussaint has given rise to new assemblies of the rebels: two chiefs of the insurgents have been already arrested, whom I have ordered to be shot; and one hundred of his principal adherents have been also arrested; a part of whom I have put on board the frigate La Muiron, which I have ordered to sail for the Mediterranean. The remainder have been disposed of in the different ships of the squadron.

"I am continually occupied in the reorganization of the colony, with as little force as possible; but the excessive heat, and the maladies which afflict us, render the labour extremely difficult. I expect with

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impatience the month of September, when the season will restore our activity.

"The departure of Toussaint has caused a general joy at the Cape.

"The Commissary of Justice, Montperon, is dead.—The Colonial Prefect, Benezech, is dangerously ill. The Adjutant-Commandant, Dampierre, who was a young officer of great promise, is also dead.

"I have the honour to salute you,

"*Leclerc.*"

The General in Chief to the Minister of Marine.

Head-Quarters, Basse Terre, June 8.

After giving a detailed account of operations to the 1st, as in the preceding dispatch, the General proceeds to give an account of subsequent operations.

General Joubert pursued the blacks who evacuated Fort Charles, with 700 men, and came up with them the moment in which they joined the intrenched post of Dollet, which was carried at the point of the bayonet. A part of the negroes saved themselves in the Mornes of the point of the old fort; 300 of the 15th hemmed them in. The 400 men remaining of General Gobert, proceeded to Grande Terre, whither the rebel chiefs, Ignace and Palerme, had returned with a new assemblage of armed blacks, to massacre, they said, the white inhabitants, and burn the habitations, which they had already done in Capesterre, the richest part of the island.

The passage of the river Salée had been vigorously defended by the troops of the 37th and 82d left at Grande Terre, but they could not check the too numerous enemy; every hour they increased in strength, got possession even of the redoubt Bembriche, which fortunately they found disarmed, and marched to Point-à-Pitre. General Gobert joined to the troops come with him from Basse Terre, all those left at Grande Terre, and the men of the National Guard, proceeded against the enemy, and forced them to concentrate themselves in Fort Bembriche; the cannon threw them into confusion; our brave soldiers, carried away with the desire of conquest, penetrated into the redoubt, made a horrible carnage, and in an instant all the brigands were either dispersed or destroyed. Ignace was found among the dead. The chief of brigade, Pelage, continued during this action to give proof of a courage bordering on heroism.

The 5th and 6th of June were employed in rallying the troops, and reconnoitring towards the Parc and Matonbas, excellent retreats of the insurgents, where the dispositions they had added to the natural defences, appeared to enable them perfectly to refuse any disadvantageous contest, and to spread themselves, by sudden irruptions, through every part of Basse Terre.

It was necessary, then, to increase our efforts of every kind. The resolute enemy whom we had beaten with so much trouble, determined to employ their last resources, which rage and despair had rendered very powerful. The French soldiers acquired also strong resources, from the desire of supporting their reputation, and of proving that they are irresistible, when they are directed to punish, and to quell rebellion.

The enemy had their advanced post in front of the habitation of Grichard, at the top of the angle formed by the Black River, and the River des Pères, the banks of which are steep, and more than fifty feet deep; their mass being placed at the vast habitation of Auglemont, defended by rivers and fortified by parapets, armed with cannon and palisades, an attack in front was soon seen to be impossible; it was necessary then to divide our force, and to endeavour to adopt our measures so as not to be forced to attack separately.

On the 8th in the morning the 2d battalion of the 66th set off from Legret, and by roads on dreadful precipices, they cleared the Mornes Houel, Colin, and the habitation Lasaile, from whence they drove the enemy, and arrived, in pursuing them, at Presbytere.

The 3d battalion of the 66th ascended by the Morne Louis, came up with the enemy, drove them before them, gained with inconceivable ardour, the Morne Fisc-Macieux, defended by artillery which they destroyed.

The Chief of Battalion Delacroix, was then struck by a mortar. I immediately sent to replace him the Chief of Squadron Maucolmble, my aid-de-camp; but the brave Delacroix wished at this glorious moment to remain near his battalion, which, proud of having him still with it, crossed the river of Peres, and reached, after a long train of obstacles surmounted, the position of Presbytere, constantly driving the enemy upon his centre at Auglemont.

The reserve of grenadiers, commanded by my aid de-camp, Capt. Crabbe, attempted a very useful diversion by an effort to arrive at Grichard by the Mountain Constantin, but those who were there surrendered without firing a shot, and Capt. Crabbe had his horse killed under him. The grenadiers

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were then forced to abandon the enterprize. I was then sure that the enemy could not effect his retreat by this latter passage, which our grenadiers defended. We were also well assured, that the posts of Grichard, and the troops of Anglemont, could not avoid an engagement with the two battalions of the 66th, which had joined upon the heights of Presbytere.

After a moment's rest, these two battalions marched with mutual emulation in columns, against Anglemont. They braved, for a quarter of an hour, a shower of balls and bullets without being able to return the fire. Nothing could stop them, and several had already entered the entrenchments, when the enemy, pushed to extremity, set fire to their powder and blew themselves up, to the number of three hundred, among whom was Delgresse. This scene was shocking. Each party stood stupified for a moment, but we soon thought of taking advantage of the disorder which such an event always occasions, and the day terminated by the entire destruction of all the enemy who escaped the explosion.

We lost in this day the advanced posts of two columns, and Lieutenant Faquiant, who entered Anglemont the moment before it blew up. Captain Petit was severely wounded. This last affair has destroyed the revolt in its source.

The Chiefs are killed. All the rest have been disarmed, have submitted, and returned to labour.

I salute you with respect.

Richepance.

MINISTRY OF MARINE.

The General in Chief to the Minister of Marine.

"*Head-Quarters at the Cape, June 15.*

"The colony continues to enjoy the greatest tranquillity. Some assemblages which were forming, have been dispersed. The letters annexed from the Generals who command in the different departments, will inform you to what a length that miserable Toussaint carried his deceit. Instead of keeping his promise to remain quiet, not to meddle in any business, or leave his plantation, he went in the night into different parts of the island, contrived plots, and held meetings. He had an account sent to him constantly of the effects of sickness upon the army, and watched its progress with satisfaction. I have cut short all his plots. Toussaint should have arrived before this at least. I have arrested the Generals who conspired with him. As for the rest, the Cape is rebuilding with surprizing activity. All the inhabitants of the Spanish part, whom Toussaint's invasion had driven away, are returning home. Diseases make some ravages at the Cape; but, fortunately, they are not general in the island. Citizen Benezech is dead. I regret in him the loss of a civil officer, who joined to long experience, zeal, and great devotion for the government. I recommend his family to you, as they appear to stand in need of your assistance; for, notwithstanding the important functions which he filled, he died poor.

"I have the honour to salute you,

"*Leclerc.*"

The General in Chief of the Army of Guadaloupe to the Minister of War.

"*Basseterre, May 25, 1802.*

"Citizen Minister,

"I have only delayed for so long a period to give you an account of what has passed here, in order that I might, when I inform you that we had found rebels to combat, announce to you at the same time, that they were vanquished.

"On the 7th, we effected our disembarkation at Gosier, and at the Port of Point-à-Pitre. At the latter place we had every reason to believe that we should meet with resistance from the batteries of l'Islet-à-Cochon, and those of the Forts of Fleur d'Epée and l'Union.

"Two ships anchored before the Gosier, and disembarked their troops, who immediately afterwards were ordered to march upon the Morne Mascatte, in order to take the Fort Fleur d'Epée in the rear, and cut off its communication with the redoubts Bimbridge and Stivenson. The troops disembarked at the port of the Point, were to march to the River Salée, to take possession of the Fort de la Victoire, and then of the Fort l'Union.

"All our dispositions were, however, useless; they were expecting us on the quay, where they received us with cries of "Vive la Republique! Vive Buonaparté!"—The troops formed themselves on the Place de la Victoire, where I found Pelage, who assured me of the entire submission of the whole island. I ordered him to deliver up all his posts at the Forts of Fleur d'Epée, Union, and la Victoire, and also the redoubts Bimbridge and Stivenson. He promised me that he would give orders in consequence, and also to assemble under the redoubt Stivenson all his troops in this

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part of the island, and which I wished to review the same evening.

"The French troops assembled upon the Place la Victoire, under the Fort of that name, where the detachments were formed which were to occupy the different Forts, and which set off for that purpose. A moment after, I was informed that Ignace, the Commandant of the Fort of la Victoire, would not suffer the troops I had sent to enter the Fort. I ordered them to enter at the *pas de charge*, and to make prisoners of Ignace and his troops. The Commandant of the detachment beat the charge, but Ignace retreated with his troops by a gate opposite to that by which we entered.

"During this time I proceeded with the rest of the troops under Fort Stivenson, the rendezvous assigned for the assembling of the black troops. The day had disappeared, and, in spite of the obscurity of the night, I perceived that a great number of black soldiers were spread about the country under arms. It then occurred to me, what I had often heard said, that Pelage was a traitor. Having arrived at the place of rendezvous, I found Pelage, who informed me that many of his officers, and a great number of his soldiers, had deserted him. I joined, however, those whom I found there, and spoke to them in terms suited to the occasion.

"Little satisfied with what I had seen amongst these troops, and with the desertion of others, I decided to embark those whom I had with me, in the night, and I informed them that I wished to have them with me in proceeding to Basse-Terre.

"On the next day I sent 600 men by land towards les Trois Rivieres, and re-embarked 1500 men in the frigates; but the Port being like a mouse-trap, a ship cannot make its way out, except when it is calm. A calm does not take place sometimes for several days, and is generally of so little duration, that rarely more than one vessel can get out. We were obliged therefore to transport the troops on board the ships anchored off Gosier, and much time being thus lost, added to contrary winds, we did not arrive before Basse-Terre until the 10th at noon. The discharges of cannon directed against us, left us no longer in doubt as to the situation of affairs. Being ready, however, either for peace or for war, we lost no time in disembarking.

"At the firss discharge of cannon, I sent a canoe with a letter to Pelage, borne by an officer of the colony.—Not seeing him return, the troops, which were placed in the chaloupes, rowed towards the shore, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the River Duplessis, under the fire of the batteries and musquetry. The valour of the troops was conspicuously displayed on this occasion, and I assure you they had much to do, to gain, during the day, the right bank of the River des Peres.

"During the night the troops all assembled on this bank, and at day-break they did not march, but run at the enemy. The position of the enemy on the left bank of the river, was agreed on all hands to be a very fine one, and the rebels were well armed. Their position was, however, forced in ten minutes; a part of the revolters threw themselves into Fort St. Charles, and another part gained the Mornes on our left: we pursued them towards Galion and the Bridge de Nosiere.

"General Serisia, who remained at Grande Terre, having had orders to assemble what troops he could in that part, now left what force he thought indispensably necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity in the country, and with the battalion of the 15th, which had come by land from Petit Bourg to Trois Rivieres, joined us by les Palmiste, and le Val Canard. Until then, we could not undertake any thing against the Fort.

"This junction being effected, we disembarked the cannon from the ships, and after inconceivable difficulties, having to drag them up very steep mountains, we at length formed a battery of 30 pieces of cannon, which was enabled to act on the 21st. On the 22d, at seven in the evening, the Fort was evacuated by the rebels, who profited by the non execution of my orders, by which 400 men were to have been placed on the left bank of the Galion, for the purpose of taking them prisoners.

"The army in consequence pursued this mob, which is now scattered through all the woods and mornes. Their Chiefs are Delgresse, Massuteau, Ignace, Gedeon, Palerme, Kironanne, &c.

"Some habitations are burnt, but there are no longer disorderly assemblies. I can now maintain my troops in the communes, and easily keep down all the brigands.

"In the affair of Basse-Terre, the army had 300 wounded, and about 100 killed.

"Many officers of all ranks have distinguished themselves. I shall take care to make them known to you in my next dispatch, and also to transmit to you the names of the killed and wounded.

"Rear-Admiral Bouvet will give you, no doubt, the details respecting the squadron.

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I do not think that the Rear-Admiral can make his squadron ready for sea in less than 15 days.

"Health and respect,
"*Richepance.*"

The Principal Commissary of Marine at Bourdeaux, has received the following letter from Citizen Benezech, the Colonial Prefect at St. Domingo. It is dated 12th May.

"I thank you, Citizen, for having transmitted to me the treaty of peace; it had, however, reached us by means of an advice-boat, which the minister sent out.—You will learn with pleasure, the complete pacification of this colony, in consequence of the submission of Toussaint, Christophe, and all the rebel chiefs. The town of the Cape is rebuilding with great activity, and its commerce is returning, and the coasting trade of the colony, which was suspended by the war, has recommenced.

"*Benezech.*"

Antwerp, July 15.—The Onslow, a small brig, is just arrived in our port from Newcastle, laden with coals, being the first arrival of this kind since government granted their importation.

We have the most flattering intelligence from our Deputies in Paris, respecting our port: they have been graciously received by the First Consul, and promised every thing they could desire, that may tend to the prosperity of this port. Nay, he even declared, at the conference held with them, that it was his intention to extend all the privileges and aid to Antwerp, of which it was susceptible, for bringing it to its ancient splendour. We therefore expect the like privileges which have been just granted to Marseilles.

The Deputies from Havre, who are labouring with might and main to disappoint our aspiring hopes, had the mortification of getting a refusal of their petitions; they having had an audience about the same time.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The following article is taken from the Demerara newspapers of the 28th May last:—Colonel Hislop has received, by the last packet, a letter from Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following copy he delays not in giving, for the information generally of those to whom it applies.

COPY.

Downing Street, April 2, 1802.

Sir,—It being the intention of his Majesty that lands should be granted at Trinidad, upon very favourable terms, to such British subjects as may be inclined to remove to that island with their negroes from the colonies which are shortly to be restored to the Batavian Republic; I am to desire that you will make this intention generally known to the British subjects resident in Demerara, and acquaint them that the specific terms upon which such grants are to be made, will very shortly be communicated to Governor Picton, who will, at the same time, receive instructions for carrying the intentions of government into execution.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Hobart.

To Colonel Hislop, &c. &c.

NORTH WALES SUMMER CIRCUIT.

Hugh Leycester, Esq. and *Robert Steele*, Esq.

Merionethshire.....	Tuesday, Aug.	17.
Carnarvonshire	Monday, ...	23.
Anglesey.....	Saturday, ...	28.

CHESTER.

James Mansfield, Esq. and *Francis Burton*, Esq.

Montgomeryshire.....	Saturday, Aug.	21.
Denbighshire	Friday, ...	27.
Flintshire.....	Thursday, Sept.	2.
Cheshire.....	Wednes.	8.

A most outrageous and alarming affray took place in the market-place of Hull, on Saturday evening, originating in a dispute respecting the price of green peas, a cart load of which a dealer in vegetables having purchased at the rate of 4d. per peck, attempted to retail to the people at an advance to 6d. or 7d. Irritated by this, the mob immediately destroyed the peas, and then proceeding to open hostility, overturned the stalls, without discrimination, of every person in the market.—Meeting with little or no opposition, the shops of the butchers next became their object: several of these they forced open, and plundered the contents, which were carried away by men, women, and children, some of whom being apprehended, were conveyed to the house of correction. Finding that several of their companions were in confinement, they attempted to rescue them by breaking open the doors of the Guildhall; which proving ineffectual, they turned their at-

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tention to the windows, every one of which they broke with the most determined fury.

Extract of a Letter from Edinburgh.

An occurrence in our playhouse on Monday last pleased me much. Monsieur of France came there, for the first time since his return to Edinburgh. He came privately—into a private box. The house rose up, and received him like one of our own princes—clapped and applauded—Called for *God save the King*—The Prince behaved as became him. He appeared deeply affected, but preserved the dignity of his character. The plaudits were renewed several times: people seemed to regret the appearance of the actors, and at the end of the play, when the Prince rose to go away, the house again rose up and saluted him in the kindest manner. The Prince told Mr. Manners next day that he never had received *an accueil* half so affectionate in any part of Europe—it overcame him, and he never will forget it.

I am vastly pleased with this effusion of Caledonian hospitality. It forms a most honourable contrast with the cold and really ungracious reception those unfortunate Princes met with, *even in every Court* of Germany—

Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Scoti
Nec jam exercitus equos nostrâ sol jungit ab urbe.

I was happy in seeing this welcome so universal and so hearty—there seemed no exception; the gallery as much as the boxes or pit. This, I think, looks comfortable.—The Prince is also much delighted with the continued visits of all ranks to see a fine picture of Mme. Elizabeth. He had put it in his closet—but it was viewed, by all who had permission, with so much sympathy and respect, that he brought it into a public room. Mme. Elizabeth was indeed a noble woman—a heroine and a saint. She and the poor Princess Lamballe were, I think, the most exalted characters for heroic attachment which that stage, so fertile in great virtues as well as horrid vices, has exhibited.—Mme. Lamballe, after getting safe to London, when she heard that the poor Queen was stopped at Varennes, went back to Paris, and went into prison with the Queen—the mean envious wretches could not bear the glare of this dazzling affection, and dragged the Princess to a separate prison. Her murderer, I am shocked to hear, has lately been caressed and rewarded by some of the thoughtless nobility of this kingdom! Good God! where will this end?

I am forgetting myself—but, one is disposed to say with his Grace of Canterbury *Heu quanto melius tui meminisse, &c.*

The following letter, addressed to the publisher of the Aberdeen Journal, appeared in his paper of Wednesday se'nnight:—

"Sir, *Duff-House*, 11*th July*, 1802

"As nothing is more meritorious than the rigid attention of clergymen to their duty, I desire you will be so good as insert the inclosed letter, which I received yesterday, in your paper; for although I am informed it has been very industriously circulated in their neighbourhood, yet I think it will be gratifying to the authors, that the public at large should benefit by it.

"I have the more satisfaction that I settled one of the reverend gentlemen on the crown presentation, translating him from a parish he was desirous to leave, where I understood he had met with gross and unmerited abuse.

"The fact is, I was at Mar Lodge early in May, to drink goat-whey. A labourer went from Rothiemay with the necessaries of life, and should have been there on Saturday, but, from never having travelled in that country before, and the horrid state of the road, he was on it on Sunday. On hearing of the circumstance, I sent one of my servants to the Rev. Mr. Farquarson, of Coldstone, requesting that gentleman to excuse the man, and that he would have the goodness to state his situation to the parish. I shall only add that it is a great blessing the *worthy clergyman*, the labourer, and myself are accountable to a much higher power than any *great Lord* or *great man* on earth.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"*Fife.*"

"*Glenmuick*, 23*d June*, 1802

"My Lord,

"It is with great concern that we subscribing find ourselves called upon, not only from the duty of our sacred functions, but to satisfy the imperious calls and importunities of our several sessions and people to represent to your lordship that on Sunday the 16th of May last, a servant with a loaded cart belonging to you passed through our several parishes, and through some of them even in time of divine worship.

"To pretend to describe the heinousness of the crime of breaking the Sabbath Day especially in these times of scepticism, infidelity, and impiety, would be an insult to your lordship's understanding. Sufficient

it, therefore, to say, that it is expected your lordship will have the goodness to signify your contrition to our several kirk sessions through which your cart passed on said day, for having given such offence to the religious and well disposed part of the community.

"We feel ourselves much hurt to be obliged to make this communication, but respect for your lordship induced us to it, before we took any other step. And the commands of *our Lord* allow no distinction of *persons*.

"We have the honour to be very respectively, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servants.

"*George Brown,*
"*Charles M'Hardy.*"

The Right Hon. the Earl of Fife, Duff-House.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The elections are yet the principal object in the domestic concerns of this country. We shall, when they are all closed, give a general view of the result; but we cannot, in the mean time, forbear to notice a few of the more prominent circumstances. In Kent the triumph of the jacobins has been complete; in any other point of view the rejection of Sir Edward Knatchbull is of no consequence. In Norfolk the poll has been closed. Mr Wodehouse is about 100 votes below his antagonist; but it is confidently expected that a scrutiny will bring him into Parliament. The Westminster election has ended in a way most humiliating to the boasting chairman of the Whig Club. His friends were, at the close of the poll, so intent upon carrying off the feelings, that they absolutely forgot to carry off "the man of the people," whom they left to walk to the Shakespeare Tavern, where, with a heart ready to burst, he blubbered out his complaints of neglect. The words "not chair me as usual," occur no less than thirteen times during a very short and interrupted speech, made on that melancholy occasion. In Middlesex, Sir Francis Burdett's mob are extremely noisy, and his freeholders are rather backward. The road from Piccadilly to the hustings at Brentford is a scene of confusion and sedition, such as never was beheld, except in the environs of Paris, during the most dreadful times of the revolution. At Nottingham and Coventry, and several other places, the mob have been guilty of atrocities without number; but, we are by no means disposed to think, that, upon the whole, the elections have been more turbulent than formerly. Sir Francis Burdett and no Bastile, have not yet produced half so much noise and mischief as Wilkes and Liberty; and, indeed, when we reflect on the latter part of Wilkes's life, we do not despair, notwithstanding present appearances, of seeing Sir Francis a very tractable and even a very loyal gentleman. But, though the elections have not produced more violence than formerly, they have served to bring forth a species of malignity, which never before existed, and which is directed against established authority in all its branches. It is not, as heretofore, a contest between such a gentleman and such a gentleman; but between the high and the low, the rich and the poor. In many places, at least, almost all the rich are on one side, and all the poor on the other. This is the case in Middlesex, where, with the exception of her grace the Duchess of Devonshire, there is not, perhaps, a single well-dressed decent woman in the interest of Sir Francis Burdett. The road to Brentford is lined with ragged wretches from St. Giles's, bawling out, Sir Francis Burdett and no Bastile, and at the hustings there are daily some half dozen convicts, who have served out their time in the house of correction, employed in amusing the rabble with execrations on the head of Mr. Mainwaring. At Nottingham, the rabble seem to have assumed a very decisive character. They hoisted the tricoloured cockade, played *ca ira*, the Marsellois hymn, and other revolutionary tunes; and, indeed, were to all appearances and all purposes, a republican revolutionary mob.

On the continent of Europe we behold Kings passing their time in trifling visits, while the master and the mortal enemy of Kings is paving the way to power greater even than that which he already enjoys. The fête of the 14th of July was purely military. A mere day of grand parade, and an illumination at night. The proclamation of Buonaparté, on the occasion, contains little more than a string of bombastical phrases, without sense or meaning, but quite good enough for those, to whom it was addressed. The minister of the interior has addressed a circular letter to the prefects, in which he styles Paris "the *capital of the world*," an appellation which has given great offence to certain high-spirited persons in London, who triumphantly ask Mr. Chaptal: "where "is your capital, credit, and commerce?" Perhaps Chaptal may tell them, that those things are not quite so necessary as they seem

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to imagine. Rome was "the capital of the "world" without invoices and bank-notes; and Carthage, had, at the time of her fall, an abundance of commerce and of wealth.

The rumours respecting a new constitution in France, may, probably, be well founded; but it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the subject. Buonaparté will take care, that every change shall strengthen his power. The present government is a military despotism, but not quite free from the plagues of *voting*. While that right exists, to any extent, the government will never be safe; and we may safely predict, that whatever changes are contemplated, they have for their principal object the total abolition of the "elective franchise," that most precious jewel of the democratic casket, from which has issued more and greater mischiefs than ever the pagans attributed to the box of Pandora.

Toussaint has, it seems, really arrived in France, and one would have thought, that such a fact might have led the negro-loving politicians in this country to allow, that the blacks of St. Domingo have, *somehow or other*, been subdued; but, no! no acknowledgment of this sort will ever be extorted from this perverse generation.

The slaves in North Carolina have, according to the last accounts from America, made another humble attempt at insurrection, and the London Morning Chronicle has informed its enlightened readers, that the people in the state of *New York* are much alarmed, lest the slaves in that state, who are very numerous, should take the contagion! To calm the fears of the people of New York (if our work should reach them in time), we beg leave to remind them, that there are no less than five states, measuring about 600 miles across, between North Carolina and New York; and, further, that if the contagion should at last reach the slaves in the latter state, and if the whole of them should rise in insurrection, and advance in a single body, the number is too small to resist the marshall's posse. The fact is, there never can be any serious danger in the negro-insurrections in the American states. The number of slaves is so much inferior to that of the whites, that attempts to free themselves must always end in the death of the ring-leaders.

Intelligence respecting Turkey has so often, indeed so uniformly, proved false, that we distrust every thing we hear respecting that quarter of the globe. The German papers abound with rumours and speculations about the destiny of the Turkish dominions; but the only way not to be deceived by these prints is never to place any reliance on their contents.

The new treaty, which is said to have been formed between Prussia and France, is a subject of deep speculation with the politicians of the Continent. What its object can be we know not. Germany has, one would imagine, been plundered of every thing worth having.

In the commercial world, the destiny of Antwerp is the most interesting object. The merchants of Havre-de-Grace, as well as of several other sea-ports of France, have remonstrated against the opening of the Scheldt and the re-establishment of Antwerp; but these remonstrances have hitherto been ineffectual. The new establishments in this city are, of course, not very numerous; they are not, however, unimportant. Several Dutch houses have established branches here, and some *English* ones have done the same. Merchandize in considerable quantities has already been imported, and there seems to want nothing but a clear indication of the resolution of the Consul to encourage and protect the trade of that city. As to *capital*, it will be found in London, if not to be found any where else. It will be drawn from the same source that now feeds the French army in the West-Indies. The Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Americans have all, indeed, contributed towards the supplying of that army, but, the far greater part of the supplies *have been paid for in London!*

WEST-INDIA DOCKS.

A very melancholy accident happened at these Docks on Thursday evening by the explosion of the coffre dam, at Blackwall, which is more to be lamented for the loss of lives (among whom is Mr. Duff, brother to the Surveyor), than for any serious injury it has done to this magnificent work, truly an object of national pride. The following notice has been published, by the Dock Company, of this unfortunate event.

We have the authority to state, that the accident of the explosion of part of the coffre dam, at Blackwall, the effect of which has been much exaggerated by public report, although attended with the loss of five lives, and therefore a subject of extreme regret, has not produced any further injurious consequences to the works of the West-India Dock Company at the Isle of Dogs, nor will it in the least degree impede or delay their completion.

The Directors of the West-India Dock Company have ordered an inquiry into the situation of the families of the unfortunate sufferers, with a view to their relief.

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We had prepared a letter addressed to the British Critics, in consequence of a passage in their last number; but were obliged to lay it aside to make room for the article relating to Mr. Huskisson.

The trial at length of CHARLES BELOE *and others, who were convicted at the last Clerkenwell Sessions, will appear in our next.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Whitehall, July 15.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto the Right Hon. Horatio Viscount and Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, also Duke of Bronte in Sicily, Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Ferdinand and Merit, and Knight of the Order of the Crescent), his Royal License and Permission to receive and wear the Ensigns of Knight Grand Commander of the Equestrian Secular, and Canonical Order of Saint Joachim; his Lordship's nomination to the same having been signified to him by Ferdinand Charles, reigning Count of Leiningen Westerbourg, Grand Master of the Order, by his Letter, bearing date at Westerbourg in General Chapter, on the Third Day of April last: And also to command, that this his Majesty's Concession and Declaration, together with the relative Documents, be registered in his College of Arms.

July 20.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to the Right Honourable Charles Georg Baron Arden, (of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland,) and the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Arden, of Arden, in the County of Warwick.

The King has also been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to the Right Honourable John Baron Sheffield, (of that part of the said United Kingdom called Ireland,) and the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Sheffield, of Sheffield, in the County of York.

Downing Street, July 20.—The King has been pleased to approve of John J. Murray, Esq. to be Consul for the United States of America, at the Port of Glasgow.

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

War-Office, July 17, 1802.

6th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Cornet H. Le Grange Dragan to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Brome, who retires.

7th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Cornet De Lancey Barclay to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Werge, promoted.

16th Ditto, Capt. Chas. Peter Hay, from the 26th Light Dragoons, to be Capt. vice David Hay, who retires on half-pay of the 26th Light Dragoons. Lieut. Edw. Moore, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Lamont, who exchanges.

18th Ditto, Capt. John Hunt, from the half-pay of the 7th Light Dragoons, to be Capt. of a Troop.

9th Reg. of Foot, Ensign John Harvey Olney, from the 95th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hanslip, promoted.

11th Ditto, Lieut. John Campbell, from the 50th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Byrne, who retires.

14th Ditto, Benj. H. Junck, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Gosselin, promoted.

15th Ditto, Capt. Chas. Morrice to be Major, by purchase, vice Myers, promoted in the 62d Foot.

32d Ditto, Lieut. Thos. M'Mahon, from the 40th Foot, to be Lieut.

34th Ditto, Ensign Thos. Hogarth to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Wallace, promoted in the 9th Foot.

36th Ditto, Ensign Sampson Stawell to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Shaw, who retires.

40th Ditto, Major Arthur Gore, from the Caithness Highlanders, to be Major, vice Boland, deceased.

43d Ditto, Lieut. John Scafe, from the 9th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Proctor, who retires on half-pay of the 9th Foot.

52d Ditto, Lieut. Rob. Hen. Dingley to be Capt. by purchase, vice Sir Geo. Ogilvy, who retires.

60th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon Rob. M'Intyre, from the 11th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Kilgour, deceased.

63d Ditto, Francis Cashell, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Norton, promoted in the 69th Foot.

87th Ditto, Ensign Hen. Browne to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Jefferis, promoted in the 60th Foot.

3d West-India Reg. Capt. Lord Chas. Bentinck, from the 29th Foot, to be Major, by purchase, vice Cotter, who retires.

5th Ditto, John D. C. Mackay, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Quinn, who has been superseded.

Roxburgh Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

Wm. Elliott, Esq. to be Major-Commandant, vice Rutherford, who resigns.

Wm. Elliott, Esq. to be Capt. vice Ogilvie, who resigns.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of —— Struve, Gent. to be Assistant-Surgeon in the York Hussars, vice Riviere, removed to the 14th Light Dragoons, as stated in the Gazette of the 26th May, 1801, has not taken place.

Ensign Hen. Galbraith, of the 42d Reg. of Foot, is superseded, being absent without leave.

Ensign Wm. Simes, of the 2d West-India Reg. is superseded.

Erratum in the Gazette of the 10*th instant.*

10th West-India Regiment.

For Wm. Skipton, Gent. to be Adjutant, vice G. H. Skipton, *deceased*,

Read Wm. Skipton, Gent. to be Adjutant, vice G. H. Skipton, who *resigns*.

Ordnance-Office, July 19, 1802.

Corps of Royal Engineers.

Lieut. Gen. Abra. D'Aubant to be Col. Commandant, vice Spry, deceased. Dated July 18, 1802.

Brevet Col. John Evelegh to be Col. vice D'Aubant promoted. Dated as above.

Brevet Lieut. Col. Wm. Johnston to be Lieut. Col. vice Evelegh, promoted. Dated as above.

Capt. Lieut. Wm. Hen. Ford to be Capt. vice Johnston, promoted. Dated as above.

First-Lieut. Geo. Landmann to be Capt. Lieut. vice Ford, promoted. Dated as above.

Second-Lieut. Edw. Figg to be First-Lieut. vice Landmann, promoted. Dated as above.

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BANKRUPTS.

Bishop, William, of Yealand Conyers, Lancashire, and Bishop, John Jocelyn, of Leighton-hall, Lancashire, Merchants.
Bradley, Samuel, the younger, of Leicester, Grocer.
Crisp, Jonathan Tabor, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, Wholesale Clothier.
Dodson, John, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Spirit-merchant.
Fisher, William, of Cambridge, Woollen-draper.
Fowler, William, of Kingston-upon-Hull, Shopkeeper.
Fulton, Alexander, Clapham, Surrey, Coal-merchant.
Johnston, Robert, Johnston, James, and Johnston, William, of St. Swithin's Lane, Merchants.
Lanchester, Ann, of Sackville Street, Piccadilly, Dealer.
Lucas, Sebastian, the younger, of Birmingham, Plater.
Panter, Richard, and Panter, George, now or late of Heyrod, Lancaster, Dealers.
Westlake, Jacob, of Hamperston, Dorsetshire, Malster.
Woodcroft, Thomas, and Woodcroft, John, of Sheffield Moor, Yorkshire, Comb-manufacturers.

BIRTHS.

Belgrave, Viscount, Lady of, at Milbank-house, of a daughter.
Couran, Lieut. Colonel, Lady of, on Tuesday, 13th inst. of a daughter.
Osborne, Lord Francis Godolphin, Lady of, on the 16th inst. at Gogmagog, of a son.
Parkington, Lady of Sir Robert, Kt., M. P., at his House in Suffolk, of a son, June 4th.
Shee, Sir George, Bart. Lady of, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Bayly, Rev. William, Fellow of New College, Oxford, to Miss Louisa Maria Goodenough, daughter of Rev. E. Goodenough, lately, at Swaidon.
Bate, Lieutenant, of the late Royal Lancashire Volunteers, to Miss Travers, on the 9th instant, at Winwick.
Domeier, Dr. Physician to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, to Miss Luisa Bernard, on the 27th ult. at Lisbon.

DEATHS.

Barre, Right Hon. Isaac, Clerk of the Pells, on the 20th inst. aged 76 years.
Colston, Miss, daughter of the late Rev. Alexander Colston, lately at Brompton.
Cullen, the Right Hon. the Dowager Lady Viscountess, on the 13th inst. at Oxford.
Douglass, William, Esq. Civil Servant to the East-India Company, on the 28th March last, at Sea.
Fitzgerald, Lieutenant Colonel, Aid-de-Camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, on Saturday last.
Griffin, Rev. Philip, LL. D. at Hadnock-house.
Heathcote, Lady of the Rev. Thomas (she was youngest daughter of the late Right Hon. Sir Thomas Parker,) on Tuesday last, in Bedford Row.
Rix, John, Esq. Accountant-General of the Excise Office, on the 1st inst. at Dulwich.
Tickell, Rev. Mr. Rector of Gawsworth in Cheshire and East Mercea in Essex, lately at Wargrave, Berks.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.....	—	—	190	—	—	—
8 per Cent Red. Ann.	74	74⅛	73⅞	73⅞	73⅛	73⅛
3 per Cent Consols..	73⅛	73⅛	73⅛	72⅞	72⅛	72⅛
4 per Cent Consols..	90⅛	90	90⅛	89⅞	89⅛	89⅛
5 per Cent Ann.....	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛
Bank Long Ann....	21⅛	21⅛	21	20⅞	20⅞	20⅞
D° Short 1778 & 1779	5⅛	—	—	5⅛	—	—
Imp. 3 per Cent.....	72⅜	72⅜	72⅜	71½	—	71½
D° Ann.....	12⅛	—	—	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛
5 per Cent 1797....	105½	105½	105½	105	105⅛	105
Omnium	¼ dis	¼ dis	1 dis	2 dis	2	2
India Stock.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Bonds.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751....	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 17½	2 us.	LEGHORN 51½
D°, at sight	10 14½		NAPLES..... 44½
ROTTERDAM	10 18½	2 us.	GENOA 47½
HAMBURGH..	33 2	2½us.	VENICE, 57½ livres picco
ALTONA	33 3	2½us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day	28 12		LISBON..... 67½
PARIS....	28 18	2us.	OPORTO 67
BOURDEAUX,	28 18		DUBLIN..... 12¼
CADIZ	33	in paper	BILBOA..... 36 D°
DITTO	30¾	eff.	PALERMO ....
MADRID ..	33½	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.
DITTO	37	effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	52	to 75	Hops per cwt...	92	to 11
Foreign.....	00	.. 00	Hay per load..	116	.. 15
Rye.....	35	.. 37	Beef, per stone....	4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.	
Barley.....	32	.. 36	Mutton 5s. 6d. to 6s.	10	
Malt.....	46	.. 54	Veal .... 5s. 0d. to 6s.	0	
Oats	14	.. 26	Pork.... 5s. 0d. to 5s.	9	
Pease (white)....	37	.. 41	Tallow 3s. 9		
Beans (horse)....	34	.. 37	Average of Sugar		
Flour per sack ..	50	.. 55	per cwt. 37s. 4		
Seconds.....	45	.. 50	Salt, per Bushel 1s. 2		
Coals per chal....	34	.. 41			

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of July, 180

Days.	M'sage	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. De. M.	Ther. De. A.
15	○	* Fi. Ra.	N	NW	29,85	29,85	60	60
16		Fair.	NW	NW	29,8	29,79	59,5	60
17		Fair. Win.	NW	NW	29,59	29,54	60	67
18		Windy.	NW	NW	29,8	29,85	58	62
19		Rain..	S	S	29,5	29,5	54	63
20		Fine.	NW	NW	29,54	29,5	64	70
21	☽	Rain Fair	NE	W	29,41	29,36	56	62

* St. Swithin.

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 4.] *London, Saturday, 31st July,* 1802. [Price 10D.

CONTENTS.—*Conv. bet. Gr. Brit. and Ame.* 97. *Tr. of Beloe, &c.* 99. *Barbary Sta.* 109. *Piedmont,* 110. *Chaptal's La.* 111. *Dec. abo. Piedmont,* 111. *Com. of Fr. Antwerp,* 112. *Indem.* 113. *Let. of the Ameri Min.* 114. *Ba. of Amsterdam,* 114. *Turkey,* 116. *Middlesex Elec.* 116. *La Pérouse,* 118. *Nares and Beloe,* 119. *Sum. Pol.* 122.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, touching the Difficulties arising in the Execution of the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794.

Difficulties having arisen in the execution of the 6th article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London, on the 4th day of November, 1794, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, and in consequence thereof the proceedings of the commissioners under the 7th article of the same treaty having been suspended, the parties to the said treaty being equally desirous, as far as may be, to obviate such difficulties, have respectively named Plenipotentiaries to treat and agree, respecting the same: that is to say, his Britannic Majesty has named for his Plenipotentiary the Right Honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has named, for their Plenipotentiary, Rufus King, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the said United States to his Britannic Majesty, who have agreed to and concluded the following articles:

Art. I. In satisfaction and discharge of the money which the United States might have been liable to pay in pursuance of the provisions of the said sixth article, which is hereby declared to be cancelled and annulled, except so far as the same may relate to the execution of the said seventh article, the United States of America hereby engage to pay, and his Britannic Majesty consents to accept for the use of the persons described in the said sixth article, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable at the time and place, and in the manner following, that is to say, the said sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling shall be paid at the city of Washington, in three annual instalments of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each, and to such person or persons as shall be authorized by his Britannic Majesty to receive the same; the first of the said instalments to be paid at the expiration of one year; the second instalment at the expiration of two years; and the third and last instalment at the expiration of three years, next following the exchange of the ratifications of this convention: and to prevent any disagreement concerning the rate of exchange, the said payments shall be made in the money of the said United States, reckoning four dollars and forty-four cents, to be equal to one pound sterling.

Art. II. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of the definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Paris on the third day of September, 1783, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, that creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediments to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all *bonâ fide* debts theretofore contracted, it is hereby declared, that the said fourth article, so far as it respects its future operations, is hereby recognized, confirmed, and declared to be binding and obligatory upon his Britannic Majesty and the said United States, and the same shall be accordingly observed with punctuality and good faith.—And so as the said creditors shall hereafter meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of their *bonâ fide* debts.

Art. III. It is furthermore agreed and concluded that the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the seventh article of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and whose proceedings have been suspended as aforesaid, shall, immediately after the signature of this convention, reassemble and proceed in the execution of their duties according to the provisions of the said seventh article, except only that instead of the sums awarded by the said commissioners, being made payable at the time or times by them appointed, all sums of money by them awarded to be paid to American or British claimants, according to the provisions of the said seventh article, shall be made payable in three equal instal-

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ments, the first whereof to be paid at the expiration of one year; the second at the expiration of two years; and the third and last at the expiration of three years next after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention.

Art. IV. This convention, when the same shall have been ratified by his Majesty and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the respective ratifications duly exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory upon his Majesty and the said United States. In faith whereof, we the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States of America, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed this present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, January 8, 1802.

(Signed) *Hawkesbury.*
Rufus King.

Account of the Trial of CHARLES BELOE, *(son of the Reverend William Beloe), a clerk in the General Post-Office,* CHARLES WAGSTAFFE, *another clerk in the General Post-Office, and* JOHN HARWOOD, *an amanuensis to the Reverend William Beloe and to the British Critic; all of whom were convicted at the General Quarter Sessions for the county of Middlesex, held at Clerkenwell, on Wednesday, the 14th of July,* 1802.

The court being assembled about ten o'clock in the morning, and the trial of some inferior culprits having been gone through, the prisoners *Beloe*, *Wagstaffe*, and *Harwood*, were arraigned at the bar. The indictment, which was then read, contained three counts: 1, for endeavouring to raise a tumult of a hundred and more persons, with intent to injure William Cobbett, of Pall Mall, in his person and property: 2, for a riot, accompanied with breaking and destroying the windows of Mr. Cobbett: 3, for a riot only. These crimes were alleged to have been committed on the night of 30th of April, 1802, during the continuance of the illuminations for the peace with France.

The indictment having been read, the prisoners were asked, in the usual way, whether they were guilty or not guilty, upon which they severally replied, that they were *not guilty*.

MR. GLEDE, on behalf of the prosecution, addressed the jury, in substance as follows:—'Gentlemen of the jury, I rise, rather unexpectedly on my part, to address you in a case of no inconsiderable importance to the prosecutor of this indictment, to the prisoners themselves, and to the public at large. This task has devolved upon me, on account of the absence of a learned gentleman, who has been consulted in all the stages of this business, and who, it was expected, would have led the cause this day. But as he is absent, it has unexpectedly fallen to my lot. Gentlemen, I mention this circumstance, not that I will affect to doubt my own power of stating a tale of plain facts, but that I wished a prosecution of such public importance should be conducted to the public satisfaction. The offence of which I this day complain is a national disgrace, but, I trust, this day also it will meet with national justice. It is a disgrace that a mob should have presumed to have dictated laws in their lawless will, and tumultuously to have attempted to enforce their resolutions. This national disgrace, I am firmly persuaded, will this day be wiped away by your verdict, and that not only this country, but America, and all the world, will know that in this happy island, a man may maintain any political principles not interfering with the laws of the land, and that if there are men who presume violently to assault others of contrary principles, whatever their motives may be, the day of retribution will surely arrive, when they will meet the punishment of their offence by the judgment of a court, after they shall be found guilty by your verdict. Gentlemen, the prosecutor of this indictment is a Mr. Cobbett, a bookseller, living in Pall Mall. The prisoners are two of them clerks in the General Post-Office, and the third, as I understand, an amanuensis to Mr. Beloe the father of one of the other prisoners; and here I must remark, it is a little singular that they are all connected in private life. The indictment charges, 1st, that they endeavoured to raise a tumult, with an intent to injure Mr. Cobbett in his person and property; next, that they broke his windows; and the 3d charge is simply for a common riot, without the circumstances charged in the former two counts. Gentlemen, with respect to the law upon the subject of riots it is so well known, that it is unnecessary for me to address a single word to you upon that subject. Having thus stated the persons and the accusation, I shall proceed to state the circumstances of this case. The time of the riot was the evening of that day when the proclamation of peace took place. The pretext was, an omission, on the part

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of Mr Cobbett, to illuminate his house upon that occasion. From circumstances which had occurred on a previous occasion, Mr. Cobbett had reason to expect that he should be selected as an object of insult by the mob. He had therefore taken the wise precaution to apply to the civil power, and had, near his house, a party of Bow-street officers. Still, however, it was to him a day of "fearful expectation." If he illuminated, he would be thought to derogate from that consistent conduct he had always maintained. He would be contradicting his publicly avowed principles and sentiments; principles and sentiments he had never swerved from, and in which he concurred with many great and virtuous men; men who had long enjoyed the confidence of their sovereign and the nation. If he had illuminated as a symptom of joy, he would have given the lie to the whole of his former conduct, and that, too, without any certainty such a sacrifice would have preserved him from violence. Gentlemen, Mr. Graham that evening attended with a party of police officers to protect Mr. Cobbett's house. As evening approached, the mob began to assemble, and went on increasing. At length the commanders appeared, (generals do not appear till the army is collected). The prisoners at the bar appeared, and were received with a loud shout. They first began to rattle at the windows, then to break them. From thence they proceeded to acts of more outrageous violence. There was a general cry of *Damn the American.—We will not suffer him*, said Harwood.—What?—He was interrupted, gentlemen, but what he meant was plain enough, *we will not suffer him to live amongst us*. Gentlemen, Mr. Cobbett is *not* an American; he is an Englishman, though he resided a long time in the American States; and, during the whole of that time, his Majesty had not a more faithful subject in any part of the world than Mr. Cobbett was; and the services he rendered his native country, during that time, will make his name to be remembered with gratitude by every loyal subject, when those of the prisoners will be preserved no where but in the records of this court. There was, gentlemen, something peculiarly base and malignant in this exclamation of the prisoner, Harwood. He *knew* Mr. Cobbett was not an American; but he thought the word a good signal for violence against that gentleman's property and person. It is hard to say what motive could have led to so malicious an attempt; but it is by no means difficult to perceive, that the person who could thus endeavour to push on an ignorant rabble, would himself have slunk like a coward from the sight of the gentleman whom he was endeavouring to injure. But, to resume the statement of facts, gentlemen, Mr. Graham finding it impossible to stop the outrages of the mob, called in a military force, and then, and not till then, the tumult was appeased. The three prisoners were taken. But Wagstaffe said he would not be taken; a plain assertion that he was connected with those around him. Nor was it from him only that this expression fell, the others said, "*D—n it, don't let us be taken quietly.*" I shall prove that Beloe used these words; and I shall also prove, that the latter was seen with an immense stone battering at the door. What must have been his object? Could it have been any other than to burst open the door, and let in the mob to unbridled plunder and devastation. If he had succeeded in this attempt, he would, gentlemen, ere this, have stood before a higher tribunal, to answer, with his life, for a crime so detestable in itself, and so dangerous to society. That the attack on Mr. Cobbett's house proceeded from premeditation, there is good reason to believe; because, in several parts of this town, there were houses which were not illuminated, and which did, however, remain totally unmolested. In one of the reports, rendered by the magistrates to the secretary of state, after the illumination, it was stated, that, in a particular district, several hundred houses were not illuminated, and yet, that there was not a pane of glass broken by violence in the whole district. I am anxious to press this circumstance on your minds, gentlemen, because it is a very strong presumptive proof that Mr. Cobbett's house was *marked as an object of attack*; which proof is strongly corroborated by certain circumstances relative to both the prosecutor and the culprits. Mr. Cobbett was well known to be one of those who *disapproved of the peace*. By his arguments he had shewn his disapprobation to be well founded. He had made many converts to his opinions, which he had conveyed in a style and manner that left his cowardly enemies no hope of revenge, but through the means of a rabble, rather more ignorant perhaps, but certainly not more base, than their instigators. The prisoners at the bar, gentlemen, were themselves, indeed, but little interested in the question of peace or war; but, recollect, gentlemen, that two of them, Beloe and Wagstaffe, were (and I believe yet are) *stipendaries in an office of government*, clerks in the General

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Post-Office; and, as to Harwood, besides his being a relation of Beloe, his employment was of a nature not very different in its influence from that of the other two. If, gentlemen, in addition to these circumstances, it should be made appear, that the two former of the prisoners, notwithstanding they were committed to jail, and afterwards indicted by the grand jury, have *not been*, even for a moment, *suspended* from their respective offices: I say, gentlemen, that if it should be made appear to you, that these rioters have enjoyed, not only their offices, but their salaries; that, even for the time while they were in jail, and while they are now standing as prisoners at the bar; if it should appear, that they are actually to be paid out of the public purse for time so passed, you will, I trust, require no further explanation, to enable you to judge of the motives that emboldened creatures so cowardly to commit the offence which is now laid to their charge, and on which, I am confident, you will stamp a verdict of *guilty*.

[We regret that we have not room to give Mr. Glede's speech entire. It was long and eloquent. What we have given here is the substance of only a part of it.]

Mr. *Aaron Graham*, the magistrate, was first called, who deposed as follows:—"In consequence of an application made by Mr. Cobbett to the secretary at war, an arrangement was made at the Bow-street office for the protection of his house on the night of the general illuminations. It fell to my lot to be appointed to that duty. In the evening I went down and saw the constables about the house. I told them to take no notice of me, unless something made it necessary. I walked through St. James'-street and the places adjoining; and when I returned back, as I approached Mr. Cobbett's house, I heard the windows breaking. I immediately rushed through the mob, and found a vacant space in front of the house; but was much surprised at not seeing any of our officers present. *Beloe* was then standing on the steps in front of the door, with a large road paving-stone in his hands, with which he was battering the door with all his force. I was about to take him into custody, when a man near me said, I had better not attempt it then, as it might be dangerous. I asked him if he belonged to the office; he answered, no. I then told him not to lose sight of Beloe, while I went to the Horse Guards. I immediately ran to the Horse Guards, and staid no longer than to tell them to send down 25 or 30 horse. Immediately when I got back to the mob, I found our own officers, whom I directed to assist me in taking the prisoners. We all rushed through the mob, and the three prisoners were taken. Wagstaffe said, "*Damn it, don't let us be taken into custody.*" I got hold of *Beloe* in the door way of Mr. Cobbett's house. I directed the officers to draw their cutlasses; which they did, and kept off the mob. The horse came in a quarter of an hour, and dispersed the mob. When I first saw the three prisoners, they had Belcher silk handkerchiefs about their necks; but when I returned from the Horse Guards, they were taken off; but such sort of handkerchiefs were found in their pockets when they were at the office. Upon cross-examination, he said, he had never seen them before, but was certain of their persons. He did not know any thing of their having been committed for a capital offence.

Adolphus Wastney said, he was the man who was desired by the last witness to watch Beloe. He saw all the three prisoners there. He saw them come: they came a together. He saw all of them fetch brick and half bricks, and throw them at the windows. When the magistrate returned from the Horse Guards, he assisted in taking them. He heard Harwood say, "*D—n the Americans, he ought not to be suffered—*" He saw them fetch stones a great many times. During the time that the magistrate was absent two horse-soldiers passed, and *Beloe* threw at them. He never lost sight of Beloe till Mr. Graham returned. He was there before any of the windows were broken.

Thomas Ellis and *John Corkayne*, patrole corroborated the above testimony.

Mr. *Sylvester*, on behalf of the prisoners said, the learned gentleman who had opened the prosecution had no occasion to lament the absence of his learned leader, since, if he had been present, he could not have made a better speech than the jury have heard. The learned gentleman had made the most of his materials; he had represented the offence as a national disgrace, the punishment as an object of national justice, which he desired might be known in America, to the whole world. What was this mighty offence, taken at the worst? Two or three thoughtless children had broke Mr. Cobbett's windows. The learned gentleman then challenged the service his client had rendered in America—very likely; he knew nothing of Mr. Cobbett, but he thought he might as well have stayed in America if he chose to run so counter to public opinion. If he would do it, he w

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laying a trap for men to commit offences, and he had no right to complain if he per chance got his windows broke. Yet this was the mighty cause represented as a national disgrace. Whoever run his head into a hornets' nest must expect to be stung. He had not read his own brief; but as the learned gentleman observed, it was a case which required no preparation; in truth, there was nothing in it. The learned gentleman had remarked, it was a little singular, that they were connected in private life. Truly, a most singular thing, that three young men, all knowing each other, should be parties to the same frolic; yes, but they were generals to the mob. "Look," said he, "at the general, young *Beloe* is 18 years of age—he is the mighty general." He really thought it was the most foolish prosecution he ever witnessed. The *learned* gentleman then commented upon the evidence, and insisted that it did not support the charge as laid in the indictment; namely, that they had met for the purpose of exciting the mob to injure Mr. Cobbett. The simple facts were as follow: On the day preceding the night of the illumination, the three young men had dined together at the house of Beloe's father. In the evening they went out to see the lights, and coming to Cobbett's house, they found a mob breaking the windows, and they had the folly to join them in throwing stones at the windows—but what was the consequence? the jury could scarce suppose it—they were committed six days, and told, that they would be prosecuted upon a capital charge. The prosecutor employed a carpenter to examine; but the jury would scarce know for what purpose. Their own *feeling hearts* would never suggest it to them. It was to see whether the house was not so broken as to warrant the prosecutor indicting those young men for a felony. If they were parents, they would feel what must be the sensations of the families of those youths, when they knew that intention of the prosecutor. He put it to every man amongst them, whether they had not all of them, in the days of their youth, been guilty of similar follies. He concluded by insisting that the fact was not proved as laid in the indictment, and that the defendants were therefore entitled to their verdict.

After this, several witnesses were called to the character of the prisoners at the bar.

Dr. Wingate, second master of Westminster School spoke particularly as to the character of the prisoner Beloe, whom he represented to be a most mild and inoffensive youth, and the least likely to do any mischief of any lad he ever knew.

The *Rev. Mr. Nares* (partner with the prisoner Beloe's father in the British Critic) swore, that he had known the prisoner Beloe from his infancy to the present time. "I have," said the reverend witness, "been "intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of his life, from the time he was "in the cradle, and I do not only not know "that he *was* ever guilty of any riotous or "disorderly behaviour, but I know, that he "was *not* guilty of any such behaviour, in "the course of his whole life, until the "very eve of the alleged riot." The same rev. gentleman swore something in behalf of the prisoner Harwood's character, but not quite so positive, or comprehensive.

John Reeves, Esq. said, that he *knew* the prisoner Beloe, but that *he could add nothing* to what had been said by Mr Nares.

Mr. John Nicholls (Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine) said, that, as a proof of the mildness and excellence of the disposition of the prisoner Beloe, he, the said Nicholls, had always suffered him to be upon terms of great intimacy with his "amiable "young family, amongst whom were some "lovely daughters."

Two persons *from the General Post-Office* gave the prisoners Beloe and Wagstaffe good characters. The Deputy Comptroller of the Foreign Office being asked, whether the prisoners Beloe and Wagstaffe had been suspended from their office, or pay, in consequence of their apprehension, commitment, or indictment, he answered, that they never had been suspended at all. Upon this question being asked, a person who apparently acted in behalf of the prisoners, Beloe and Wagstaffe, produced in court (and shewed to the prosecutor's counsel) a letter, intended to convince the said counsel, that the commission of the crime, for which the prisoners were then at the bar, had in no wise injured their character with their superiors; and this letter was in the hand writing of Lord Auckland, one of the Joint Post-masters General, and, of course, one of the present administration.

It was proposed, by Mr. Cobbett, to cross-examine the Rev. Mr. Nares, and to ask him whether he had known the prisoner, Beloe, while the said Beloe was *in Germany*. It was also proposed to ask him, if he could tell how the prisoner Beloe, came by two livid marks which appeared *under his eyes*. To the latter of these questions, the prison-

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er's counsel replied, that the appearance here mentioned was occasioned by a blow with a cricket-ball.

Mr. Conant, who presided on this occasion, now summed up the evidence, and concluded by telling the jury, that they had nothing to do with the general character or conduct of either of the parties; that, however excellent the life and conversation of the prisoners might be, they were answerable for their transgression of the law; and, however *perverse* the conduct of the prosecutor, he was still under the protection of that law.

The jury, after a few minutes consultation, gave their verdict of *guilty* against all the prisoners, but recommended them to the mercy of the court.

Mr. Sylvester, the counsel for the prisoners, then asked Mr. Cobbett if he would join in the recommendation, to which the latter replied: "Certainly not, Sir; I came here to "ask for *justice*, and not for *mercy*."

After a very short deliberation, Mr. *Conant* pronounced sentence. He said, that, in consequence of the imprisonment, which the defendants had already suffered [about five days], the magistrates were disposed to remit any further punishment of that sort, which, otherwise, they should most certainly have inflicted, as a necessary one in this species of crime. He was directed to pronounce, that the two prisoners, Beloe and Wagstaffe, should pay a fine of *thirty pounds* each, and Harwood a fine of *ten pounds*; and that each of the three prisoners should enter into recognizance to keep the peace, and to be of good behaviour for the space of two years.

The prisoners conducted themselves with a tolerable degree of decorum. They appeared to be sensible of the danger in which they were, without having forgotten the greater danger, which they had been fortunate enough to escape. Wagstaffe seemed very much affected when he was brought to the bar. Beloe looked rather sulky at first; but when the counsel for the prosecution drew towards the conclusion of his speech, he was evidently much agitated, and, finally, he cried like a child. Harwood had in his countenance the marks of alarm, if not of contrition. He looked as pale as death itself. In this scene, which was rather of the solemn kind, there arose one circumstance ludicrous enough. It was this: in speaking to the character of the prisoners, their counsel chose to go back to their *ancestors*. This is sometimes slippery ground. Beloe was the son of the Reverend William Beloe; Harwood was also the son of a clergyman; "and as to Mr. Wagstaffe," said the cute common serjeant, "he is the son of a *country gentleman*, who is beloved by the poor, by his tenants, and by all who have the honour to know him." Now, the truth is, Wagstaffe's father, who has been dead many years, was the *servant* of a *clergyman* in Somersetshire, in whose service he died. The clergyman educated the son out of charity, and, when he grew up, procured him a place in the post office, a considerable part of the profits of which place the young man has regularly transmitted for the support of his mother. Mr. Cobbett had, by means of a letter from this clergyman, been fully apprized of all these circumstances, the last of which it was his intention to communicate to the court; but, after the story about the *country gentleman and his tenants*, such a communication might have been thought malicious. There was something whimsical, too, in the declamation respecting the *tender age* of the prisoners. The pathetic common serjeant called them *school-boys*, *lads*, and sometimes *children*. We shall not, indeed, insist, that school-boys, lads, and even children, are not to be found upon the patronage list of Lord Auckland, but the prisoners, though two of them clerks in the general post-office, are not mere insignificant children. Beloe, according to the lowest statement, is *eighteen* years old. He has been about two in the capacity of a clerk; so that, if he be yet a poor ignorant boy, he is like to prove what the drill-sergeants call one of the king's hard bargains. Besides, now we think of it, it is a mercy that he is not at this moment an *ambassador!* Let not the reader stare. We can assure him, that this *school-boy*, this fellow, who is represented as too senseless to know the nature of a riot, would, had it not been for a mere accident, at this moment have been a secretary of legation, if not a minister, at some foreign court!!!—Wagstaffe is upwards of *thirty* years of age; and Harwood ought not to be a child, seeing that he has *a wife*.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Genoa, July 2.—The intelligence we have received from Algiers for some weeks past is exceedingly disagreeable. About the beginning of May the Regency sent out eleven corsairs of different sizes, viz. two frigates,

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one of 46 guns, and the other of 36; four chebecs, two polacres, two schooners, and a brig; and it is known that they have already taken nine considerable prizes in the course of six weeks, namely, five Neapolitan vessels, two Spanish, one English, one Genoese, and a Portuguese frigate.—These privateers have even stopped two French brigs, under a pretence that they were not provided with passports; and it was only after some strong remonstrances that the agent of the Republic was able to obtain their release. There is no doubt that the French government will take some notice of this conduct of the Regency, and demand reparation.—There is reason to believe also, that it will interfere in the affair of the two Neapolitan vessels, because the Republic is immediately interested in the circumstances of their capture. One of them had been dispatched from Corfu by the French Agent in the Republic of the Seven Isles, with a cargo destined for the service of the French army in the kingdom of Naples. The Agent of the Republic at Algiers being informed of the circumstance, which was carefully concealed from him, desired to see the dispatches of which that vessel was the bearer; they were refused to him; and the efforts he made to cause the prize to be given up, were attended with no other success than that of obtaining the liberty of some passengers who were on board.—In regard to the Neapolitan captain, his fate is truly deplorable, and he still groans in the most cruel captivity.—The other Neapolitan vessel, which sailed from Marseilles with a cargo of hemp, was taken in sight of the Hieres Isles; the crew consisted of 21 men; one of them, it seems, was drowned in attempting to escape—two succeeded in getting on shore, and gave in their deposition; the other 18 were conducted as slaves to Algiers. The captain demanded the interference of the French Agent, and the affair is now under discussion.—The English prize excited a violent altercation between the Regency and the English Consul.—The Regency pretended that the Admiralty pass which the captain produced was forged, because the vignette represented a vessel with lattine sails, whereas the vessel seized was square rigged. The Consul wished to send notice of the seizure to the British government; but this was refused, and the port was shut. The affair is not decided, and the vessel is still detained. The French Consul has remonstrated with great firmness, and threatened hostilities if the vessel be not restored with proper indemnities.—Of all these prizes, the most remarkable is that of the Portuguese frigate La Cygne, of 44 guns, and 350 men, which was captured, on the 7th of May, at the entrance of the Gut of Gibraltar, by an Algerine frigate of the same force and about 420 men. The Portuguese suffered themselves to be surprised, at least we must believe so. The Algerines came upon them with a press of sail, fired a few shot, and then boarded. The Portuguese captain, the lieutenant, and 36 men, were killed. If they were not deficient in courage, they certainly were deficient in foresight and skill. The rest of the Portuguese were thrown into the hold naked and loaded with chains. The wounded were seven days at sea; without clothes, without nourishment, and without having their wounds dressed: when they arrived at Algiers, several of them died in consequence of their wounds having mortified.—This prize, of which there is no similar example in the annals of Algiers, excited in the city the most extravagant enthusiasm. The insolence of the government has thence increased, and the Europeans can no longer appear in the streets without being exposed to the insults of the populace.—An Algerine Rais had the impudence to ill use the second officer of a small French vessel in the harbour of Tunis, and we know that in the discussions which have taken place on this subject, between the Regency and the French agent, the latter complained of the bad faith and rude behaviour of the Vekislargy. *It is even believed that the French government will not suffer such insults to go unpunished, and that if other powers allow their flag to be insulted, and their vessels plundered, the First Consul will inviolably protect in the Mediterranean the honour of the French flag, and maintain that security which he has promised to all commercial speculations.*

Turin, July 10.—The Administrator-General, in the 27th military division, eager to put an end to the inquietudes and doubts of certain citizens of the *ci-devant* Piedmont, has hastened to publish the following arrêté of the Council respecting this subject, and the letter of the Minister of the Interior, which accompanies it. The following is the Minister's letter:

"*Paris, July* 2, 1802.

"I address to you, Citizen Counsellor of State, the inclosed arrêté of the Council which grants an amnesty for all political offences which have been committed in the departments of the 27th Military Division.

"The First Consul, in ordering me to

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address this to you, has commanded me to observe to you that he has chosen the period for carrying this arrêté into execution when the King of Sardinia has, for the second time, in renouncing the crown, released the Piedmontese from their Oath of Allegiance.

"Be so good, Citizen Counsellor of State, as to inform me of the receipt of this letter, and of the measures you have in consequence taken. I salute you cordially,

"*Chaptal.*"

The *arrêté* of the Consuls annexed to the letter of the Minister is to the following effect:

Arrêté of the Consuls of the 29th June.

Art. I. A general amnesty is pronounced for all political crimes which may have occurred in the six departments of the 27th military division.

II. There shall not be, in the six departments of the 27th military division, any list of emigrants.

III. All the absent individuals, even those who fill diplomatic or administrative situations at the Court of the above-mentioned Prince, are admitted to return to their country, and there shall be granted to them a prorogation to the 23d of September, in the 11th year of the Republic.

IV. They shall make the declaration before the prefect of their department, that they shall renounce all connexion with the house of Savoy, and with foreign powers; and they shall take an oath of fidelity to the constitution of the French people.

V. Those who from ill health, or any other good cause, shall not be able to return by 23d September, 11th year, shall be bound to make the same declaration before the French agents in the country where they are.

VI. Those who, on the 23d September, 11th year, shall persist in remaining emigrants, shall be definitively declared banished, and their property shall be annexed to the Republic.

Buonaparté, First Consul.

Berlin, July 13.—A courier arrived here on the 11th, from the Marquis de Lucchesini at Paris. The contents of his dispatches are not known, but it is believed they relate to the business of the indemnities, which at length approaches to a conclusion. It is pretty certain that all the great powers are agreed on this important point.—The troops destined to take possession of the countries which are to be annexed to the Prussian dominions, will, it is said, march this week for that purpose.

Bourdeaux, July 15.—The opening of the Scheldt has thrown alarm into all our commercial ports of the west; they apprehend that the former prosperity of Antwerp will be revived at their expense. Nantz sees nothing but its total ruin, and Bourdeaux calculates the loss of its commerce at more than 300 millions of livres per annum.—Are not all these losses exaggerated? The chief branches of the commerce of Nantz were, in the Slave Trade, the Cod Fishery, and the entrepot of foreign merchandize of every kind. The latter of these great means of prosperity, is the only one which can be injured by the opening of the Scheldt. But Nantz, situated at the Mouth of the Loire, cannot fail to be a favourite entrepot, on account of the easy and advantageous passages which it affords into the interior of France. Bourdeaux has much less cause to be dissatisfied. Its wines, which are an inexhaustible source of wealth, alone suffice to fix, in this port, an important trade. But it also has its communication with the Mediterranean by Languedoc, which also makes a considerable entrepot for the merchandize of the Levant. Its raisins, pitch, and tar, its iron, and a quantity of other territorial materials, offer to foreigners all kinds of advantageous returns. Is it supposed that the lace of Antwerp will rival so many precious productions, and detach from the noble port of Bourdeaux, the rich cargoes of English, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish vessels, which always frequent it? The departments of the north are well-favoured by their position, but those of the south will always attract foreigners by the nature of their productions.

A merchant of Bourdeaux has received a letter from the Colonial Prefect of Guadaloupe, dated June 8, which contains the following intelligence:—"I have the pleasure of announcing to you the complete re-establishment of the national authority in this island. The fugitives, in their flight, however, have burnt several plantations and cane-fields, but the damage is not so great as reported. The whole of Grande-Terre has been saved, and a part of the island of Guadaloupe, properly so called. The insurgents are every where returning. Agriculture is resumed, and good order restored. This is important intelligence to commerce, which may now, without uneasiness, pursue its speculations, which, indeed, were never interrupted by this state of warfare, which lasted nearly a month."

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The Banks of the Main, July 16.—The last letters from Berlin of the 10th inst. announce that a negotiation is going on between M. de Haugwitz on the one part, and M. de Rheden and the Baron d'Ompteda on the other, respecting an exchange of a part of the Prussian indemnities for certain possessions in Hanover. After several conferences the Baron d'Ompteda has set off to consult the Hanoverian Ministry of State, relative to a proposition which, it is said, has been made by the Court of Berlin. It is, however, very problematical, whether the negotiation will have the desired success.

Hague, July 17.—Dispatches from Admiral de Winter, who is with the squadron on the Barbary Coast, announce that he has delivered all the presents destined for the African powers, who have testified a desire of renewing their ancient commercial relations with this Republic, and of making arrangements to prevent any cause of complaint on the part of the Batavian merchants. The squadron will stay some time at Smyrna.

Frankfort, July 18.—The following is the result of the intelligence received respecting the business of the indemnities: "We are assured that it was stipulated in the last article of the Convention signed at Paris on the 4th ult. between Citizen Talleyrand, the Count de Markoff, and the Marquis de Lucchesini, for the purpose of regulating the indemnities of the Hereditary Princes of the Empire, that the Convention should be ratified within forty days from the day of its signature, and the ratifications exchanged on or before the 14th of July. After the exchange of the ratifications, the occupation of the secularized States allotted as indemnities, was to take place without loss of time, according to the same stipulations, even if Austria did not accede to the Convention." It is not known whether the exchange of the ratifications, and the accession of the Court of Vienna, have taken place; but the report of the German Ministers at Paris, respecting this subject, is expected with the greatest impatience.

Letter from Mr. Livingston, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in France, addressed to Mr. Skipwith, the American Commercial Agent at Paris:—

Sir, *Paris, July* 18.

Letters which I have this moment received from Commodore Morris, who commands the squadron of the United States in the Mediterranean, and from Mr. Gavine, our Consul at Gibraltar, communicate the disagreeable intelligence of Mr. Simpson's arrival in that port from Tangiers; the Emperor of Morocco having forced him to depart precipitately, and having at the same time ordered his vessels to be armed against the American merchantmen. I beg that you will give notice of this event, without delay, to our Commercial Agents in the different ports of France, requesting them to dispatch copies of this letter by the first vessels which sail for the United States, or the West-Indies, and to direct the captains of those vessels to publish it in the ports in which they arrive. Commodore Morris advises all American vessels, bound to the Mediterranean, to rendezvous at Cadiz, where they will find a convoy appointed to protect them on their passage through the Straits.

I am, &c. *Rob. R. Livingston.*

Amsterdam, July 21.—The following resolutions were passed the 19th inst. by the Provisional Government of this city, at the instance of the Commissioners of our Bank;—1. To make it known to those interested, that in consequence of the payments made to the Bank by the common treasurer, the deficiency being entirely filled up, all the debts on bonds or stock which have been deposited in said Bank, are now replaced by hard cash, so that there is now nothing whatever in circulation but upon effective real value, and that thereby the Bank is now in that situation in which it was when originally erected.—2. That the common treasurer of this city be qualified, on behalf of the assembly, to receive from the Commissioners of the Bank, all the pretensions which said Bank had, as also the several bonds resting there in pawn, and to do the needful in this respect.—3. For facilitating the operations in bank money, at the re-opening of the Bank on the 30th inst. to cause to cease the tax of a half stiver on each hundred gilders, which was imposed the 31st March, 1796, by a resolution of the Municipality, on payments made in bank money, and to fix it on the old footing, namely, three stivers for each sum which, per banco, shall be transferred.—4. That the superintendants of the Bank form a Committee, in conjunction with the Commissioners, to revise the regulations and ordinances of said Bank, to make the necessary alterations in them, and as improved according to the exigency of present circumstances, to present them to this city Government for its assent.

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Paris, July 22.—The produce of the French Colonies is to be admitted only into the ports of Nice, Toulon, Marseilles, Cette, Bayonne, Bourdeaux, Rochefort, La Rochelle, Nantes, L'Orient, Brest, Morlaix, St. Malo, Cherbourg, Rouen, Honfleur, Havre, Dieppe, St. Valary, on the Somme, Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Ostend, and Antwerp.

The duties paid on French colonial productions is of two kinds, viz. the duty of importation and the duty of consumption. Raw sugar, for instance, pays on 5 miriagrammes (about 105lb. of the old French weight) 1 fr. 50 c. for the former duty, and 13 fr. 50 c. for the latter; in all 15 fr. A bounty of 25 francs is given on every 5 miriagrammes of refined sugar exported to foreign countries. The exportation is to take place from the above-mentioned ports only, or, by land, through Lansleburg, Versoye, Bourglibre, Strasburgh, Mayence, and Cologne.

The produce of Colonies belonging to other countries are admitted into France under the following regulations and duties, viz.—The productions of foreign colonies, enumerated in the subjoined tarif, shall pay the duties stated in that tarif.—These duties shall be paid on the arrival of the said productions, unless they are placed in actual *entrepôt*, in which state they cannot remain longer than one year.—The merchandize placed in *entrepôt* shall pay only a countervailing duty on importation, and shall be exempted from any duty on re-exportation.

On being removed from the *entrepôt* to the interior, the following duties must be paid:—

	F.	C.
Brown sugar, the 5 myriagrammes (or 105lb. of the old French weight),....	22	50
Clayed sugar, *idem*....	37	50
Coffee, *idem*....	87	50
Cocoa, *idem*....	37	50
Refined sugar, *idem*....	50	0
Indigo, *idem*....	7	50
Cotton, *idem*....	1	50
Cassia, *idem*....	4	50
Ginger, *idem*....	4	50
Tortoiseshell, *idem*....	22	50
Mahogany, and wood for inlaid work, *idem*	7	50
Dry hides, per skin....	0	40
Liquors, per litre....	1	50

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The Levant merchants interested in the Turkish trade, have made inquiries of Government to ascertain whether that branch of our commerce would be injured by the troubles which at present prevail in every quarter of the Ottoman Empire. A de tation from the members of the Turk Company waited on Lord Hawkesbury, appointment, on Tuesday, to obtain inf mation on this subject, and to request accommodation of one or two ships of v in case the progress made by the insurge should render is expedient for the Compa to remove any part of English proper from that quarter. His Lordship assu them, that there existed no ground of a prehension with regard to the safety British property in the Turkish dominion but that, as Government had generally k up a small naval force in the Levant, would make the necessary application to t Admiralty for the appointment of two f gates to that station, which would rema there for the protection of the trade.—H Lordship also informed the deputation th his Majesty's ministers had no reason to su pose that attempts would be made from a quarter to violate the *integrity* of the Turki Empire. With regard to the concessi which the Porte is reported to have ma to France, of the free navigation of th Black Sea, his Lordship observed, that G vernment *had no knowledge of any agreem to that effect having taken place*; but, if th Turkish Government *should think it prop to make an arrangement of this nature* wi the French Republic, the deputation migh rest assured that no privilege would b granted to the French *trader*, which woul not be equally enjoyed by the subjects of h Britannic Majesty.

The Princess of Orange arrived on th 19th at Brussels from London, and cont nued her journey the same evening fo Germany.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

At the final close of the Poll on Thurs day last, the numbers were,

For George Byng, Esq.....	3848
Sir Francis Burdett, Bart...	3207
William Mainwaring, Esq.	2936

The following are the concluding ad dresses of the two rival candidates.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders o the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

Permit me to return you my most sincere thanks, for the great exertions and support you have been pleased to give me, in the long contest in which we have been engaged.—The poll is now closed. The Sheriff having thought proper to return Mr. Byng and Sir Francis Burdett as your Representa-

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fires, as I conceive, against a majority of legal votes in my favour, it remains for me to vindicate your rights before a superior tribunal. Be assured, that I have every reason to believe that your kind intentions towards me will finally be carried into effect, and that I shall have the honour, which it is my utmost ambition to obtain, of again representing you in Parliament.—Your friendly and continued exertions on this, as well as on former occasions, will ever be deeply impressed on my mind, and I shall be happy, at all times, to prove myself,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful and devoted Servant,

W. Mainwaring.

Hanover-Square, July 29, 1802.

To the Independent and Public-spirited Freeholders of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

Mr. Mainwaring has endeavoured to make the public believe, that our opposition to his re-election was an attack upon the Government, and that his numbers on the poll would be a justification for his political conduct.—His numbers on the poll do not, in the least, incline me to believe, that even those Freeholders of Middlesex approve his conduct, but only that some of them were not sufficiently acquainted with it. But I do acknowledge, and I wish all the Freeholders had been sooner aware of it, that an opposition to his re-election was, in effect, an opposition to any Government by secret and concealed torture.—Gentlemen, when I assert that secret imprisonment, secret trial, and secret execution, are the never failing engines of oppression and tyranny, and that innocence can have no security but by public trial, public execution, and public custody, in the face of day, and before the eyes of the country at large: when I assert this, I am conscious that I stand upon a rock from which I cannot be removed by any hired magistrates, parliaments, or kings. This is no difficult speculation; it is not confined to any particular form of government, but is equally necessary under all, for tyranny is no form of government, but the dissolution of every social tie. I repeat it, there can be no security against the ill-treatment of prisoners, there can be no possible means of hearing their complaints, or knowing their sufferings, but by publicity of custody, and free communication with their friends.—I heartily congratulate you, gentlemen, on this tedious and protracted contest, for it has given an opportunity to the independent and public-spirited Freeholders of this Metropolitan County, deliberately to declare their sentiments of the present system of torture in the dungeons of Cold Bath-Fields, and their opinion of Mr. Justice Mainwaring and his humane friend,

"The steeled Gaoler, who seldom is the friend of Man."

Gentlemen, for having done my duty in my place in Parliament against the barbarous and cruel system of secret and close imprisonment, I was stigmatized by the Lord Lieutenant of this County, and in violation of the privilege of Parliament, and of all law and decency, I was proclaimed by him throughout the land, as a person not fit to be trusted to visit or perform any office of humanity to any wretched victim within those accursed walls. Permit me to say it belonged to this same country, to wipe away this undeserved stigma, and you have done it nobly. My own share in this contest I most chearfully undergo, assuring you, that I shall never think any personal sacrifice of mine too great to assist in restoring our country to its former freedom and blessedness: and in this declaration I beg that I may not be misunderstood. I love my family like other men; but if driven to the alternative, I had much rather that my children and posterity should be poor in a free and flourishing country, than rich in an enslaved and impoverished kingdom. I love my country well, and its tranquillity; but I had much rather it should be annihilated than enslaved.—I remain, Gentlemen, with every sentiment of respect for the Independent Freeholders of Middlesex,

Your much obliged, and

Sincerely devoted Servant,

Francis Burdett.

No. 78, Piccadilly, July 22, 1802.

La Pérouse.—After the lapse of years some glimmering of information has reached Europe with respect to the fate of this French Navigator who sailed on a voyage of discovery with two frigates, and after performing part of his voyage, touched at Botany Bay. From the period of his sailing from New South Wales, no account was ever received from him. A vessel was sent from France under the command of D'Entrecasteaux in search of him, but the search was ineffectual. At length, an American ship, which had traversed the South Sea, brought to the Mauritius in February last some information, which gives strength to

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the conjectures that have been formed of the unfortunate Navigator's having been massacred with all his crew. We refer our readers to the following article, extracted from the *Moniteur* of Sunday last.

"*Mauritius, Feb.* 14.

"Captain Ingenold, Commander of the American ship the Charlotte, arrived from China, says, that he learnt, in his voyage to the South Sea, at the Sandwich Isles, and on the North West Coast, that before the Revolution of France, without being able to determine precisely the year, a vessel from Brest had, in the month of April, anchored in the Bay of Comshervar, a Bay, which is 54 degrees 13 minutes north, opposite Englefield Bay, in the Island called Queen Charlotte's Island.—That this vessel having a great quantity of sick, was attacked by the islanders, who got on board at the moment the crew were employed in reefing the sails; that they massacred the captain, who was on the deck, and the whole crew, with the exception of a young man, whose fate is unknown.—It is added, that the islanders destroyed the vessel, after having unloaded it. It is to be presumed that this vessel is M. La Pérouse's, or her companion."

TO MESSRS. NARES AND BELOE,

Joint Editors and Proprietors of the British Critic.

Gentlemen,

In my former letter to you (Register, Vol. I. p. 657) I promised, that, unless you did justice to Mr. Bere, I would enter into a full and clear exposure of the motives and of the influence, from which you had acted. I am now about to fulfil that promise.

From the first dawn of the Blagdon controversy, you took a decided part with Mrs. More. You were repeatedly told, that she was a methodist, or sectarist, and you as often denied it, uniformly declaring, that, the moment she was *proved* to be one, you would *give her up*. That proof has now been produced to you. Evidence as clear as is required to produce conviction in a court of justice has been laid before you; and how have you acted in consequence thereof? By the most pitiful, the most despicable subterfuge, that a hireling pen ever had recourse to, you have found an excuse for the non-fulfilment of your promise.

You have received *proof* of Mrs. More having *constantly* attended the Meeting-house of Mr. Jay at Bath, and of her having received the *sacrament* in the said Meeting-house, and from the hands of this Mr. Jay. Such a *test* was not to be got over. That she was a dissenter had been proved to you a hundred times over; but it was your business not to be convinced, and, therefore, you always boldly denied the fact, not imagining that a circumstance so very conclusive as that of taking the sacrament would ever be produced. Produced, however, it is, and that in such a way as not to be denied even by you. Thus situated, you first affect not to have time to read the documents sent you on the subject. By this you gain a respite of a month, at the end of which you come forth with what I am now going briefly to remark on.

As to your first assertion, that Mr. Jay "*is not a* LAYMAN," I beg leave to recommend it to the notice of the Right Rev. Prelates, who have thought proper to place you in their cathedrals. You admit Mr. Jay to be a *dissenter*; indeed, it is well known that he is what is called an *independent*, a pastor of Oliver Cromwell's sect. But, say you, "an *independent* is not a *methodist*."—And what then? What does that make as to the spirit of your promise with respect to the defence of Mrs. More? Is an *independent* the same as a *churchman*? That is the question for you to consider. The charge against Mrs. More was not her being attached to one sect more than to any other sect, but her being attached to *sectarists* in general, and *not firmly attached to the church of England*, of several of the benefices of which she had found the means of becoming the disposer. This was the charge. The word *methodist* was used, in the controversy, *in opposition to churchmen*, and not as the only term applicable to her and her followers, whom Mr. Bere does not call methodists, but "non-descripts;" and, indeed, this same term is used by all the writers on that side of the question. *You* have, it is true, made use of the word *methodist*; but can you say, in the face of the public, that you did not make use of it merely to designate *a person not firmly attached to the church*? In your defence of Mrs. More you constantly spoke of her as *a friend and supporter of the church*: you made quotations from her works to back your assertions; and yet you now affect to make the controversy turn solely upon the question, *whether she be* EXCLUSIVELY *a methodist, or whether she now and then mixes with other sects!* For shame, gentlemen, for shame!

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Now as to the motives and the influence from which you have acted. The Thorntons and Wilberforces, together with *the fund which those gentlemen have for the purchase of livings* to be disposed of amongst the godly, have, doubtless, had their weight with you; nor did you, I believe, lose sight of this pious fund when you reviewed the book of St. Wilberforce or that of Patriot Thornton; the former about the word God and the latter about paper money. But, you were chiefly influenced by the Bishop of London and the late Lord Chancellor (both of them of some weight in church matters), and both, to your knowledge, grossly deceived respecting Mrs. More's religious tenets and practices.—Attempt not to deny, that you review books agreeably to *the hints* (very broad ones sometimes) you receive from those who have good things to dispose of; I assert that you do; nay, I assert, that you give characters of books *directly contrary to your own opinions*, when you receive, from certain quarters, directions so to do. This I assert, and I do not think you will call upon me for proof.

Here I should have stopped, had not your remark on the income of Mr. Bere called for something by way of reply. You say, that he has been "artfully and falsely" represented to be a poor curate: and then you insinuate, that the little rectorship, which he enjoys in addition to his "lucrative curacy, renders his situation rather good for him.—Concerning benefices, Gentlemen, you ought, methinks, to be the last men in the world to open your lips. You are gorged with benefices, livings, prebendaries, canonries, masterships of hospitals, archdeaconries, and God knows what besides. You have, between you, more church preferment than would suffice to support, in a decent manner, twenty country clergymen; you have, between you, twenty times the church revenue of Mr. Bere. Those who have conferred it on you will, doubtless, be able to point out your reasons; but, for my part, I have never heard of your theological writings; and, as to active service in the pulpit, I am inclined to believe, that Mr. Bere has performed five times as much as both of you, who are now, and who, I believe, have *always been*, absentees from your livings. Such men should not speak grudgingly of a country clergyman, who happens to obtain a curacy to help out a living of £40 or £50 a year, and who is in the constant performance of his duty.

One word more. You have several times insinuated, that Mr. Bere is disaffected to the government; but, do you think, Gentlemen, that if Mr. Bere had been master of Emanuel College, he would have *sent his almsmen to vote for Sir Francis Burdett?* Pray, Mr. Beloe, answer me that question. Pretend not, Sir, that the men were "inveigled away by Sir Francis Burdett's people." It was your business to see, that they were not inveigled away by any body. You have them under your care and command; you even kept the *key* of them. They went part of them one day and part of them the next. They could not have gone without your consent. You did not vote *yourself*. No: it would not have been convenient to have your name upon the poll books for Sir Francis, and you did not choose to vote for his rival, though your vote would certainly have been as good as those of your almsmen. If their votes were *not* good, they are all perjured, and have committed a most heinous and damnable offence, which you might have prevented, and which it was your bounden duty to prevent. The fact is, that both you and Mr. Nares are in habits of close connection with Perry of the Morning Chronicle, and with other active citizens of the same stamp, while, at the same time, you are admitted into the closets of bishops and other great *authors*. Far be it from me to blame you for supporting the anti-governmental candidate for Middlesex; I wish, for my part, you had done something ten thousand times more mortifying to the ministry: I should have rejoiced if you yourself had come forward and broken their windows to force them to illuminate for Sir Francis Burdett: they deserve that, and more too, at your hands; but I regret that you should accuse poor Mr. Bere of being *disaffected to Government*.

Before I take my leave, Gentlemen, I shall just observe to you, that, unless you publish the documents, sent you by Mr. Spencer, I shall cause those documents and this letter to be published in a hand-bill for the purpose of general distribution.

WM. COBBETT.

Pall-Mall, July 30, 1802.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The great contest in the county of Middlesex has, at last, terminated in the complete triumph of Sir Francis Burdett. This contest, from the singular manner in which it was begun and conducted, has been regarded, by the lower orders of people, as a

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struggle between the magistrates and the thieves, and the result of it will have this most dreadful effect: it will embolden and increase the disorderly and dishonest part of this monstrously overgrown and profligate metropolis. In a *political* point of view, we, for our parts, must confess, that we cannot regard it as a subject of very deep regret. Mr. Mainwaring is certainly a worthy man and a good magistrate; but, he has not been remarkable for his courage and firmness as a member of Parliament. We well remember predicting, nearly two years ago, that he would verify the proverb of the *two stools*; and, were it not that law and justice have been struck at in his person, we should not be sorry, that the prediction has been fulfilled. Some of the addresses of Sir Francis Burdett contain, indeed, most inflammatory and dangerous sentiments: for instance, where he says, that the *nomination of the sheriffs* has been "illegally usurped from the people;" and there are several other passages, where, in forbearing to speak treason, he seems to have exercised no small degree of self-denial; but, we repeat our opinion, that even open rebellion would not be half so dangerous as the torpor, which has lately prevailed. Great fear was entertained by His Majesty's ministers, that Sir Francis would order a *general illumination*; and, we are informed, that considerable bodies of troops were stationed in different parts of the town *to prevent the people from being forced to illuminate*. Why was this? Sir Francis Burdett had as much right to order an illumination as Lord Hawkesbury and his worthy and sprightly colleague. Sir Francis's election is, at worst, not half so disgraceful to Middlesex, as their treaty is to England; nor would it have been more mortifying to be compelled to illuminate by the tenants of the Bastile, than by the myrmidons of the General Post-Office. "Oh," say the wiseacres, "but, peace was hailed by the *unanimous voice of the people*:" so, then, is the success of Sir Francis Burdett. The "*transports of exultation and the delirium of joy*," were not greater on the fatal first of October than on the 29th of July, nor was there a more general disposition to illuminate for the peace than for the election, until the Lord Mayor and Sir Richard Ford issued recommendations, which were received as the *orders of government*, and which were intended to be so received. Compared to the conduct of Lord Hawkesbury and his intelligent associate, Sir Francis Burdett, has, therefore, been singularly modest. Indeed, his foregoing the illumination is inexcusable. We should have liked to see him return the poisoned chalice back to the lips of the ministry. Another and better opportunity will offer itself for recording the many very interesting circumstances of this election, but, in the mean time, we cannot help saying a word as to the petition, which, it is said, Mr. Mainwaring intends to present against the return. It is our opinion, that this petition will never be presented; and, if it be, we are pretty certain, that it will fail of success. Mr. Addington already feels enough of the cares of this wicked world, without reviving the times of Wilkes and Liberty.

The news from Turkey leave but little room to doubt of the approaching downfal of that empire, of which there is every probability that France will have a large, or at least, a profitable slice. Our Levant merchants, alarmed at the prospect of affairs at the scene of their speculations, have applied to Lord Hawkesbury on the subject, (see p. 115.). They have received for answer, that his Majesty's ministers have no reason to expect any violation of the *integrity* of Turkey; and that, with regard to the new and alarming privilege which the Frenoh have obtained, of navigation freely in the Black Sea, government has *no knowledge* of it; but, if the Turkish government *should think proper* to grant such privilege to the French republic, the English merchant may rest assured, that the French trade will obtain no advantage over them.—This answer is perfectly of a piece with those which were given to the several inquiries respecting Portugal and its colonies, respecting Malta, Louisiana, &c. &c. It amounts to this, that his Majesty's ministers know nothing at all of the matter, and that they dare not enquire.

Chaptal's letter, (see p. 110.) to Jourdan, the counseller of state in Piedmont, together with the accompanying decree, seem to fix the fate of that country.—The French commercial regulations are of considerable interest, particularly as *Antwerp* is included amongst the ports of entry for colonial produce. It appears, that the merchants of the old French ports have used their utmost endeavours to prevent the revival of this famous emporium of trade; but they have not been able to obtain even a short delay. If the opening of the Scheldt will be so injurious to Bourdeaux, Nantz, and Havre, what will it be to Amsterdam, and what will it, in a very few years, be to London?

The American minister has informed the

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consuls of that country, (see p. 113.) that the Emperor of Morocco has commenced hostilities against the United States. Buonaparte has taken advantage of some squabble with these piratical states, to insinuate his intention of sending a force into Africa, which it is very probable he will do by way of a pretext for the re-occupation of Egypt. He neglects not, in the mean time, to keep up, and even to augment, his corps of Mamelukes.—Admiral De Winter, on the part of the Dutch, is, it seems, negotiating treaties with the Barbary powers; or, in other words, is settling the tribute they are to receive.

The *indemnities* are at last fixed upon; but the detail of the pillage has not yet been published. Buonaparté, while he seizes on Piedmont, and proscribes those of the people who were most faithful to their sovereign, compels the king of Naples to issue a proclamation, granting a general amnesty to all those who, in behalf of the French republic, had conspired against his throne and his life.

Villaret Joyeuse, with a fleet having *eighteen thousand* men on board, is now preparing to sail from Brest. Part of his force is destined for Louisiana under Bernadotte and Victor; the rest for St. Domingo. There was a time when a fleet with eighteen thousand men on board, in addition to 35 thousand already there, would not have sailed for the West-Indies, without some inquiries on the part of Great-Britain. But that time is past. We shall be suffered to ask no more questions, 'till we are completely surrounded; and then we shall be answered by the cannon of our enemy.

The fate of Toussaint is, as yet, undecided. It has been stated, in the London papers, that Buonaparté has resolved to bring him to trial for rebellion. We hardly think this. It would be very unwise. Such a proceeding would do too much honour to so mean an offender.

☞ *We have not been able to get the Supplement to the first Volume ready for delivery, owing to its having swelled out beyond our expectation. We shall give notice of it in our next.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

War-Office, July 24, 1802.

1st Reg. of Dragoons, Adjutant Nathaniel Eckersley to be Adjutant, with the Rank of Cornet.

18th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Adjut. S. Holmes to be Adjut. with the Rank of Cornet.

14th Ditto, Quarter-Master J. Babington to be Adjut. with the Rank of Cornet, vice Humphry, who resigns.

16th Ditto, Quarter-Master —— M'Intosh to be Adjut. with the Rank of Cornet, vice Dudley, who resigns.

20th Ditto, Lieut. W. Boothby, from the 15th Light Drag. to be Lieut. vice Maxwell, deceased. Lieut. Fran. J. Fuller, from the 15th Light Drag. to be Lieutenant.

21st Ditto, Lieut.-General Banastre Tarleton, from the 22d Light Drag. to be Colonel, vice Beaumont. Adjut. Francis Evatt to be Adjut. with the Rank of Cornet.

York Hussars, Cornet —— Seelinger to be Lieut. without purchase, —— Hammel, Gent. to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Struvé.

1st Battalion of the 1st Reg. of Foot, Capt. Frederick Hardyman, from the Royal Fuzileers, to be Major, by purchase, vice Sir Ed. Baker Littlehales, Bart. who retires. Adjut. Rob. Muller to be Adjut. with the Rank of Ensign.

2d Batta. of Ditto, Adjut. —— Robinson to be Adjut with the Rank of Ensign.

6th Reg. of Foot, Brevet Major Ja. Muter, from the 42d Foot, to be Maj. vice Impey, deceased.

9th Ditto, Second Lieut. Neil Douglas, from the 21st Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Vandepant, promoted.

22d Ditto, Adjut. Edw. Harris to be Adjut. with the Rank of Ensign.

24th Ditto, Lieut. Tho. Watkin Forster to be Captain-Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Bellingham, who retires.

30th Ditto, Lieut. Tho. George Waggett, from the 31st Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Holbrooke, who retires.

35th Ditto, Ensign Michael Taylor, from the Fifeshire Fencibles, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Dawson, promoted.

39th Ditto, Adjut. John Bown to be Adjut. with the Rank of Ensign.

43d Ditto, Capt. the Hon. Hen. King, from the 1st Foot Guards, to be Capt. of a Company, vice Satterthwaite, deceased.

44th Ditto, Adjut. Tho. Mackrell to be Adjut. with the Rank of Ensign.

60th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Drummond, from the 2d West-India Reg. to be Capt. by purchase, vice Schwartz, who retires. Cornet J. M'Mahon, from the 15th Light Drag. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Goodlad, promoted. Adjut. H. Dibbly to be Adjutant, with the Rank of Ensign. Adjut. John Watson to be ditto.

To be Adjutants, with the Rank of Ensigns.

66th Ditto, Adjut. Alexander Moorhead.
69th Ditto, Adjut. Ja. M'Mahon.
70th Ditto, Adjut. Ch. Martin.
77th Ditto, Adjut. H. Fletcher.

82d Ditto, Lieut. Ch. Ed. Conyers to be Captain-Lieut. without purchase, vice Stapleton, who is placed on Half-pay. Adjut. —— Mountain to be Adjut. with the Rank of Ensign.

1st West-India Reg. Lieut. R. J. Wingfield, from the Half-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Roberts, who exchanges.

3d Ditto, Lieut. Rob. Ross, from the 22d Light Drag. to be Capt. by purchase, vice Boys, who retires.

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—— Depradine, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Jesseman, who retires. Adjut. —— Burke to be Adjut. with the Rank of Ensign. Th. Scott, Gent. late Surgeon of the 2d West-India Regiment, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Kennedy, removed to the 39th foot.

To be Adjutants, with the Rank of Ensigns.

4th Ditto, Adjut. —— Forest.
Staff Corps, Adjut. —— Thomson.
Royal Waggon Train, Adjut. Lorkin Walford.

HOSPITAL STAFF.

Surgeon Ch. Lind to be Assistant-Inspector of Hospitals to the Forces in the Island of Jamaica.

Memorandum.—Lieut. —— Metcalfe, of the 17th Reg. of Foot, is superseded, having never joined his Reg.

BANKRUPTS.

Betteger, Wm. late of Vauxhall, taylor.
Harvey, Hen. Hill, late of Tokenhouse-Yard, broker.
Houlton, John, of Digbeth, Birmingham, baker.
Jackson, Thomas, late of Manchester, silk-manufacturer.
Marshall, John, late of Workington, Cumberland, linen-draper.
Procter, John, the elder, Lancaster, common-brewer.
Procter, John, the younger, of Lancaster, merchant.
Richardson, Tho. of Manchester, merchant.
Scott, Timothy, late of Coleman-street, London, dealer.
Statham, Wm. of Birmingham, butcher.
Whitly, Thomas of Makin-place, Soyland, Halifax, merchant.

MARRIAGE.

Robertson, Colonel Wm. the younger, of Lude, Scotland, to Miss Haldane, daughter of the late G. Haldane, Esq. of Gleneagles.

DEATHS.

Blare, Col. John, at his house, Upper Berkeley-street, Portman-square.
Brathwaite, Mrs. wife of the Revd. G. Braithwaite, Min. of Hawkshead, at Belmont, Lancashire.
Curtis, Capt. Na. son of Sir R. Curtis, at Bristol.
Clifden, Lucy Dowager Viscountess, on Monday, at Lady Mendip's, at Twickenham.
Dumaresq, Admiral, Peham Place, Hants.
Evatt, Wm. Esq. one of the Clerks of the House of Commons.
Forrest, Mrs. relict of the late Admiral Forrest, at Binfield, Berks.
Griffith, Rev. H. Davis, at Caerhum, near Conway.
Heathcote, Mrs. wife of the Rev. Tho. Heathcote, Rector of Stone in Kent.
Johnston, Lady, wife of Sir Wm. Johnston, Bart. at her house in Gloucester-place, on Sunday last.
Montgomery, Alexr. Esq. of Arwick-loge, brother of the Earl of Elintoun. On the 8th inst. at Great Malvern.
Pitt, Rev. Rich. On the 17th inst.
Surtees, R. Esq. of Mainsworth, Durham, on the 10th inst.
Teesdale, Chr. Esq. late L. Col. Sussex Cav.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	184	—
3 pr. C.R. An.	72⅛	72⅛	72⅛	71⅝	72⅛	71⅞
3 per C. Con.	71⅝	71⅝	71⅞	70⅝	71⅞	71⅝
4 pr C. Cons.	88⅛	88⅛	88⅛	88⅛	88⅛	88⅛
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100½	100⅜	100	100⅛	100⅜	—
Bank L. Ann.	20⅜	20 11/16	20 11/16	20 11/16	20 11/16	20⅛
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	5 1/8	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	70⅛	—	69⅛	69⅛	70⅛	70
D° Ann.....	12 1/16	12⅛	21 1/16	—	—	12⅛
5 per Ct. 1797	104⅛	103⅛	103⅛	103⅞	103⅛	103⅛
Omnium ..	3½ dis	3½	5 dis	5 dis	3½ dis	4½
India Stock..	—	—	—	—	—	209
D° Bonds....	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	0 pr
Irish 5 pr Ct	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets .	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 40 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 17½	2 us.	LEGHORN	51½	
D°, at sight	10 14½		NAPLES.....	44¾	
ROTTERDAM	10 18½	2 us.	GENOA	47½	
HAMBURGH..	38	2 us.	VENICE, 57½ livres		
ALTONA	38	2 us.	piccol effective per £. ster.		
PARIS 1 day	23 13		LISBON.....	67½	
PARIS....	23 19	2 us.	OPORTO	67½	
BOURDEAUX,	23 19		DUBLIN.....	19¼	
CADIZ	32	in paper	BILBOA.....	36 D°	
DITTO	36¼	eff.	PALERMO		
MADRID ..	32	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.	
DITTO	36¼	effective			

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	
Eng. Wheat per q.	52	to 79	Hops per cwt...	95	to 11
Foreign.....	00	.. 00	Hay per load..	116	.. 1
Rye.....	36	.. 37	Beef, per stone....	4s. 8d	
Barley.....	32	.. 36	to 5s. 6d.		
Malt.....	46	.. 58	Mutton 5s. 8d. to 6s	10	
Oats.....	14	.. 27	Veal .... 5s. 0d. to 6s.	0	
Pease (white)....	37	.. 41	Pork.... 5s. 6d. to 5s.	9	
Beans (horse)....	34	.. 37	Tallow	3s. 9	
Flour per sack ..	53	.. 58	Average of Sugar		
Seconds.....	45	.. 53	per cwt.	36s. 3	
Coals per chal....	34	.. 41	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 2	

Bread *Ten Pence Farthing* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of July, 180

Days	M'sage	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. D. M.	Ther. D. A.
22		Fair Rain	sw	sw	29,5	29,51	60	57
23		Fair.	w	w	29,75	29,75	60	64
24		Fair.	NW	w	30	30	61	65
25		Fair.	w	w	29,95	29,9	62	66
26		Rain Fair	NW	NW	29,7	29,69	61	64
27		Misly. Fin	sw	sw	29,7	29,7	59,5	65
28		Rain Fair	sw	sw	29,69	29,69	61	62

● *New Moon* ◐ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ◑ *Last Quar.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 2. No. 5.] London, Saturday, 7th August, 1802. [Price 10D.

Contents.—Let from Stockholm, 129. Let. to Burdett, 132. Mr. Hutchisson, 136. Gen. Diet, 137. Guadal. 138. Leclerc. Toussaint, 142. French Commerce, 143. Army Orders, 144. East-Indies, 145. Letter from Baltimore, 147. Burdett, 151. Mr. Addington's Sinecure, 152.

TO THE EDITOR.

Stockholm, July 5, 1802.

Sir,—We are informed here, although not officially, that the British Cabinet has not thought proper to confirm the condemnation of our convoy.

Perhaps you may remember, Sir, that during the sittings of the Diet of Northkoping we represented to your ministry, "that "the deed by which they should condemn "our convoy would serve as a standard, "around which the insulated sovereigns "of Europe and America would rally in "their own defence, or to protect the pro-"perty of their trading subjects:" we at the same time proposed reconciliation, and offered an arrangement, the terms of which were much less humiliating to your naval pride than are those of your late convention with Russia. The advances of our Court were treated with indifference; and you have seen your predictions in so far realized.

During the American and late war, your ministers have upon every occasion arrogantly insulted Sweden and Denmark, and constantly cringed to Russia. Catherine made your complaisance subservient to her own projects; her successor, as soon as he saw your arrogance to the *weaker* and your management with the *great, disdained* your politics; and actuated by a principle of heroic probity, he determined to detach himself from your influence.

But Paul I. never intended to countenance the usurpations of France; nor would he have been governed by her intrigues.

The death of this brave Prince (*which you, and not Buonaparté*, will soon have serious cause to lament), and the conversation which you hold out as having been held between Count de Cotteschaubey and our minister Baron Stedingk, at Petersburgh, have it seems encouraged your Cabinet finally to confirm the condemnation of our property! Confiding in your presumed ascendency over the late Emperor, you took our convoy; and, depending upon the friendship of his son, you have now condemned it.

The result of your presumed ascendency over Paul is known; the effects of your confidence in the friendship of Alexander will by and by appear in more quarters than one.

You make us, as you say, accede to your convention with Russia—"that we," Sweden, "may not be insulated and left alone." That we shall not be left alone to ourselves, you have taken special care: but forcing your old friends and allies into other hands in the manner you have done, i. e. is, by condemning the fair trading property of the one and seizing the territory of the other, may you not insulate yourselves from the good of the moral and political world? Believe, Sir, an impartial Swede, who has for these many years looked at the public world,—that you, I mean the British nation, will soon have to regret your late and present system of policy towards the weaker states! You have driven us all into the holdfast clutches of *your enemies*; and the avidity with which these powers have taken us up from almost your legs, to put us in a civil manner under their own feet, should not escape your notice.

You will not expect that we can be much interested in the reputation of those men who have brought about our dependency, and who have now ratified our bondage; however, when we see, that the same infatuation which lost the political existence of so many continental states, has now seized the British nation itself, we cannot resist an awful anxiety. Since the day the treaty of Luneville was signed, measures the most efficacious, that talents unshackled by either principle or morality can devise, have been and are arranging, to form against the British empire—such a combination of power as the world has yet never seen united in one cause. Sweden and Denmark, with the dominion of the Baltic, are driven by you under the orders of Russia; the King of Prussia who detests the British ministry (although he reveres your venerable sovereign) has acted as mediating negotiator between Alexander and Buonaparté—arranged the division of Germany, what they call the organization of Italy and Turkey; an orderly

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republic in Persia; and, as a matter of course, the *deliverance* of Hindostan. That America may not in anywise embarrass the operations of the coalition, Jefferson is invited to be a party; and, should he *keep his feet*, the American shipping will join the French at the Cape, or at the Isle de France, as soon as things are ripe. Admiral Lord Nelson's campaign in the Baltic has shewn to Russia the means of shutting that sea against the naval power of the world; the submission of, and alliance with, Toussaint's blacks in St. Domingo gives Buonaparté the absolute command of the West-Indies; the evacuation of Malta and Minorca gives him the command of the Dardenelles, and the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, (for what will you do there more than in the Baltic without a port or anchorage?) And, at the gates of the Seraglio, he can demand the keys of Cairo, Damascus, and Bassoria. The Russian army is now in full march to Ispahan, and may soon be encamped in the delightful plains of Cubal Pajab; the Tartarian chiefs from Korsa by Bokira to Grand Thibet are in alliance or connexion with Russia—the Russian officer (a Swede) who drew up the plan of the conquest of Persia, and had it approved of in Paris about twelve months ago, is now, with two of our engineers, who are in the service of the Port, surveying Persia and the western and northern frontiers of Hindostan; the orders for artillery and arms from here to Holland and France, to be carried to the Cape, Batavia, and Pegul, are immense. In short, we presume, that as you cannot pretend to save Jamaica when Buonaparté is sovereign lord of the whole Island of St. Domingo, no more can you protect your eastern possessions when Russia and France are jointly masters of the Dardanelles, and governors of Persia.

We are not angry with you on account of our convoy only; but that you have suffered Russia and France to join hands and enslave the world, is a terrible consideration. You had Malta, the Cape, and might have had Sweden and Denmark with the Baltic open: in what could intrigue or open hostility have helped your enemies? Who can now prevent the junction of their forces and resist their powers? That these two mighty empires may quarrel when they are in contact, is very probable; but they will, in all likelihood, subdue the world first; and it can be no very pleasant prospect to you, nor to us, that our countries and possessions shall be ravaged and laid waste by their future contentions.

Buonaparté amuses you with rivality in trade and national improvement: if you believe him you will not long be his rival in power.

* * * *

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—Sir Francis Burdett having, in an address to the Middlesex Electors, obtruded his political sentiments, in a most offensive garb, on the public, I conceive it will not be considered as either uncandid or illiberal to analyze this curious production. He begins by endeavouring to invalidate the opinion, which he says, Mr. Mainwaring has endeavoured to impress on the public, that, the opposition to his re-election, was in fact, an attack on the government. I have not read many of Mr. Mainwaring's advertisements on this occasion, or heard any of his speeches; but, admitting the fact, can Sir Francis, or any of his supporters say, that there was no latent hostility, no secret enmity to the government, which urged him to the contest? In what act, let me ask, of his whole political life has he manifested any affection? any attachment? and, I will say, any loyalty towards it? Has he not on all, and, on every occasion, displayed the most inveterate hatred, the most implacable rancour against it? Did not O'Connor, the infamous O'Connor, the very high-priest of treason, the most deadly foe of England, did not this arch-rebel, though animated with the most rancorous enmity, declare, that he loved this very detested country, merely because it had given birth to Sir Francis Burdett? With such a man, so loved, and so distinguished, opposition to *any* government, which is supported by wise laws, and which possesses sufficient energy to enforce them, must be a fixed and leading principle: it will force itself into all his words, into all his actions, and, cast a dark and ominous shade over his whole conduct. I therefore have a right to concur, and I do most heartily concur in the opinion, that a virulent hatred to the government, which protects even *him*, was the grand and first object of the contest. But, I will confute him from his own confession. I will bring forward the opinion of this philanthropic patriot to his own conviction. He has asserted, indirectly and by implication, and a perusal of his letter will bear me out, that the government of this country is a government of tyranny and oppression, of secret and concealed torture. This has al-

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ways been the burden of his parliamentary effusions, and is now become that of his electioneering compositions. After these insinuations, too gross, and too palpable to be mistaken, he declares his opposition to have been to *such* a government, thereby convicting himself in the fullest manner; for the first part of his letter will evidently bear the construction, of a denial to the opinion, which he asserts Mr. Mainwaring to have been endeavouring to impress on the public mind. He avows his opposition to have been to "any government by secret "and concealed torture." Is it the governments of Turkey, France, or Prussia which he opposes? I have not heard that either of these despotic powers have ever experienced any of his envenomed attacks. The question is therefore reduced to one point. It can be no other than the government under which he lives; under which his person, his property, and even his tongue, his lips, and his pen are free. Grateful patriot! This I suppose is patriotic consistency; or, may we not rather say, that in the heat of jacobinical rancour, consistency was forgotten and truth involuntarily forced its way.

He says, that, the *number* of voters who have given their suffrages to Mr. Mainwaring is no proof to him, that they approve his political conduct. Sir Francis has been rather unfortunate in thus making numbers the test of approbation, and, furnishes another proof of the imbecility of the mind, which could suffer the heated impulse of an impassioned moment to prevail over prudence; I will examine this matter, and try him by his own test, on the score of political virtue.

Out of 6143 votes, Sir Francis has a majority of 271, after a contest of unprecedented length, and in which, until the last two or three days, Mr. Mainwaring had a majority nearly double that of Sir Francis's. *Report* declares that this majority was not obtained in a way, which a high sense of honour would easily justify. *It is said*, that, a few votes of a considerable number of doubtful voters, were artfully and purposely brought forward to vote for Mr. Mainwaring, who objected to them, as being, in his opinion, illegal; but, that either Sir Francis, or his friends, expressed a conviction, of their validity. Mr. Mainwaring, like other honest men, who are dupes to the artful, was caught in the snare, and the votes were accordingly admitted. A precedent being thus established, the whole body immediately came forward, and turned the scale in favour of the triumphant candidate. This speaks for itself, it needs no comment. Setting aside the votes thus obtained, I apprehend Sir Francis would have little cause to triumph in his supposed political superiority in the opinion of the electors; and, taking his own test as a criterion of the political merits of Mr. Mainwaring and himself, in the public opinion, it will appear that Mr. Mainwaring is considered by the county of Middlesex, as the most proper person to represent them.

Sir Francis highly elated by his success, and, in a moment of exultation and tumult of joy, undoubtedly considers himself as a most sublime patriot, and as the idol of the mob. Enviable distinction!—I will allow him to be so; and, recurring again to his own test, assert, that Mr. Mainwaring is inferior only to him, in the proportion of 3207 to 2936, the numbers on the poll. By the same rule (his own) Sir Francis is infinitely inferior to Mr. Byng in political merit, as the latter gentleman has a majority over Sir Francis of no less than 641; a majority over Sir Francis, greater than *his* over Mr. Mainwaring. I conclude, still adhering to his own test, that this is no small proof of the real sentiments of the county, on the political virtues of Sir Francis Burdett. If the votes alluded to, should ultimately prove null, what will become of his political virtues. I will tell him; they will sink to the Bathos. Is this circumstance of the doubtful votes a fact, or is it not? If it is false, let Sir Francis Burdett come forth, in conscious virtue bold, and publicly deny it. It will wipe off one of the stigmas which this election has fixed upon him.

But, the most serious charge I have against him is, the attempt he has made in this letter, to insinuate that government has had recourse to secret execution. This is so black and diabolical an insinuation, that no power of language can sufficiently mark its infamy. Does he mean to say, that prisoners have been secretly executed without a trial? Can he have the effrontery to assert it? Let him bring forward his proofs; proofs clearly substantiated. I dare him to do it. But no; he cannot; he dare not; and, the attempt to fix such a crime on the government, is to the full as atrocious as the actual commission of it, and merits the strongest, and most pointed reprobation. Can measures, sanctioned by Parliament and approved by a vast majority of the country; measures, evidently adopted for the security of our persons, our properties, and our laws, be called tyranny and oppression? It has been the happy lot of this

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country, to possess a minister, whose great and comprehensive mind was competent to the difficulties of our situation; by whose effective and decisive measures, the disaffected have been crushed, and compelled to hide their diminished heads; and, it will reflect the most resplendent lustre on the British character to the latest posterity, that the people had the wisdom to approve, and the fortitude to support them. Sir Francis need not be told, that by these insinuations, he is highly reflecting on the Parliament; which he probably intends. The measures which have prevented the seditious from disturbing the peace and good order of the country, and for whose sufferings, though justly inflicted, he feels such a tender regard, were approved in Parliament; and dares he censure its decree? It really excites something like a smile to observe how very limited is the loving-kindness of this tender-hearted philanthropist. It has never come to my knowledge, that he has extended it to any *other* criminals. Did he ever bring before the House the cause of the widow or the orphan, unconnected with politics? or of some unfortunate wretch, languishing in prison, rather through his own misfortunes, or the villainy of others, than from any crimes? Did he ever from the purse, which now so readily overflows; did he ever glad the heart of the unfortunate debtor, and restore him to his afflicted and starving family, and to society? Let him satisfactorily answer these questions, before he makes a parade of his philanthropic humanity, in behalf of acquitted felons and the pests of society.

He says, he loves his country, and its tranquillity. What a prostitution of the noblest of all principles! Our patriotic philanthropist proves this, by advocating the cause of its bitterest enemies. Is it love for our country to display, on every occasion, the most rooted animosity to its constitution and government? Is it love for our country to take a decided part with the seditious and disaffected? Is it love for our country, to treat with contempt the laws, and its administrators? Away with such hypocritical cant. If this be love of our country, I confess I have none of it. Sir Francis may again assert it; but, where is the credulous fool who will believe it.

The whole tenor of this letter is of so seditious and inflammatory a description, and marks so strongly the rancorous and Catalinian mind of the writer, that it cannot be too strongly reprobated, or too conspicuously held up, to the detestation of the country.

I am, &c. *Observer.*

TO THE FRIEND OF MR. HUSKISSON.

Pall-Mall, 3d Aug. 1802.

Sir,—Having been contradicted by you (see Register, p. 65) with respect to Mr. Huskisson's *commercial connexions*, I have naturally been led to pursue my inquiries relative thereto, and, in answer to your positive assertion, that Mr. Huskisson has "never been, either directly or indirectly, "connected with any *commercial establishment*, "of any description, in any quarter of the "world," I have now positively and publicly to assert, that, the assignees of Boyd and Benfield, bankrupts, found, in the accounts of the said bankrupts, a balance of *between twenty and thirty thousand pounds* against your friend Mr. Huskisson, which money was paid by Mr Huskisson (out of what fund I know not) to the said assignees.—Now, Sir, where the *balance* was so great what must have been the amount of the account current? What must have been the magnitude of the transactions? They must surely have amounted to "a connexion "either direct or indirect, with a *commercial establishment*?" And the fact does, I am afraid, clearly prove you to have been deceived. Give me leave to hope, Sir, that you will clear this matter up; that you will tell us how your friend came to be involved in this great concern, while he was *under secretary of state*, (for such you will have him to have been) in the office of that acute and disinterested gentleman, Mr. Henry Dundas; and, that you will also have the complaisance to inform us, *whence the money came* to discharge the balance due to Boyd and Benfield. In re-tracing Mr. Huskisson, we find him, in 1793, a *gay young apothecary* at Paris; in 1794 and 1795 we find him clerk in the alien office, on a salary of about three hundred a year; in 1796 he becomes under secretary of state, at a salary of 2,000 a year, in which situation the bankruptcy of Boyd and Co. overtook him. All the money he had ever *received in his whole life* could not have amounted to more than five or six thousand pounds, and as to his *savings* they must have been very small indeed. Pray tell us, therefore, where he got the twenty thousand pounds to pay to the assignees of Boyd and Benfield.—This is a *private* matter, Sir; Mr. Huskisson is a pu

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lic man; he is resolved to be a public man; his friend, Mr. Dundas, will thrust him forward. Defeated at Dover, his tutelar deity carries him off to the Highlands of Scotland. I am to be compelled to submit to laws of his making, and he shall be compelled to submit to my investigation of the character and conduct of himself and his patron.—In my next I shall inquire into the probable connexion between the transactions with Boyd and Benfield, and late transactions at Dover, and in the Scotch boroughs.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

DIET OF PRESBOURG.

First sitting, May 6, 1802.—The sitting was opened by a speech from one of the members, Simsey, Knight of the Order of St. Stephen, in which he reminded the States of the duties imposed on them by their convocation. A deputation was then charged to repair to the Archduke Palatine, sitting with the Magnates of the Kingdom in another hall, and to announce to his Royal Highness, that the States had obeyed the orders of his Majesty in repairing to their room. The Archduke Palatine replied by another deputation, composed of Magnates, and assured the States of his attachment, good wishes, and satisfaction. The States made choice of the members who were to repair to Vienna, in order to invite their Imperial Majesties to honour the Diet with their presence. A discussion took place, on the manner in which their Majesties were to be received, on the interior organization of the sittings, and on the division of the labour.—The sitting then rose.

Second sitting, May 11.—Report of the deputation sent to Vienna. The States were then engaged with some details on lodging the members. The sitting then rose.

Third sitting, May 13.—The speech addressed to their Majesties the preceding evening on their arrival at Presbourg, was read.—His Majesty entered the hall of the assembly.—His appearance was celebrated by several orators, among whom was Count Jankey. The Emperor addressed the States as follows:

"It is needless to call to your remembrance here what no one can be ignorant of, viz. that the first years of our reign were destined through necessity, to the maintenance of a cruel war, and that all our thoughts, which it would have been agreeable to us to employ in the calmness of peace to the prosperity of our States, were entirely absorbed by the care of preserving the Monarchy entire, and securing, against inevitable dissolution, the bonds which unite so many people faithful to our person. For this reason the Diets which we then convoked had no other, and could have no other object than to deliberate on the means of removing the danger and defending the dignity of the Throne. In this we not only were assisted by your counsels, but we experienced also the efficacy of your support; for, when the chances of war permitted the enemy to penetrate at two different times into our Hereditary States of Germany, you spared no expense to collect always with incredible speed a new army fit for the operations of war, which aspired after nothing but danger and glory, and which never hesitated, under the direction and by the example of our well-beloved brother, your Duke Palatine, to sacrifice themselves for us and for the Monarchy.

"The remembrance of this generous devotion will never be effaced from our memory; and we recollect also, and with no less satisfaction, that not only some, but all of you, inspired by the most affecting love for us and for your country, were not satisfied with granting the subsidies in men, money, and provisions decreed by the States, but by a free and spontaneous movement you made a sacrifice to the public cause of all the means which were in your power. But, notwithstanding the cares which the war required, we never ceased, as much as circumstances would permit, to turn our attention to the internal happiness of our States; and we ought, indeed, to say, that those whom you appointed to act in concert with us discharged worthily, and agreeably to our royal will, the task imposed upon them, by devising and proposing every thing that could tend to maintain and promote the public welfare. Now that we are freed from the cares of war, our paternal solicitude, though claimed by every part of the public administration, ought, however, to be particularly directed towards the means which tend to guarantee external security, which is the basis of all civil existence; for, as has been proved by the recent dangers of the war, it is impossible to enjoy one's property unless it be secured from foreign incursions. This security can be effectually acquired only by keeping in readiness all the means neces-

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sary for its defence, and these means themselves can be acquired only by efforts and sacrifices.

"We shall not enter into any farther explanations. We have the certainty of being understood, and the confidence that your dispositions can never be any other, than those which you have always testified, even in the most difficult conjunctures—It is with this confidence that we signify to you our royal will, and the wishes which we judge useful to the public prosperity. After the sentiments which are well known to us, and which animate both the heart of a beloved brother, and that of all orders of the state, we have no doubt that you, gentlemen, will all make it a duty to deliberate with that gravity, which is suited to the importance of the object, and with that celerity, which will cause every thing that may be more particularly interesting to the internal prosperity, to be immediately discussed with success.

"In regard to us, we have, and never will have any thing so much at heart as to labour, as we are obliged, that we may rest on solid bases, and transmit untouched to our successors, the maintenance, dignity, and happiness of the kingdom of Hungary, of that kingdom which we have always considered as one of our firmest supports, both in regard to the numerous advantages we derive from its soil, and of the noble sentiments and warlike ardour by which the inhabitants are animated. Persuaded then, as we are, of the attachment of all orders of the state, and convinced of the share we shall have in the glory and affectionate remembrance of posterity, we wish, gentlemen, that you may all and each of you be assured of our Imperial and Royal clemency."

Then followed a speech from the Archduke Palatine, and a declaration of attachment in the name of the States.

When the Emperor had retired, the Archduke Palatine made known, through the organ of the Prothonotary of the kingdom, the propositions which were to be the object of the deliberations of the Diet. These propositions were, 1st, To provide that the regular militia of the kingdom of Hungary should be always complete. 2d. To increase the price of salt, it being known that the ordinary revenue of two millions of florins is not sufficient to cover the expenses of the state.

The States having deliberated upon the propositions of the Emperor, agreed, upon proof of the present state of the Hungarian legions, to pay the precise sum required in augmentation, in consideration of a free exportation of its productions being granted to Hungary, not only for the Hereditary States, but every foreign country whatever. The answer of the Emperor, communicated by the Archduke, stated that the number of troops should be according to the capitulation of 1790 and 1791, and to be raised by conscription; that two millions of florins were necessary for present expenses; and that he must consult with the States before he could grant the demand with respect to trade in its full extent. This answer being discussed, it was finally agreed, that the number of troops to complete the Hungarian army should be granted until the next Diet, the operation of raising them to be in proportion to the population; and should circumstances require a greater force, the point to be settled with the States in a Diet convened for the purpose. This plan being communicated to the Archduke Palatine, he in a few moments after announced his assent to it.

Proclamation made by Richepanse, General in Chief of the Army of Guadaloupe, to the Inhabitants of that Colony.

Citizens! I hasten to announce to you that the French Revolution has at length reached its ultimate degree of power and stability. The definitive peace has just reconciled all the nations of Europe; and you see, by the articles of that solemn compact how advantageous the stipulations have been in favour of the Mother-Country. Know further, that the government which has ... me, actuated by its profound wisdo... nearly brought to perfection, in the ... of two years, the work of public felic... Its power is not to be shaken, because ... resides in a well-founded confidence in th... regard of good Citizens, and in the affectio... and energy of the armies, which is respecte... by the Cabinet of every Sovereign, and ble... sed by all the children of the Republic.-... The warriors whom I have introduced amon... you, are part of those on whose victori... was raised, on the 18th Brumaire, the ne... constitutional edifice. Go, said the Fren... Government, to them, elevate your gl... to the highest pitch, by triumphing over t... last opposition to its authority in dista... countries. There you will have less enemi... to conquer than errors to correct—your pr... sence will dissipate them. The inhabitan... of Guadaloupe have offered their tribute ... courage, by preventing the destruction ... their country. There is in the professi...

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of arms a happy sympathy, which unites by the ties of honour all the defenders of their country. They desire to become the associates of your reputation; they hope to find in you brothers, and soon the ancient bonds which attached them to the common centre, will be confirmed by you.—It is my duty, Citizens, to realize this hope; it is also the wish of my heart to do so. Those brave soldiers who have so many times confronted death against the enemies of France, are only here as the protectors of your homes, and as models of virtuous warriors and Frenchmen, like yourselves. The act of authority of their chief, will be assurances of your happiness. You will anticipate their effects by your voluntary return to good order, by an entire submission to the government which I represent, and by the oblivion of animosity; but if the important ministry I am come to fulfil among you, should fail in producing universal conviction, and if there should any remain who are so senseless as to disregard the legitimate power of the government, the natural vengeance, which has been so long restrained, will overwhelm them.—Disgrace and death will be their portion.—The present proclamation shall be printed, published, affixed, and sent to the Communes.—Done at Pointe-à-Pitre, the 19th Floréal, 10th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Richepanse.

Head-Quarters at the Cape, June 11, 1802.

Citizens,—That Toussaint conspired, you will be able to judge by the annexed letter to Citizen Fontaine. I could not compromise the tranquillity of the colony. I arrested him, made him embark, and sent him to France, where he must render an account of his conduct to the French Government. In another letter, addressed to Citizen Fontaine, he loads General Christophe with invective, and complains that General Dessalines had abandoned him.—He had prohibited Sylla from laying down his arms, and forbid the cultivators to labour in any other plantations than those adapted to their own subsistence. —He had sent one of his accomplices to General Dessalines, to engage him to break his good faith. General Dessalines declared to me.—He relied much at St. Marc, on Maurepas. He is arrested.—I have proceeded with severity against this great criminal; and I ordered the Generals of division of the army, to compel by force all the cultivators who are yet in arms in the mountains, to return.—The cultivators are not so culpable as those who lead them astray. In consequence, every commandant of the National Guard, every officer, every manager or proprietor, who shall be found assembled in arms, shall be immediately shot.—As to the commune of Ennery, I order it to be disarmed immediately, for having been so tardy in submitting.—General Brunet will see this order executed.—The Chief of the Etat Major will print, publish, and post up the present order, with the letter of Gen. Toussaint, and circulate it throughout the army and the colony.

Leclerc.

Copy of a Letter of the Ex-general Toussaint Louverture, to Citizen Fontaine.

Quarter of Louverture, May 27, 1802.

You send me no news, Citizen. Remain at the Cape as long as you can.—It is said General Leclerc is ill at Tortue: be particular in informing me relative to that subject.—We shall see . . for the a . . . . of the news. As to the corn, which we must have as before, it cannot be sent till they have passed the Saona, in order to know the point where it can be placed in safety.—If you see the General in Chief, be sure to tell him that the cultivators will no longer obey me. They wish to labour at Hericourt, which the manager ought not to suffer.—Try if you can gain some person near the General in Chief, in order to render D . . . free:—he will be very useful to me by his credit, as to news and otherwise.—Tell Gengembre that he must not quit Le Borgne, where the cultivators must not labour.—Direct to the habitation of Najac.

Toussaint Louverture.

An exact copy, collated with the original.

The General of Division, Chief of the Etat Major of the army——*Dugua.*

The Hague, July 22.—It is said that the Government of State has summoned the Legislative Assembly to hold an extraordinary meeting on the 2d of August ensuing. —General Macdonald, it is expected, will have the command of the French troops in this Republic, in the room of General Victor, who, it is said, goes out to Louisiana, as Commander in Chief and Governor General.

July 23.—The Commercial Treaty, which is negotiating, as we are informed, with England, will doubtless introduce some modifications of the prohibitory system which now prevails. Experience has sufficiently shewn that prohibitions do not prevent the introduction of foreign articles or

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manufacture. If these modifications of the system of prohibition, which all well-informed merchants desire, be adopted, they will give a greater extension to Canal Navigation. It is to be hoped these observations will not escape the vigilant eye of Government.—*Moniteur.*

The Minister of Marine thus closes his Letter to the Maritime Prefect of Brest:—"I am fully convinced of this principle, that the Colonies should exist only for the benefit of the mother country, and particularly for its commerce, hence the report I made to the First Consul on the propriety of reviving the regulations of the Decree of the month of August, 1784. But that these regulations should be followed, it is indispensible that the French commerce should be exerted in supplying our colonies, in order that none of them may be left destitute; for it would be the height of injustice to reserve their commerce *exclusively* for the mother country, if the commerce of the latter did not provide that their produce should not be abandoned and regularly exchanged against articles of French industry. The commerce of France is very naturally about to be directed to her great colonies, but those of the second order must not be neglected. I fix its attention in a peculiar manner on Tobago and Cayenne, the former of which yields about 12,000,000 of livres produce, and Cayenne only requires commercial activity to arrive at a very high degree of splendour.

"The commerce of France will perceive it to be its interest, to establish connections and correspondence, and to direct its operations on these important colonies, so that returning the whole of their produce, they may be certain of receiving by a regular exchange, whatever their taste or wants may require."

July 25.—Rear-Admiral Gantheaume is appointed Maritime Prefect of the sixth district.—Citizen Ducis, Judge of the Criminal Tribunal of Appeal at Paris, is appointed Commissary of Justice at St. Domingo.—The Commissary of Commercial Relations of the Batavian Republic, residing at Nantes, has announced that he has been informed by a dispatch from the Secretary of State of his Government, that the Bank of Amsterdam is re-established on its ancient footing, and conformable to the mode of its primitive institution.—We learn from the frontiers of Russia, that a numerous army is assembled there, probably for the purpose of re-establishing tranquillity in Wallachia.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse-Guards, July 7, 1802.

The Commander in Chief is pleased to approve of general officers commanding districts, granting leave of absence to officers from this period to the 10th of March next (when, in conformity to his Majesty's regulations, all officers are to be present with their respective regiments), under the following limitations and restrictions; and in the event of regiments being in stations not composing parts of military districts under the command of general officers, it is his Royal Highness's pleasure, that the officers commanding shall be at liberty to use their discretion in extending the indulgence of leave of absence, under the same restrictions, to the officers of their respective regiments:—Half the field-officers, captains, and subaltern officers, shall be always present with their regiments.—General officers commanding in districts, or the colonels or field-officers in command of regiments (as the case may be), may grant leave of absence to such other officers, whose private affairs require it, taking care always to retain, or from time to time to call in, a sufficient number of officers to do the duty of the regiment or battalion, in case it should be so situated as to require the attendance of more officers than those before mentioned, which are directed to be constantly present.—It is to be observed, that no officer (except in the performance of duty, or for the purpose of joining his regiment) is to quit the United Kingdom, without having first received his Majesty's special permission for so doing.—The officers appointed to carry on the recruiting service, shall not be included in the number hereby fixed for the constant duty of the regiment, or battalion, or by the number of those who shall be further called in by the commanding officer for that duty.—That the monthly return of such regiment and battalion be made up, and transmitted as ordered; and that the commanding officer, by whom each return shall be signed, do carefully examine the same, as he is to be responsible that they are in every respect conformable to the regulations before-mentioned.—That the number of officers hereby ordered to be present, shall remain with their commands until they shall be relieved; and that the commanding officer be enjoined not to per-

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mit them to absent themselves from duty on which they are employed, except in cases of great emergency, and then but for two days only; and all leaves so granted are to be signified in the next return, with the reasons for granting them.—It is to be understood, that although commanding officers are permitted by this order to use with discretion this indulgence to officers under their command, yet that the commanding officer hath not hereby a right to absent himself, neither is it meant that he should quit the quarters of his regiment, not even for two days, without leave obtained from the general officer commanding in the district, or in the event of the regiment being out of districts, without making application to head quarters.

By order of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief,

Harry Calvert, Adj. Gen. of the Forces.

EAST-INDIES.

The following official Letter from Major-General Campbell, commanding the forces in the ceded districts, to the Government of Madras, has just been received *via* Bombay.

T. Lis Chaunler, Esq. Chief Secretary to the Government, Fort St. George.

Sir,—I have great satisfaction in reporting, for the information of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, the following particulars relative to the operation against Tmakull, which have happily terminated in the fall of that fort, and chastisement of the rebel defenders. Immediately after the return of the 20th inst. I detached Major Strachan, Captain Noble, and Mr. Deputy Commissary Best, to Gooty, to prepare such heavy guns as the place afforded. On a minute inspection, only one iron twelve, one iron and one brass nine-pounder, were found fit for our purpose. By the strenuous exertions of the garrison, these guns were brought down from the rock, and 250 rounds of ammunition for each, with carriages, and the articles necessary to keep them in order, were got ready; and with this supply the Major and party arrived in camp on the 26th. Fascines and gabions had been made here; and in the night of the 29th, a battery for six guns, against the south-west curtain of the lower fort, was constructed by Captain Crosdill, of Artillery, and another for three guns against the east face of the fort and citadel, by Lieut. Fitchet, of his Majesty's 73d regiment: the guns were also got into them, and at a quarter past six o'clock yesterday morning, both opened with the best possible effect. In the course of the day, the fire of Lieut. Fitchet's battery effected a practicable breach in the lower wall, and at the same time opened the face of the citadel; while that from Capt. Crosdill's made a breach in the curtain sufficiently wide for a company to enter abreast.—These desirable objects being attained, the line turned out at half past three in the afternoon, and the storming parties were formed in the following order: that for the north-west breach under Lieutenant Colonel Davis, seconded by Major Strachan, consisting of the flank and two battalion companies of his Majesty's 73d regiment; one company of the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment; and four companies of the 1st battalion of the 12th regiment, native, flanked by forty volunteer dismounted dragoons of his Majesty's 25th regiment: that for the eastern breach, under Captain Robert Monro, consisted of three battalion companies of his Majesty's 73d regiment; the flank companies of the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment, and two companies of the 2d battalion of the 15th regiment, native infantry. At a quarter before four o'clock the troops were ordered to advance, and in half an hour were completely masters of the place, the rebels having quitted the works, and retreated to their well-built houses, where they for some time individually defended themselves: most of them were, however, killed, and of those who fled, but very few, if any, escaped the cavalry, who surrounded the fort. To the honour of the troops, I must beg leave to add, that every woman and child was humanely spared, only two of the former, and none of the latter, having fallen, even from accidental shot. The wound formerly received by Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny, deprived me of his valuable services on the present occasion; but his place was most ably filled by Lieutenant-Colonel Davis; and though it is difficult to discriminate where all have behaved in a manner so honourable to themselves, with such perfect unanimity, and so much to my entire satisfaction, I yet feel it my duty to point out to his lordship's notice, Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny, Lieutenant-Col. Davis, Major Strachan, Capt. Robert Munro, Capt. Crosdill, Capt. Noble, and Lieut. Fitcher, as officers whose zeal and ability have shone conspicuous throughout, and to whose exertions I am particularly indebted.

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Much praise is due to my Aid-de-Camp, Captain Read, whose zeal and activity, during our various operations against the place, were unremitted. Nor can I pass over in silence the meritorious conduct of Lieut. Maclean, of his Majesty's 25th light dragoons, who on the several attacks of the 14th, 20th, and 30th instant, stept voluntarily forward to accompany Major Strachan. —The conduct of Mr. Deputy Commissary Best has also been much to my satisfaction. —It gives me the most heart-felt pleasure to add, that not a life has been lost on this occasion, and that the accompanying return (not received), of wounded, will be found to contain but very few. The officers and most of the men formerly wounded, are doing well.—A minute examination of the fort, and the knowledge since obtained, enables me to add, that the attack made by Major Strachan, on the 14th inst. was by no means more spirited than judicious, for determined resistance must long ere that have been the fixed intention of the rebels, as it is now ascertained that the several gates were previously built up.—The Petail, or Killedar, of Timakul, has been hanged, but the women, children, and such of the wounded rebels as were collected after the assault of yesterday, have been permitted to depart.—It is my intention to destroy the whole of the fort, and I feel confident that this example will effectually restore the tranquillity of the Adoni Province.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *Dugald Campbell*, Maj. Gen.

Camp at Timakull, Jan. 1, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Baltimore, June 14, 1802.

Dear Sir,—I begin to think, that a peace was necessary; for your country seems to be destitute of that superior order of men, who are qualified to wield the arms and resources of a great and powerful nation, in the manner the war required, and against such a foe as you had to contend with. Perhaps the ministers were conscious of this imbecility, and availed themselves of the moment of victory to obtain the best terms they could. There are men who have not minds strong enough to meet unmoved the storms of war, who are nevertheless well qualified to direct the operations of peace. This appears to be the character of Mr. Pitt, who, with no want of personal courage, has betrayed much political pusillanimity. During the whole of the war, the burthen of all his orations was peace; and, the man who fights for peace will certainly be beaten by him who fights for glory.

On this side of the water we are in daily expectation of hearing that a large body of Frenchmen have landed at New Orleans, to take possession of Louisiana. Notwithstanding all the quibbling of their partizans to the contrary, as soon as the bloody business of Guadaloupe and St. Domingo is dispatched, they will be ready to embrace their ancient allies with a fraternal hug. This idea you may safely conclude gave us all the horrors: I say, all, because, a few mercenary jacobins excepted, the French have very few real friends in the United States. Honest men always detested them, and knaves begin to suspect that Buonaparte is rather unfriendly to the great cause of universal insurrection.

The time seems to be approaching, when the citizens of these States will be punished for their former attachment to France. If the Corsican sends a considerable number of his armed slaves, to fraternize with the southern and western States, at a time when the whole country is divided by the most bitter animosities, and are ready to cut one-another's throats, without his invitation, a good providence only can save us. Whether this interposition will be evidenced by paralizing the arms, and confounding the councils of our enemies, or by raising up some powerful friend and ally must be left to the Almighty Being, whose councils are as unsearchable as they are wise.

The evils of this French vicinage may not appear in their full magnitude for a few years, but to me they seem inevitable. For Frenchmen never remained long at peace with any neighbouring nation, which were too proud to submit to their controul. But whenever this misfortune occurs, the disinterested spectator will, I am afraid, be obliged to acknowledge, that it has been merited by the United States.

Probably one of the first manœuvres of the French, after they are settled in Louisiana, will be to tamper with the savage tribes bordering on Canada, with the white inhabitants of our western territories, and with their own countrymen settled in Canada, in order to prepare the way for the invasion of that province. This, doubtless, will be their first attempt, as the easiest mode of virtually subjugating the United States, and one in which the enemies of Great-Brita-

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scattered through the country, will more readily co-operate.

To prevent this disaster, immediate attention should be paid by the British Government to the state of Canada; the friendship of the savages should be conciliated by all possible means; and the military posts should be well fortified and garrisoned; in short, the country should be placed in such an attitude of defence, as to discourage the attempt. The enemy will then confine his machinations to the United States, for he must be engaged in mischief: and here I trust he will meet with a complete discomfiture, *if we partake of your assistance at a proper crisis.* Although your ministry seem to have lost sight of the artful and ambitious character of your enemy, as well as of your own real superiority, if we judge from the terms of the treaty of peace, they can hardly be so blind as not to see the danger that will threaten Canada, when the French are possessed of the banks of the Mississippi. When these possessed Canada formerly, they spread their military posts from the St. Lawrence to the former river, proceeding from north to south; they have always regretted the loss of that country; and they will now strive to recover it from you, by proceeding from south to north.

The removal of federalists, and the promotion of democrats, seems to be the order of the day. Jefferson seems determined not to leave a man of his enemies in office—and as soon as they are displaced, the jacobin editors of newspapers dress up the poor ex officers like devils, to frighten the ignorant herd. This recalls to my mind the transactions of former times; when to prepare the way for independence, the British government and all its servants were calumniated and vilified to the utmost; and I am disposed to view the present democratic tricks as an apt exemplification of the *lex talionis*.

There is a formidable schism among the members of the reigning sect. Aaron Burr, the Vice-President, has done some acts to excite the jealousy of its leaders. He deserts their company; he has given his vote, in some cases, in opposition to their measures, and he has been heard to express himself irreverently of their financial talents. He has taken some pains to suppress the history of Adams' administration, written by an English jacobin, and he is accused of harbouring a design to supplant Jefferson at the next election; all which you will read in some of the pamphlets published here. Besides, they think he has too much independence and firmness of mind, as well as soundness of intellects, to continue long under their tutelage; for this reason they begin to suspect that he is a scoundrel, and unworthy of the favours of the sovereign people. At the next election, therefore, Citizen Burr must be either President of the United States, or nothing; and indeed, *aut Cæsar, aut Nihil*, is a motto well suited to his ambitious mind. You know that he is a man of great industry, of infinite art and address, and must agree with me that unless his enemies are uncommonly active, it is not improbable, he will tumble their idol, mammoth, from his throne.

The federalists, however, suspect Burr; and, to acknowledge a sad truth, not only the next election, but every other political event in this country, will, it is to be feared, depend upon the views and interests of Buonsparté: we are, as usual bold in declarations, but, if Buonsparté's friendship, or rather his forbearance, is to be purchased only by the continuation of Jefferson in power, in power he will continue.

In perusing Sir. F. Eden's Letters on the Peace with Buonaparté (which you were so good as to send me) I was particularly struck with the great decrease of British shipping, employed in the fisheries from 1790 to 1800, which was a diminution of more than 40,000 tons; as well as with the comparative state of the tonnage of British and foreign vessels, cleared outwards, from England and Scotland to the United States of America, in 1789, and the eleven following years. The first year was about the time *our Navigation Act* took place. At this time the *British* tonnage to the United States was more than 72,000 tons, and the foreign (or American) 29,000 tons: in 1792, before you had felt the effects of the war, and solely by the operation of our navigation law, your tonnage had fallen down to 51,000, and ours, by a gradual increase, had risen to near 60,000; and, still more, in 1800 the former had sunk to 14,000, and the latter had swoln to the enormous amount of 110,000 tons! Think of this, ye sages of the British Senate, and if you can account for the phenomenon on any other principle than the superior policy of my country, it is more than I can!

I am yours, &c. * * * * *

P.S. June 17.—Since writing the foregoing I have read with indignation that you have suffered a second time by an illuminating mob, and that some of the servants of the General Post-Office were concerned in the outrages. It is ungenerous in the ad-

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ministration, that, not satisfied with making knaves and fools dance and sing, to celebrate the humiliation of Old England, and their own dishonour, they will not suffer honest men to look sad at the same time. Upon my word, this is a trait of sansculottism, unworthy the "*defenders of religion and* "*social order.*"

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

It was our intention to have entered into a refutation of certain political doctrines, which Sir Francis Burdett has published and pasted through the County of Middlesex; but, upon closer examination, we find them to proceed upon notions so directly subversive of the laws and government of the country, that any controversy with him must necessarily have for its object, to prove *the inexpediency of destroying the monarchy of England.* To reason with such a man would be absurd: he must be treated with silent contempt, or be combatted with weapons very different from a pen. While, however, we declare our abhorrence of the principles and conduct of the man, who, in alluding to the British government, speaks of "*hired* "magistrates, parliaments, and *kings*;" while we detest and loath Sir Francis Burdett, while we would trample upon him, for his false, base, and insolent insinuations and assertions respecting his and our sovereign, we are by no means inclined to join in the clamorous lamentations of those, who regret his success merely because it is a triumph over the ministry, who have, in the Middlesex election, met with no more than a just punishment for their conduct towards Mr. Baker, whose only offence was having voted against that deed of everlasting disgrace, the treaty of Amiens. The ministers and their peace-loving partizans, so far from having reason to complain of Sir Francis, are the only people in the whole world who have not a right to complain of him. The arts he has made use of have been borrowed from them, and from them alone. In order to carry the measure which was to secure them in their places, they first obtained, by the grossest and most shameful misrepresentations, the applause of the vile and ignorant rabble; and then, with the most cool and unblushing assurance, they boasted of that applause as *the unanimous voice of the nation*, though they well knew that the voice of every man of sense and of public spirit was against them. Shall such men complain of the *foul play* of Sir Francis Burdett? What! shall those, who, at the signing of the preliminaries, announced, through the news-papers, that our allies were maintained in their integrity, *as before the war*; those who affected to regard the fall in the price of provisions as *a consequence of the peace*; those who obtained, by treaty, *the evacuation of Egypt by the French*; those who asserted Mr. Windham to be the enemy of "*all peace, whatever its conditions*;" those who represented the opponents of the peace as the members of *a conspiracy, formed for the purpose of supplanting the ministers*; shall those, in short, who, for the sake of retaining their places, have had recourse to every trick calculated to deceive the ignorant and the listless, shall such men complain of *misrepresentation!* Sir Francis Burdett's advertisements are replete with falsehood and malice; but are they more so than the ministerial paragraphs of the True Briton? Are they more false and malicious than the article, entitled "General Orders," to which the slave Heriot had the audacity to affix the name of *Lord Grenville?* Are they more detestably base and wicked than the paragraph, in which the same slave, represented the editor of this work as being *an American*, and that too for the sole purpose of exciting against him the fury of the ministerial mob? Did the placards of Sir Francis tend to disturb the peace of the city more than those of Sir John Eamer and Sir Richard Ford? Have the thieves and fools who aided his cause, and graced his triumph, been more noisy, insolent, or riotous, than those who enforced Mr. Addington's and Lord Hawkesbury's illuminations? One evil act does not, indeed, justify another; but, every where, except in courts of justice, at least, the accusing of the guilty should be confined to the innocent. The present ministers have set an example of misrepresentation, which will not soon be forgotten; they have eagerly availed themselves of the assistance of the mob, and some of the subalterns in office detected in the art of enforcing their illuminations, they have retained, and still do retain, in the pay of the public, notwithstanding they have been fully convicted of the crime, for which they were committed to jail. And, shall these men complain of mobs and riots!

Mr. Addington, the *honest* Mr. Addington, or, as Buonaparté calls him, the *respectable* Mr. Addington, has taken into his family that lucrative place the clerkship of the pells

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From the man who has been constantly harping upon economy; from the man who gave up Malta, the Cape, Porto Ferrajo, and one half of the West India colonies; from the man who left the French in possession of Belgium, who consented to the opening of the Scheldt, who winked at the cession of Louisiana; from the man who abandoned the allies of England, and who gave up the honours of her flag; from the man who left the royalists of La Vendee to the knives of their pursuers, while he sent Napper Tandy in triumph to France; from the man who has done all these things under the pretext of *economy*, under the pretext of "*husbanding our resources*," from such a man one might have expected a different disposition of the clerkship of the pells. The *sang-froid*, with which he must have calculated on this occasion, would have done honour to the oldest Rabbi of the Synagogue. He would have taken the place to himself, but the doctrine of chances had taught him that his son's life would sell for more than his own; he, therefore, boldly sets decency at defiance, and bestows £3,000 a year for life *upon a boy only* TWELVE *years of age!*

The history of this country, from Edgar to George the Third, does not (with the exception of Mr. Dundas) furnish an instance of a minister, who, in so short a space of time, has ever seized on so much of the public wealth as Mr. Addington. He was hardly nominated to the ministry before he contrived to obtain both house and land in the Royal Park of Richmond, a thing totally unprecedented. It was what a man of a *noble* family might, indeed, have asked; but, considering the origin and progress of Mr. Addington, one is really confounded at the hardihood of his covetousness. His brother-in-law, Mr. Bragge, he found in a place of £1200 a year; this was immediately changed for one worth £6000. His brother, Mr. Hiley Addington, filled a place of £1600; this was immediately changed for one of £4000. This last-mentioned change is strikingly characteristic of the Addingtons: it was from a *Lord* to a *Secretary* of the Treasury. Other men seek honours; these nothing but money. Mr. Hiley has, indeed, lately cast off the Secretary, and re-assumed the *Lord*; but it is pretty well understood, that this counter-revolution has not been produced by any want of attention to interest. What good thing is in reserve for Mr. Hiley Addington we know not; but we should not be at all surprised to hear that he had taken priest's orders, for the purpose of succeeding to the Bishoprick of Durham. It is possible, indeed, that Mr. Hiley might not be quite learned enough for a dignity of this sort; but the Premier would hardly be discouraged by this circumstance, when he is told, (which we assure him is a fact), that Buonaparté has lately put his uncle to school, in order to qualify him for the archbishoprick of Lyons. It has, doubtless, escaped this "tender father," that in loading his infant son with public money, he is also loading him with public odium; and that the three-score years, on which he so fondly counts, will be three-score years of reproach and contempt. Some high-minded romantic fathers would have taken this into consideration; but Mr. Addington remembers the promise: "Blessed are the meek, "for they shall *inherit the earth*." Give him security that his son shall never want money, and he'll engage that he shall never dispute with you for any thing else. In making the modest calculation of sixty years salary for his son, it never occurred to him, perhaps, that the placeman might *out-live the place*. This is, however, possible; and if the affairs of the nation continue to be conducted by such men as himself, it is very *probable* too.—As a sort of palliation of this odious instance of rapacity, it is given out from the treasury, that the Clerkship of the Pells was *offered to Mr. Pitt*. What! The man on whose life the destiny of the world was once thought to hang, has, then, been offered a place which is now filled by a child, who is daily seen playing at marbles under the cloyster of Westminster Abbey! Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askelon!

On the subject of Foreign Politics little can be said with certainty. Some of the daily papers have questioned the veracity of our statements respecting the proceeding of the Levant Merchants; but, as we never advance any thing as fact, without the very best authority, we trust it is unnecessary for us to repeat what we stated on this head, in the Register, p. 116, on the truth of which the reader may place perfect reliance. We have never given into the notion of an *immediate* overthrow of the Turkish Empire: from the best information that we possess (and perhaps we have as good as any body), it appears that it is rapidly declining; and, in such a case, a total dissolution is often the work of a few months; but we are well aware, that it is not to be destroyed in an hour, nor should we be at all sur-

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prised, if it were to out-live many of those monarchies, which are generally thought to be in no sort of danger.

The letter from Stockholm, (Register, p. 129), will excite no more than a contemptuous smile from the Edens, the Beekes, and the rest of that race of politicians, who look to our *inland navigation* as the "only *legitimate* means of defence;" but, we would beg these gentlemen, before they absolutely laugh at these gigantic projects, to reflect a little on what they have really seen come to pass in the course of the last ten years. Had they been told, ten years ago, that, before the month of May, 1802, Gustavus would be assassinated, Leopold poisoned, the Stadtholder ejected, the Pope dethroned and carried into exile, Paul I. eased of his life, the King of Sardinia dethroned, the Dukes of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, driven from their dominions; had they been told what would befall Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Geneva, Germany, Venice, Lombardy, Piedmont, Genoa, Malta, Spain, and Portugal; had they been told, only six years ago, that France would attack Egypt with an army of 40,000 men, conveyed in 368 transports, 13 ships of the line, and 6 frigates; had these things been predicted ten years ago, would not the gentlemen of the inland-navigation have smiled? Nay, have they not, from the first dawn of the French Revolution to the present hour, treated with contempt (real or affected) all the apprehensions which have been entertained respecting the successive projects of France? With these inland-navigation gentlemen experience is useless. What the French have done is, with them, no proof of what they are able or willing to do. We do, indeed, by no means assert, that the vast and astonishing projects, mentioned by our correspondent, are really entertained; and, if they are, we are still less positive as to their practicability; but we are decidedly of opinion, that there is a general inclination in the powers of the continent, to combine against this country. They envy us our wealth; and the contempt which they necessarily entertain for our administration, encourages them to form schemes for diminishing that wealth. These schemes may sometimes be wild; but, as far as we can pretend to judge, the invasion of Egypt and Syria, by France alone, while at war with half Europe, was not an undertaking of less difficulty than the invasion of Hindostan would, with the aid of Russia, be at this time.

There are several French decrees, which we have not been able to insert in this sheet. There is also an address of the representatives of the Italian Republic to their President, Buonaparté, who has made them a very affectionate and fatherly reply, but in which he has said nothing that any human being can understand. Mere sounding words to amuse the world in general and his slaves in particular. The Consul Cambaceres has notified to the Legislative Body, that he is about to lay before them the result of the appeal to the people, relative to the Consulship for life. The solemn mummery of the Consuls and Legislators, on this topic, has driven the Jacobins almost to madness. At Paris they are obliged to stifle, and even to disguise all appearance of, their rage; but, in London, they indulge in it to excess. The violence of it is, however, beginning to abate, and has, in some instances, already settled down into a sober pathetic melancholy, that vents itself in strains like the following, which, for the amusement of our readers, we copy from the Morning Chronicle of yesterday:—"It will be seen from the letter of our "correspondent, that the system of *surveillance* is kept up in Paris in a manner "utterly repugnant to all the maxims and "habits of a free people. It is a system, "destructive not merely of rational liberty, "but of the security of private life—of all "the charities of domestic enjoyment. No "man can ever mention the present government of France without *regret*; for "after a *struggle of ten years*, in which the "eyes of mankind were fixed on them, it "is surely a most humiliating consideration "that no one grand object has been effected, and that the contest for liberty is *yet "to be renewed*; the struggle of the French "for liberty was, at one time, interesting "to the world; its importance has now "disappeared, and we have nothing left "but the disgusting picture of *a debased "and prostrate people*."—Such, then, is the result of the French revolution! Such is the final consequence of the constitution, which that *great* and *far-seeing* statesman, Mr. CHARLES FOX, declared to be "the "most stupendous monument of human "wisdom." He is now gone to view, with the naked eye, the happy effects of his favourite doctrine of *cashiering kings*. He will, however, return just as wise and as loyal as he went.

Our intelligence from America (see p. 147) is very interesting, and may be relied on as perfectly correct. When we look round the world, and see the tremendous storms which are, in every quarter,

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gathering against this country, and when, to meet all these dangers, we behold nothing but the selfish, low-minded, feeble, and inexperienced Mr. Addington, we cannot help regarding it as doomed to destruction. We are aware that the charge of despondency will be brought against us; that we shall be accused of borrowing the sentiments entertained by the opponents of every former peace, since the reign of Queen Anne, which sentiments have uniformly proved to be erroneous. We beg leave to deny this latter position; for, though Sir Frederick Eden has triumphed at what he is pleased to term the *failure* of Lord Shelburne's prediction, *that* "*when America was given* "*up, the sun of Britain would set for ever*," we think that the present relative situation of America goes very far to confirm that prediction. But, if it were true, that the opponents of every *preceding* peace have been mistaken in their opinions, does it necessarily follow that those who have opposed the *present* peace are also mistaken? To maintain this, with the slightest degree of plausibility, it must first be proved, that the situation of England, considered in relation with her principal enemy, *is not very different* from what it was at any former peace. Till this position be established; 'till it be made appear, that the actual possession of Belgium and great part of Italy, with Holland, Switzerland, and Spain, as provinces, together with the command of the Amazons and the Mississippi; 'till it be proved, that these numerous acquisitions to France are not at all dangerous to Great-Britain, though America is, at the same time, rivalling her in point of merchant shipping and seamen; until it be fully and fairly proved, that this distribution of national power is *nothing extraordinary* in the history of England, every argument grounded upon the failure of former predictions must be totally inapplicable to the question. Let those, therefore, who would dissipate our fears for our country, lay aside this evasive mode of reply, and show us how we shall be able to resist our gigantic enemy, when she has got firm hold of all her possessions; when she has over-awed America, and established a regular intercourse with the mines of Spain.

☞ *We should have published the Supplement to Vol. I. this day; but, having just received materials for bringing down the American History to the month of May, and wishing not to omit so interesting and valuable an article, we have delayed the publication for a few days longer.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

War-Office, July 31, 1802.

28th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Cornet Geo. H. Walters, from the 8th Light Drag. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Lang, promoted in the 7th West-India Regiment.

York Hussars, Ensign John Lowther Johnstone, from the Coldst. Foot Guards, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Pelt, who retires.

6th Reg. of Foot, Assistant-Surgeon —— Inglis, from the Half-pay of the 62d Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Waters, who exchanges.

29th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Saville Burdett to be Capt. by purchase, vice Lord Ch. Bentinck, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

30th Ditto, Lieut. Peter Taylor, from the 84th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Laniff, who retires.

38th Ditto, Lieut.-Colonel Rob. Pringle, from the 51st Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Nightingall, who exchanges.

42d Ditto, Capt. David Stewart, from the 90th Foot, to be Capt. of a Company, vice Muter, promoted in the 6th Foot.

43d Ditto, Lieut. Francis Glass, from Half-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Du Moulin, who exchanges.

51st Ditto, Lieut.-Colonel Miles Nightingall, from the 38th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Pringle, who exchanges.

77th Ditto, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Alex. Wright, from the 67th Foot, to be Capt. vice Grant, promoted.

Royal Waggon Train, W. Pettigrew, Esq. from Half-pay of Capt. to be Paymaster.

Cities of London and Westminster Light Horse Volunteers.

Cornet Josias Stracy to be Lieutenant, vice Cornwall, deceased.

Geo. Jenner, Gent, to be Cornet, vice Stracy.

Wm. Rowlett, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Beacheroft, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Lieut. —— Gell, of the 52d Foot, is superseded, being absent without leave.

Ensign John Dodsworth, of the 52d Foot, is superseded, having never joined the Regiment.

APPOINTMENTS.

Downing-Street, August 3.——The King has been pleased to appoint Robert Liston, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Batavian Republic.

The King has also been pleased to appoint John Hunter, Esq. to be his Majesty's Consul-General at Madrid.

PREFERMENTS.

Whitehall, August 3.—The King has been pleased to order a Congé d'Elire to pass the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Rochester, to elect a Bishop of that See, the same being void by the Translation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Samuel, late Bishop thereof, to the See of St. Asaph; and his Majesty has also been pleased by his Royal Sign Manual to recommend to the said Dean and Chapter the Reverend Thomas Dampier, Doctor in Divinity, to be by them elected Bishop of the said See of Rochester.

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The King has been pleased to appoint the Reverend William Vincent, Doctor in Divinity, one of the Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to be Dean of the said Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, void by the Translation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Samuel, late Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of the said Collegiate Church, to the See of St. Asaph.

The King has also been pleased to present the Reverend Edward Dupre Clerk, Doctor of Laws, to the Deanry of the Island of Jersey, void by the death of the Reverend Francis Le Breton.

The King has also been pleased to present the Reverend John Deedes, Clerk, Master of Arts, to the Rectory of East Mersey, in the County of Essex, and Diocese of London, void by death of the Reverend John Tickell.

BANKRUPTS.

Barker, Richard, of Wellingborough, Northampton, common-carrier.
Brooks, Thomas. of Graisborough, grocer.
Cartwright, John, of Newton-Wakefield, York, dealer and chapman.
Colombine, Frances, Colombine, David, Colombine, David, the younger, and Colombine, Peter, the younger, of Norwich, merchants.
Compton, Edward, late of Cholderton-Lains, Southampton, farmer.
Dennis, John Beltrand, of Saint Andrew's-Hill, Doctor's Commons, wine and brandy merchant.
Froome, John, of Bermondsey-street, Southwark, Surrey, currier and leather-dresser.
Grant, John, of Lawrence-Pountney-lane, merchant.
Hancock, George, of Exeter, leather breeches-maker.
Hodges, Richard, of Shrewsbury, druggist.
Jackson, Samuel, of Liverpool, Lancaster, cheesemonger.
Kegeler, Bernhard, of Newport, Salop, linen-draper and mercer.
Lonsdale, Edward, of York, linen-draper.
Nesbitt, Harriot Deborah, Nesbitt, Louisa Sophia, and Nesbitt, Frances, of Piccadilly, milliners.
Sunderland, Wm. of Wakefield, grocer.

BIRTHS.

Arburthnot, Mrs. lately, at Lord Gwyder's house, Whitehall, of a daughter.
Glyn, the Lady of Sir Richard Carr, Bart. on the 27th inst. of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Dunlop, Col. James, of Southwick, to Miss Julia Baillie, on the 20th inst. at Newfield.
Harvey, the Rev. Richard, A. M. Vicar of Leatherhead, to Miss Hay, on Saturday last.
Scott, John, Esq. to Miss Monro, daughter of the late Dr. Donald Monro, lately.

DEATH.

Laing, Walter, Esq. late one of the Magistrates of Glasgow, at that city, on the 30th July last.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 pr. C. R. An.	72⅞	72⅞	72⅞	72⅞	71⅞	71⅞
3 per C. Con.	71⅛	71⅛	71⅛	71⅛	71⅛	71
4 pr C. Cons.	88½	88½	88⅝	88⅝	88½	88½
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100½	100⅝	100½	101	101	100½
Bank L. Ann.	20⅛	20⅛	20 1/16	20 1/16	20⅛	20 1/16
D° 3. 1778 & 9	5 1/16	6 1/16	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	69⅞	70⅛	—	70⅛	—	69⅞
D° Ann.....	12 1/16	12 1/16	21⅛	12⅛	12 1/16	12 1/16
5 per Ct. 1797	103⅛	104	103⅛	104⅛	104⅛	104⅛
Omnium ..	4 dis	4 dis	3½ dis	4½ dis	5 dis	5 dis
India Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Bonds....	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 35 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 17	2 us.	LEGHORN 51⅛
D°, at sight	10 14		NAPLES..... 44⅛
ROTTERDAM	10 18	2 us.	GENOA 47⅛
HAMBURGH..	32 11	2⅛us.	VENICE, 57 livres piccole
ALTONA	33	2⅛us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day	23 18		LISBON..... 67½
PARIS....	23 19	2us.	OPORTO 67⅛
BOURDEAUX,	23 19		DUBLIN..... 12
CADIZ		in paper	BILBOA..... 36¼ D°
DITTO	36⅛	eff.	PALERMO ....
MADRID ..		in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.
DITTO	36¼	effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	52	to 77	Hops per cwt...	95	to 108
Foreign.....	00	.. 00	Hay per load..	116	.. 160
Rye.....	36	.. 34	Beef, per stone....	4s. 8d.	
Barley.....	32	.. 30	to 5s. 6d.		
Malt.....	46	.. 58	Mutton 5s. 0d.	to 6s. 0d.	
Oats	14	.. 27	Veal .... 5s. 0d.	to 6s. 0d.	
Pease (white)....	37	.. 41	Pork.... 5s. 6d.	to 5s. 0d.	
Beans (horse)....	30	.. 36	Tallow	3s. 8d.	
Flour per sack ..	52	.. 58	Average of Sugar		
Seconds.....	45	.. 54	per cwt.....	37s. 3	d
Coals per chal....	34	.. 41	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 2d	

Bread *Ten Pence Half-penny* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,
near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of July, and August, 1802.

Days.	Mirage	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. M.	Inch. A.	Ther. Deg M.	A.
29	●	Fine.	sw	sw	29,67	29,64	65	66
30		Fine.	sw	sw	29,69	29,69	62	66
31		Fine.	wsw	wsw	29,74	29,78	60	64
1		Fair.	nw	nw	30	30,01	62,5	69
2		Rain Fair	ssw	ssw	30,05	30,02	61	66
3		very Fine	nw	nw	30	29,99	70	75
4		Fine.	w	w	29,93	29,93	70	74

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 6.] *London, Saturday, 14th August,* 1802. [Price 10D.

CONTENTS.—*Let. from the Pope,* 161. *Dec. absolu.* 161. *D. of Kent,* 162. *Mr. Beloe, Mr. Coutts, Ita. Rep.* 164. *N. Fr. Constitu.* 165. *Infamous Art. from the Moniteur.* 179. *Switzerland,* 180. *Jamaica Legislature,* 182. *Mr. Addington's Sinecure,* 183. *Bp. Lond.* 184. *Barbary States,* 186. *Louisiana,* 187. *Gen. Bowles,* 188.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Letter to the Holy Father, from those New French Bishops who have occupied Episcopal Sees without being instituted by the Holy See.

"Most Holy Father, having been appointed by the First Consul Bishop of ——, I have nothing more at heart than to be able entirely to extirpate every remnant of that discord which was the inevitable consequence of the French revolution. In order, therefore, that no doubt may remain in the mind of your holiness, as to my intentions, I sincerely declare that I freely abandon what is called the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; that I admit, and will admit, that I profess, and will profess, the dispositions and articles of the New Convention made between your holiness and the French government, and that I will render true obedience to your holiness and your successors.—I pray that your holiness will consider this as my invariable resolution, that you will regard me as one of the most obedient sons of the church, and that you will deign to grant me that canonical institution which I humbly request. I also humbly request your holiness's apostolic benediction, as a precious pledge of Christian charity towards me."

Decree of Absolution and Dispensation granted by the Cardinal Legate to those of the New French Bishops who, without the Apostolic Institution of the Holy See, have occupied Episcopal Sees.

To Claude François-Marie Primat, formerly occupying the See of Cambray, now that of Lyons; to Jean-Claude Le Blanc De Beaulieu, occupying the See of Rouen; to Jean François Perrier, commonly called Bishop of Puy-de-Dôme; to Claude Lecoz, occupying the See of Rennes; and to Jean Baptiste Saurine, commonly called Bishop of Landes; is expedited a form of grace subscribed by his Eminence the Cardinal Legate, and sealed with his seal, which decree will be sent to each of them, by the most Reverend the Bishop of Orleans, and of which they will signify their reception, and that they will conform to it.

"We Jean-Baptiste Caprara, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, of the title of Saint Onuphre, Legate *à Latere* from our Holy Father Pope Pius VII. and the Holy See, to the First Consul of the French Republic, Seeing that the Reverend N. N. [here insert the name, surname, and archiepiscopal, or episcopal see] has abandoned the episcopal see which he had occupied without the institution of the holy see, and that he has entirely renounced the government of that church, and that moreover, he has promised obedience and due submission to the Sovereign Pontiff, and that he has declared that he will adhere and submit to the judgments which the Holy See shall pronounce respecting the Ecclesiastical Affairs of France, We, in quality of Legate *à Latere* of his Holiness and the Holy See, by virtue of the Apostolic Authority, which has been specially and expressly conferred upon us, do absolve the said N. N. who adheres to the unity of the Catholic church, and do declare him absolved in *utroque foro* from all sentence, censure, and ecclesiastical penalty whatsoever, so far as the same can be pronounced by men, which he may have incurred, imposing upon him as a penance that he recite once the seven penitential Psalms, and considering him as obliged to preserve with sedulous care unity and peace.

Given at Paris, April 4, 1802.

(Signed) (L. S.) *I. B. Cardinal Legate.*
Gratis. *V. Ducci,* Ecclesiastical Sec."

TO MR. HERIOT,

The Editor of the True Briton.

Sir,—Having observed in your paper certain insinuations, tending to diminish the respect due to the rank and character of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, I thought it my duty to obtain the information necessary to defeat your purposes.

You have insinuated, that his Royal Highness has introduced a system of *rigour,* heretofore unknown to the garrison, which has now the honour to be under his command. That he compels the officers, in the burning climate of Gibraltar, to go buttoned

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up from the waist-band to the chin; that he harrasses the soldiers with exercise; and, in short, that he has turned things upside-down and caused the garrison sorely to lament the death of the late governor.

The truth is, that his Royal Highness found the garrison of Gibraltar in a state of indiscipline dishonourable to the service. The staff-officers were in the almost continual neglect not only of their dress but of their duty: the latter, indeed, is inseparable from the former. Their offices were become, in a great degree, sinecures, not for want of employment, but for want of a vigilant commander. Amongst the soldiers (I might say some, at least, of the officers also) drunkenness prevailed to an extent almost incredible. A want of cleanliness and care was visible in the quarters and in the hospitals. The duty, when not totally neglected, was every where performed in a slovenly manner. The stores and magazines were exposed to damage and to peculation. The inhabitants were, in many instances, wantonly vexed, insulted, and exposed to extortion. Many of the most important as well as most lucrative appointments had, by some means, been monopolized by one family, and had long been exercised by deputation.

That the correction of these monstrous abuses should draw forth the malignant insinuations of the idle, the drunken, and the avaricious, is no wonder; nor is it so very surprising, that a London news-printer should be found willing to propagate those insinuations; but, it certainly behoves his Majesty's ministers to prevent the *types, which were purchased with the public money*, from being employed for the purpose of exposing the sons of their Royal Master to ridicule, contempt, and hatred.

I shall take some future opportunity of speaking more in detail of the abuses, which his Royal Highness has done away, and of the salutary regulations he has introduced: in the mean time I cannot help cautioning you, Mr. Heriot, not to place too much reliance on the final effect of abusing certain members of the Royal Family, notwithstanding the encouraging example of the printer, on whom a pension was bestowed, and is, I believe, yet annually paid, for no other service than that of libelling the Heir Apparent.

I am, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

The Editor inserts the following at the request of the Rev. Mr. Beloe.

Valeat quantum valere potest.

Middlesex to wit.—"We the undersigned "do solemnly swear, that three gentlemen "came to us on Monday evening to go to "Brentford to poll for Mr. Byng and Sir "Francis Burdett; that we objected to it; "Mr. Counsellor Clifford assured us that "our votes were good, and we should oblige "Mr. Alderman Skinner and Mr. Alderman Combe by so doing,—and if Mr. "Beloe interfered in it they would have "him to the Bar of the House of Commons.—We went without Mr. Beloe's "knowledge or consent.

"*Js. Hassell.*
"*Henry Noss.*
"*William Newman, his mark.*"

Sworn before me at Westminster, the 2d day of Aug. 1802.

H. S Pye.

The Editor of this Work has been positively assured, by persons on whose word he places implicit reliance, that MR. COUTTS was confined by illness, at Petersham, during the continuance of the Middlesex election; that he never advanced, nor was ever asked to advance, a shilling on account of the said election, and that neither he nor his house ever advanced any money to Sir Francis Burdett on any account whatever; that Mr. Coutts has always lived upon good terms with Sir Francis, but has widely differed from him in politics; that, though the former might, in the early part of the contest, ask for a few votes for his son-in-law, he desisted the moment he perceived the violent turn which the election took; and that, instead of enjoying the triumph, as it is called, it is to him a source of great vexation and trouble of mind.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Milan, June 30.

The Legislative Body to Citizen Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, and President of the Italian Republic.

"Citizen President,—The Legislative Body assembled on the 24th of June. This solemn event is one benefit more added to all those which you have heaped upon the Italian people, and a fresh title which you have acquired to their gratitude. Doubtless it is glorious to found a republic by the

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force of arms; but it is not less so to preserve it by useful laws and institutions. Such is your design—such is the wish of the people—and it is also a sacred duty incumbent upon us.

"Organs of the sentiments of the people, we express to you, Citizen President, the public gratitude for the happiness you have procured us, and that which you still further promise us. This happiness, which is your production, will form one of the grandest monuments of your glory in the eyes of posterity.

"*Vaccari*, President.
"*Rangone*, Secretary."

The First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the Legislative Body of the Italian Republic.

"I have seen, with a lively satisfaction, the union of the Legislative Body. You must, in the first Session, form the basis of the Administration. The first budget which has been prepared in Italy will be presented to you. The receipts, the expenses, and the public debt, equally require a stable and uniform system.

"An object which you will prove to be not less important, is the law which will be presented to you respecting the Military Conscriptions; a national army can alone assure to the Republic internal tranquillity and external respect. A neighbouring state, which possesses neither the population nor the wealth of the Republic, has already formed an army which has often acquired glory, and placed it during a long period in the rank of considerable powers.

"The Legislative Body will not forget that the Republic ought to be the first power of Italy.

"The Legislative Body cannot better testify the truth of the sentiment which it expresses, than in devoting all its efforts to the consolidation of the State, and the principles which must assure its glory and its grandeur."

Paris.—Council of State. Extract from the Register of Deliberation—sitting of the 27th of July, 1802.

Opinions upon the different questions relative to the execution of the *Senatus Consultum* granting an amnesty for the crime of emigration.

On the report of the Section of Legislation, to which Regnier had been added, the following questions were taken into consideration.

I. Those individuals provisionally or definitively erased since the 20th of October, 1800, to be called upon to submit to the conditions of the amnesty.

II. Are those accused of emigration, and not definitively erased, who have died previous to its publication, to be considered as amnestied?

III. Are those who, living at the time the amnesty was published, die before the 23d September, 1802, without having fulfilled the conditions imposed by the *Senatus Consultum*, to be considered as amnestied?

IV. Are foreigners accused of emigration, to be called upon to submit to the conditions of the amnesty?

The Council of State is of opinion, with respect to the first question, that it is answered by the first article of the *Senatus Consultum*—"An amnesty is granted for the crime of emigration to every individual accused of it, and not definitively erased." As the provisional erasure from the list was also a definitive erasure, it is evident it must mean the same thing as an erasure properly so called. They must submit to the conditions prescribed by the arrêté applying to them: those of the amnesty do not apply to them.

With respect to the second question, the Council of State is of opinion, that the amnesty having been principally granted in favour of the families of emigrants, it is entirely conformable to the spirit of the *Senatus Consultum* to extend its grace to the heirs of the accused, when death has put it out of the power of the accused himself to profit by it.

If he had lived, he would have been entitled to partake of the benefits granted by the 17th article of the *Senatus Consultum*. How then can we refuse the same grace to his children, who have lived in the Republic, and who were born before the emigration?

It is well understood, that this cannot apply to the heirs of those individuals who are comprised in the exceptions contained in the 10th article of the *Senatus Consultum*. Those individuals could never have personally profited by the amnesty, if they had been living at the moment of its publication; their heirs cannot, therefore, partake of the same powerful considerations which operate in favour of the heirs of others.

With respect to the third question, the benefits of the amnesty are only lost in case the emigrant neglects to fulfil its conditions before the 23d of Sept. 1801. If, therefore,

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he dies before the expiration of the period granted for that purpose, his right, which is not extinct, passes to his heir, who is not excluded the benefit of the amnesty until the moment when the deceased himself would have been excluded.

It must be supposed here, as on the preceding question, that the deceased was not comprized in any of the exceptions contained in the 10th article of the *Senatus Consultum*.

It is to be observed, that most of the conditions imposed by the *Senatus Consultum* upon emigrants, are inapplicable to their heirs. It is therefore sufficient, if the latter, before the 23d September, shall present themselves before the Prefect of their Department, and having proved the death of the emigrant, they shall receive a certificate of amnesty.

With regard to the fourth question, as foreigners cannot be guilty of the offence, the amnesty cannot apply to them.

(Signed) *J. G. Locré*,
Secretary to the Council of State.
(Approved) *Buonaparté*.

Message, July 29, 1802, of the Consuls of the Republic to the Conservative Senate.

"Senators,—On the 6th of May last, the Tribunate expressed a wish that a striking pledge of national gratitude might be given to the First Consul. That wish was applauded by the Legislative Body, and repeated by a spontaneous movement of the Citizens.

"The Senate raised its thoughts still higher; and in the accomplishment of that wish, it hoped to find the sure means of giving to the government that stability which alone can multiply the resources of the nation, establish confidence without and credit within, inspirit allies, discourage enemies, extinguish the flames of war, permit the enjoyment of the fruits of peace, and leave to future wisdom the task of executing every thing that can be conceived as contributing to the happiness of a free people.

"The First Consul was of opinion that the circumstances of his first nomination prevented him from accepting the proposed re-election, unless it should be specifically conferred by the French people, thereby giving a proof of their attachment to, and permanent confidence in, the magistrate who had been the object of their first choice.

"In this manner we have thought it our duty to carry into execution the ideas of the Senate.

"The French people have given their answer; the government has received from almost all the Departments, the acts which contain the expression of the will of the people. It is to the Senate we have thought in this new case, that it belongs to collect and to promulgate the wishes of the people. We have therefore ordered the Minister of the Interior to place at the disposal of the Senate, the Registers in which those votes are contained.

"We invite the Senate to take those measures which shall seem to its wisdom the most proper, for the purpose of stating the result.

"The Second Consul, *Cambacerès*.

"By the Second Consul,

"The Secretary of State, *H. B. Maret*."

The Audience of the Corps Diplomatique was interrupted on the 3d August by the introduction of the Conservative Senate.—Citizen Barthelemy, the President, spoke as follows:

"Citizen First Consul,—The French, grateful for the immense services you have rendered to them, wish that the First Magistracy of the State should be irrevocably placed in your hands. In thus conferring it upon you for life, they only express the opinion of the Senate, as stated in its *Senatus Consultum* of the 8th of May. The Nation, by this solemn act of gratitude, confides to you the task of consolidating our institutions.

"A new career commences for the First Consul—after prodigies of valour and military talents, he has terminated the war, and obtained every where the most honourable conditions of peace. The French people under his auspices have assumed the attitude and character of true greatness.—He is the Pacificator of Nations, and the Restorer of France. His name alone is a tower of strength.

"Already an administration of less than three years has almost made us forget that epoch of anarchy and calamities which seemed to have dried up the sources of public prosperity.

"But evils yet remain to be healed, and inquietudes to be dissipated. The French people, after having astonished the world by warlike exploits, expect of you, Citizen First Consul, all the benefits of that peace which you have procured for them.

"If seeds of discord still exist, the Proclamation of the Perpetual Consulate

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Buonaparté will dissipate them. Every one will now rally round him. His powerful genius will support and preserve all. He exists only for the prosperity and the happiness of the French people. His constant efforts will be directed to increase the national glory and national greatness. What nation, in fact, better deserves happiness, and of what people more enlightened, or more sensible, can he desire the esteem and attachment?

"The Conservative Senate will associate itself with all the generous maxims of Government. It will second, by all the means in its power, every amelioration which shall have for its end the prevention of the return of those evils by which we have been so long afflicted, and the extension and consolidation of those benefits which you have conferred upon us. It is its duty also to contribute to the accomplishment of the wishes of the people, which have been manifested in a manner so honourable to their zeal and their discernment.

"The *Senatus Consultum* which the Senate in a body now present to you, Citizen First Consul, contains the expression of its own gratitude. The organ of the sovereign will, it was of opinion, could not better fulfil the intentions of the French people, than by calling in the aid of the arts to perpetuate the remembrance of this memorable event."

After this address, Citizen Barthelemy, the President, read the Act, of which the following is the tenor.

Senatus Consultum. Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate of the 2d of August, 1802.

The Conservative Senate, consisting of the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the Constitution; deliberating upon the message of the Consuls of the Republic, of the 29th ult.; after having heard the report of the special Committee, charged with the verification of the Registers of the Votes given by the French people; seeing the *Procès-Verbal* prepared by the special Committee, and which states, that 3,577,259 citizens have given their suffrages, and that 3,568,885 citizens have voted, that Napoleon Buonaparté should be appointed Consul for Life; considering that the Senate, established by the Constitution as the organ of the people, in every thing in which the social compact is interested, ought to manifest in a splendid manner the national gratitude towards the conquering and pacificating hero, and to proclaim solemnly that it is the will of the French people to give to the government every necessary stability and independence, in order to ensure the prosperity and glory of the Republic, decrees as follows:

Art. I. The French people do appoint, and the Senate do proclaim, Napoleon Buonaparté First Consul for life.

II. A statue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the Senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation.

III. The Senate shall convey to the First Consul the expression of the confidence, the love, and the admiration of the French people.

(Signed) *Barthelemy*, President.
Vaubois and *Fargues*, Secretaries.

By the Conservative Senate, the Secretary General,

(Signed) *Caucby.*

The First Consul replied as follows:

"Senators,—The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The people of France wish that the whole of mine should be consecrated to their service, and I obey.—In giving me this new, this permanent pledge of their confidence, they have imposed upon me the duty of maintaining the system of the laws and institutions of the Republic.—By my efforts, by your co-operation, Citizen Senators, and that of the Constituted Authorities, and by the confidence and will of this immense people, the liberty, equality, and prosperity of the people of France will be secured from all the accidents which arise from the uncertainty of futurity. The best people shall, as they deserve, be the most happy, and their happiness shall contribute to that of all Europe.

"Content with having been called by the order of him from whom every thing emanates, to bring back upon the earth justice, order, and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without any uneasiness about the opinion of future generations.

"Senators, receive my thanks for this solemn proceeding. The desire of the Senate has expressed the wish of the people of France, and is thereby more strongly connected with whatever remains to be done for the happiness of the people of France. It is very gratifying to me, to be assured of this by the speech of so distinguished a president."

The Members of the Senate then retired.

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Circular Letter of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects of the different Departments, dated Paris, 4th August.

" I send you, Citizen Prefect, the *Senatus Consultum*, which proclaims the will of the French people. You will cause it to be proclaimed throughout the whole of your Department on the 15th of August. That day shall hereafter be consecrated by the recollection of great events. It will recall to our posterity the recollection of the memorable epocha of public happiness, when the consciences of the people were set at peace, and when the people of France exercised the greatest act of sovereignty ever exercised by any nation.

" The 15th of August is at once the anniversary of the birth-day of the Chief Consul, of the signature of the Concordat, and the day on which the people of France, wishing to secure and perpetuate their happiness, have connected its duration with that of the glorious career of Napoleon Buonaparté.

" What pleasing recollections to excite the enthusiasm of the French people! What a concurrence of great events to awaken in every heart those generous sentiments which characterize the French nation!

" Let this great day be celebrated by acts of benevolence. I invite you, Citizen Prefect, to consecrate the whole of it to happiness, by uniting in marriage those individuals who are most eminent for their virtue.

(Signed) " *Chaptal.*"

Paris, Aug. 5.—Extract from the Registers of the Deliberations of the Council of State, of the Sitting of August 4.

Project of a Senatus Consultum for organizing the Constitution.

TITLE I.

Ar. 1. Each jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace has a Cantonal Assembly.—2. Each communal circuit or district of Sub-prefecture, has an Electoral College for the circuit.—3. Each department has an Electoral College for the department.

TITLE II.—*Of the Cantonal Assemblies.*

4. The Assembly of the Canton is composed of all the Citizens domiciliated in the Canton, and inscribed on the commune list of the circuit. —From the epoch when the communal lists ought to be renewed in the terms of the Constitution, the Assembly of the Canton shall be composed of all the Citizens domiciliated in the Canton, and enjoying the rights of Citizenship.—5. The First Consul nominates the President of the Cantonal Assembly.—His functions continue for five years, and he may be re-appointed indefinitely. —He is assisted by four Inspectors; two of them being the oldest, and the other two the persons paying most taxes among the Citizens having a right to vote in the Cantonal Assembly.—The President and four Inspectors appoint the Secretary.—6. The Assembly of the Canton, divides itself into Sections for performing the operations belonging to it.—At the first convocation of each Assembly, its organization and forms of proceeding shall be determined by a regulation issued by the Government.—7. The President of the Cantonal Assembly appoints the Presidents of the Sections.—Their functions terminate with each Sectionary Assembly.—They are, each of them, assisted by two Inspectors, the one being the eldest, and the other the most heavily taxed, of the Citizens having a right to vote in the section.—8. The Cantonal Assembly returns two Citizens out of whom the First Consul chooses the Justice of the Peace for the Canton.—It, in like manner, returns two citizens for each vacant place of *suppleant* to the Justices of Peace.—9. The Justices of the Peace and their *suppleants* are appointed for ten years. —10. In cities containing 5000 persons, the Cantonal Assembly presents two Citizens for each seat in the Municipal Council. In cities where there may be several Justices of the Peace, or several Cantonal Assemblies, each assembly will, in like manner, present two Citizens for each seat in the Municipal Council.— 11. The Members of the Municipal Council are taken by each Cantonal Assembly, from a list of a hundred of the persons paying most taxes in the Canton. This list shall be executed and printed by order of the Prefect.—12. The Municipal Councils are renewed in the proportion of one half every ten years.—13. The First Consul chooses the Mayors and Assistants in the Municipal Councils. They are to be five years in office, and may be re-appointed.—14. The Cantonal Assembly nominates to the Electoral College of the Circuit the number of members assigned to it, in proportion to the number of citizens of which it is composed.—15. It nominates to the Electoral College of the Department, from a list hereinafter referred to, the number of members assigned to it.—16. The members of the Electoral Colleges must be domiciliated in the respective circuits and departments.—17. The Government convokes the Cantonal Assemblies, fixes the time of their sitting, and the object of their meeting.

TITLE III.—*Electoral Colleges.*

18. The Electoral Colleges of the circuits have one member for every 500 domiciliated inhabitants of the circuit.—The number of members cannot, however, exceed 200, nor fall below 120. —19. The Department Electoral Colleges have one member for every 1000 domiciliated inhabitants in the department; but notwithstanding, these members cannot be more than 300, nor fewer than 200.—20. The members of the Electoral Colleges are appointed for life.—21. If a member of an Electoral College is denounced to the Government as having permitted any act

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contrary to the dictates of honour or the interests of the country, the Government invites the College to manifest its opinion thereon. Three-fourths of the votes are necessary to make a denounced member lose his place in the College.—22. A Member loses his seat in the Electoral Colleges for the same cause which would deprive him of the rights of citizenship.—He also loses when, without any legitimate obstruction, he absents himself from three successive meetings.—23. The First Consul appoints the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges on each session.—The Police of the Electoral College when assembled is exclusively under the direction of the President.—24. The Electoral Colleges appoint, at the commencement of each session, two Inspectors and a Secretary.—25. In order to the formation of the Electoral Colleges of department, there shall be drawn up in each department, under the orders of the Minister of Finance, a list of 600 Citizens, who are most heavily assessed to the land tax, the tax on moveables, the tax on luxury, and the tax on licences.—To the amount of the contribution must be added in the departmental domicile, such sum as may be proved to be paid in other parts of the territory of France or the colonies. This list shall be printed.—26. The Cantonal Assembly will select from this list the Members to be appointed to the Electoral College of the department.—27. The First Consul may add to the Electoral Colleges of Circuit, ten Members chosen from among the Citizens belonging to the Legion of Honour, or who have performed public services.—He may add to each Electoral College of department twenty Citizens, ten of whom to be taken from the thirty most heavily taxed in the department; and ten others, either from the Members of the Legion of Honour, or Citizens who have performed public services.—He is not limited to precise periods in making these nominations.—28. The Electoral Colleges of circuit present to the First Consul two Citizens domiciliated in the circuit for each vacant seat in the Council of the circuit.—Of those Citizens, one at least must, of necessity, be chosen from among the members of the Electoral College which appoints him.—The Councils of circuit are removed by thirds, once in five years.—29. The Electoral Colleges of circuit present at each meeting two Citizens to form part of the list, from which are to be chosen the Members of the Tribunate.—Of these Citizens, one, at least, must necessarily belong to the College which presents him.—Both of them may be chosen from persons not residing in the department.—30. The Electorate Colleges of the Departments present to the First Consul two Citizens domiciliated in each Department for every place vacant in the Council-General of the Department.—One of these Citizens, at least, must necessarily be taken from the Electoral College which presents him.—The renovation of the Councils General of the Departments takes place by thirds every five years.—31. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments present at each meeting two Citizens to form the list from which the Members of the Senate are named.—One of them, at least, must necessarily be taken from the College which presents him, and they both may be taken from the Department.—They are to have the age and the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution.—32. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments and Circuits present each two citizens domiciliated in the department, in order to form a list from which the Members of the Deputation to the Legislative Body are to be named.—One of these citizens is necessarily to be taken from the college which presents him.—There must be three times as many different candidates on the list formed by the combination of the presentations of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments and Circuits as there are vacant places.—33. The same person may be a Member of a Council of Commune and of an Electoral College of Circuit or Department.—The same person cannot, however, be at the same time Member of a College of Circuit and College of Department.—34. The members of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate cannot attend the Sittings of the Electoral College to which they belong.—All the other public functionaries have a right to attend and to vote.—35. No Cantonal Assembly shall proceed to nominate to the places that belong to it in an Electoral College, until these places are reduced to two-thirds.—36. The Electoral Colleges can assemble only in consequence of an act of convocation emanating from the government, and in the places assigned to them.—They can take cognizance of the subjects only for which they are assembled, nor can they prolong their sittings beyond the time fixed by the act of Convocation.—If they exceed these limits, the government possesses the right of dissolving them.—37. The Electorate Colleges can neither directly or indirectly, nor under any pretext whatsoever, hold any intercourse with each other.—38. The dissolution of an Electoral Body necessarily leads to the renewal of all its Members.

TITLE IV.—*Of the Consuls.*

39. The Consuls are for life. They are members of the Senate, and act as Presidents.—40. The Second and Third Consuls are appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First.—41. For this purpose when any of the two places become vacant, the First Consul presents to the Senate a first person. If he is not appointed, he presents a second, and if the second is not accepted, he presents a third, who is of necessity appointed.—42. When the First Consul thinks proper, he appoints a Citizen to succeed him after his death, according to the forms prescribed in the preceding article.—43. The Citizen appointed to succeed the First Consul takes an oath to the Republic, to be administered by the First Consul, assisted by the Second and Third Consuls, in the presence of the Senate, the Ministers, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, the Tribunal of Cassation, the Archbishops, Bishops, Presidents of the Tribunals of Appeal, the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges, the Presidents of the Cantonal Assemblies, the Grand Officers of the Legion of Honour, and

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the Mayors of the 24 principal Cities of the Republic.—The Secretary of State draws up the Procès-Verbal of the administration of the oath. —44. The oath is in these terms.—"I swear to "maintain the Constitution, to respect the li- "berty of conscience, to oppose the return of "feudal institutions; never to make war but "for the defence and glory of the Republic; "and not to employ the power wherewith I "shall be invested, but for the happiness of the "people, from whom and for whom I shall have "received it."—45. Having taken this oath, he takes his seat in the Senate immediately after the Third Consul.—46. The First Consul may deposit, among the archives of Government, his wish as to the nomination of a successor, to be presented to the Senate after his death.—47. In this case, he summonses the attendance of the Second and Third Consuls, the Ministers and Presidents of the sections of the Council of State. In their presence he delivers to the Secretary of State the paper sealed with his seal, and in which his wish is recorded. This paper is subscribed by all those who are present at the transaction. The Secretary of State deposits it among the archives of Government in the presence of the Ministers and Presidents of the Sections of the Council of State.—48. The First Consul may withdraw this deposit, observing the formalities prescribed in the preceding article.—49. After the death of the First Consul, if his choice has remained in deposit, the paper containing it is withdrawn from the archives of Government by the Secretary of State, in the presence of the Ministers and Presidents of the Sections of the Council of State; their authenticity and identity being ascertained in the presence of the Second and Third Consuls. It is addressed to the Senate by a message from the Government, with a copy of the Procès-Verbal, certifying the deposit, the identity, and authenticity.—50. If the person, presented by the First Consul, is not appointed, the Second and the Third Consuls present one each; in case of neither of these being nominated, they each make another presentation, and one of the two must of necessity be appointed.—51. If the First Consul leaves no presentation, the Second and Third Consuls make their presentations separate, one first, one second, and if neither obtains the nomination, they make a third, from which the Senate must of necessity nominate.—52. In every case, the presentations and nomination must be completed within twenty-four hours after the death of the First Consul.—53. The law determines for the life of each First Consul the state of the expenditure of Government.

TITLE V.—*Of the Senate.*

54. The Senate regulates, by an Organic Senatus Consultum—1st, The Constitution of the Colonies.—2d, Every thing not provided for by the Constitution, and which may yet be necessary to its operation.—3d, It explains those Articles of the Constitution which admit of different interpretations.—55. The Senate, by Acts, entitled Senatus Consulta—1st. Suspends for five years the functions of Juries in the Departments where that measure may be necessary.—2d. Proclaims, when circumstances require it, certain Departments out of the protection of the Constitution.—3d. Determines the time when the individuals arrested in virtue of the 46th Article of the Constitution, are to be brought before the Tribunals, in such cases where they are not brought to trial in ten days from the period of their arrest.—4th. Annuls the judgments of the civil and criminal tribunals when dangerous to the safety of the State.—5th. Dissolves the Legislative Body and Tribunate.—6th. Appoints the Consuls.—56. The Organic Senatus Consulta and Ordinary Senatus Consulta are deliberated upon by the Senate, on the initiative of the Government.—A simple majority suffices for a Senatus Consulta. Two thirds of the votes of the Members present are necessary for an organic Senatus Consultum.—57. The projects of the Senatus Consultum, adopted in consequence of articles 54 and 55, are discussed in a Privy Council, composed of the Consuls, two Ministers, two Senators, two Counsellors of State, and two grand Officers of the Legion of Honour.—At each meeting the First Consul appoints the Members who are to compose the Privy Council.—58. The First Consul ratifies the Treaties of Peace and Alliance, after taking the advice of the Privy Council. Before he promulgates them, he communicates them to the Senate.—59. The act of the nomination of a Member of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunate, and of the Tribunal of Cassation, is entitled Arrêté.—60. The acts of the Senate, relative to its police and internal administration, are entitled Deliberation.—61. In the course of the year 11, he will proceed to the nomination of 14 Citizens, to complete the number of 80 Senators, fixed by the 15th article of the Constitution.—This nomination shall be made by the Senate, on the presentation of the First Consul, who shall, for that purpose, select three persons from the list of Citizens chosen by the Electorate Colleges.—62. The Members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour are Members of the Senate, whatever may be their age.—63. The First Consul may besides nominate to the Senate, without the previous presentation of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments, Citizens distinguished for their services and their talents, on these conditions, however, that they shall be of the age required by the Constitution, and that the number of Senators shall not exceed 120. —64. The Senators may be Consuls, Ministers, Members of the Legion of Honour, Inspectors of Public Instruction, or employed on extraordinary and temporary Missions.—65. The Senate appoints each year two of its Members to perform the duty of Secretaries.—66. The Ministers have seats in the Senate, but no deliberative voice, unless they are Senators.

TITLE VI.—*Of the Counsellors of State.*

67. The Counsellors of State shall never exceed the number of fifty.—68. The Council of State is divided into sections.—69. The Minis-

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ters have rank, seats, and votes in the Council of State.

TITLE VII.—*Of the Legislative Body.*

70. Each department shall have a number of Members proportioned to the extent of its population, conformable to the annexed table.—71. All the Members of the Legislative Body, belonging to the same deputation, are to be nominated at once.—72. The departments of the Republic are divided into five series, conformable to the annexed table.—73. The present Deputies are classed according to these five series.—74. They shall be renewed in the year to which the series, including the department to which they are attached, shall be referred.—75. The Deputies nominated in the year 10 shall, however, complete their five years.—76. The Government convokes, adjourns, and prorogues, the Legislative Body.

TITLE VIII.—*Of the Tribunate.*

77. From and after the year 13, the Tribunate shall be reduced to 50 Members.—One half of the 50 shall go out every three years. Until this reduction be completed, the Members who go out shall not be replaced.—The Tribunate is divided into Sections.—78. The Legislative Body and the Tribunate are to be wholly renewed, immediately on their dissolution by the Senate.

TITLE IX.—*Of Justice and the Tribunate.*

79. There shall be a Grand Judge, Minister of Justice.—80. He has a distinguished place in the Senate and the Council of State.—81. He presides in the Tribunal of Cassation and the Tribunals of Appeal, when the Government judges it proper.—82. He has the right of vigilance and superintendance over the Tribunals and Justices of Peace.—83. The Tribunal of Cassation, when he sits as President, has the right of censure and discipline over the Tribunals of Appeal and the Criminal Tribunals. He may, on serious complaints, suspend the Judges from their functions, and send them before a Judge, to give an account of their conduct.—84. The Tribunals of Appeal have the right of superintendance over the Civil Tribunals within their jurisdiction, and the Civil Tribunals over the Justices of Peace of their District.—85. The Commissioners of Government to the Tribunal of Cassation, superintends the Commissioners to the Tribunals of Appeal and the Criminal Tribunals.—The Commissioners to the Tribunals of Appeal superintend the Commissioners to the Inferior Tribunals.—86. The Members of the Tribunal of Legation are appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First Consul.—The First Consul presents three Candidates for each vacant place.

TITLE X.—*Right of Pardoning.*

87. The First Consul has the right of pardoning.—He exercises it after the deliberation of a Privy Council, composed of the Grand Judge, two Ministers, two Councils, and two Members of the Tribunal of Cassation.—The Council of State having, on the reference of the Consuls, discussed the above project, approve of it, and agree that it shall be presented to the Consuls in due form.

(A true copy,)

J. G. LOCRE, Secretary General of the Council of State.

Approved, BUONAPARTE, First Consul.

By order of the First Consul,

H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

The project of the Organic Senatus Consultum was carried to the Conservative Senate by the Counsellors of State, Regnier, Portalis, and Dessolles, Orators of the Government, and adopted by the Senate in its sitting of this day.

Buonaparté, First Consul, in the name of the French people, proclaims as a law of the Republic, the *Senatus Consulte*, of which the following is the tenor:

Senatus Consulte for organizing the Constitution. Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate of the 4th of August, 1802.

The Conservative Senate, consisting of the number of members prescribed by the 90th Article of the Constitution; having seen the message of the Consuls of the Republic dated this day, announcing the sending of three orators of government, charged to present to the Senate a project of a *Senatus Consulte* for organizing the constitution; having seen the said project of *Senatus Consulte*, presented to the Senate by Citizens Regnier, Portalis, and Dessolles, councillors of state appointed for that purpose by an Arrêté of the First Consul of the Republic, of the same date; after having heard the orators of government respecting the motives of the said project; deliberating on the report of its special committee appointed in the sitting of the 30th ult. decrees as follows: the present *Senatus Consulte* shall be transmitted by a message to the Consuls of the Republic.

(Signed) *Barthelemy*, President.

Vaubois and *Fargues*, Secretaires.

By the Conservative Senate,

The Secretary-General, *Cauchy*,

[Then follows a table of the number of deputies to be chosen by each department to the legislative body, amounting in the whole to 300. Also a table of the departments of the Republic, divided into five series.]

Let the present *Senatus Consulte*, sealed with the seal of state, be inserted in the bulletin of laws, and inscribed in the registers of the judiciary and administrative

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authorities, and the minister of justice is charged with the superintendance of its publication.

Paris, August 5, 1802.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*
(Signed) *H. B. Maret.*

The following most infamous Article is taken from the Paris Paper, the Moniteur, of the 9th August.

"The *Times*, which is said to be under ministerial inspection, is filled with perpetual invectives against *France*. Two of its four pages are every day employed in giving currency to the grossest calumnies. All that imagination can depict, that is low, vile, and base, is by that miserable Paper attributed to the French government. What is its end? Who pays it? What does it wish to effect?

"A French Journal edited by some miserable emigrants, the remnant of the most impure, a vile refuse, without country, without honour, sullied with crimes which it is not in the power of any Amnesty to wash away, outdoes even the Times."

"Eleven bishops, presided over by the atrocious bishop of Arras, rebels to their country and to the church, have assembled in London. They print libels against the bishops and the French clergy; they injure the government and the Pope, who have re-established the peace of the gospel amongst 40 millions of christians.

"The Isle of Jersey is full of Brigands, condemned to death by the tribunals for crimes committed subsequent to the peace; for assassinations, robberies, and the practices of an incendiary.

"The treaty of Amiens stipulates, that persons accused of crimes, of murder, for instance, shall be respectively delivered up. The assassins who are at Jersey are, on the contrary, received. They depart from thence unmolested, in fishing-boats, disembarked on our coasts, assassinate the richest proprietors, and burn the stacks of corn and the barns.

"Georges wears openly at London his red ribband, as a recompense for the infernal machine which destroyed a part of Paris, and killed thirty women and children, or peacable citizens. This special protection authorizes a belief, that if he had succeeded he would have been honoured with the Order of the Garter.

"Let us make some reflexions on this strange conduct of our neighbours.

"When two great nations make peace, is it for the purpose of reciprocally exciting troubles, or to engage and pay for crimes? Is it for the purpose of giving money and protection to all men who wish to trouble the state? And as to the liberty of the press, is a country to be at liberty to speak of a nation, friendly, and newly reconciled, in a manner which they durst not speak of a government against whom they were prosecuting a deadly war?

"Is not one nation responsible to another nation for all the acts and all the conduct of its citizens? Do not acts of parliament even prohibit allied governments, or their ambassadors, to be insulted?

"It is said that Richelieu, under Louis XIII. assisted the revolution in England, and contributed to bring Charles the First to the scaffold. M. de Choiseul, and after him, the ministers of Louis XVI. doubtless excited the insurrection in America. The late English ministry have had their revenge: they excited the massacres of September, and influenced their movements, by means of which Louis XVI. perished on the scaffold, and by means of which our principal manufacturing cities, such as Lyons, were destroyed.

"It is still wished that this series of movements and influence, which has been productive of such calamitous consequences to both states, for so many ages, should be prolonged? Would it not be more reasonable, and more conformable to the results of experience, to make use of the reciproeal influence of proper commercial relations, as the means of protecting commerce, of preventing the fabrication of false money, and opposing a refuge to criminals?

"Besides, what result can the English government expect, from fomenting the troubles of the church? from receiving and vomeling back upon our territory the brigands of the *Cotes-du-Nord* and Morbihan, covered with the blood of the best and richest proprietors of those unfortunate departments, from spreading by every means, instead of severely repressing, all the calumnies circulated by English writers, or by the French press at London. Do they not know that the French government is now more solidly established than the English government? And do they think that reciprocity will be difficult for the French government.

"What would be the effect of such an exchange of injuries, of the influence of insurrectional committees, of the protection and encouragement granted to assassins?

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What would be gained to civilization, to the commerce and the happiness of both nations?

"Either the English government authorizes and tolerates those public and private crimes, in which case it cannot be said that such conduct is consistent with British generosity, civilization, and honour; or it cannot prevent them, in which case it does not deserve the name of a government; above all, if it does not possess the means of repressing assassination and calumny, and protecting social order?"—*Moniteur.*

The Gazette Extraordinary of Madrid has announced, that his Excellency Charles Caracciolo, Duke of St. Theodore, Marquis de Capriglia, &c. &c. &c. Ambassador Extraordinary of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, espoused on the 16th of July, with all the pomp and ceremonies usual in Spain, and in the name of the Hereditary Prince of the Two Sicilies, the Infanta Donna Maria Isabella, Princess of Spain.

Bern, July 22.—The Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Helvetia has addressed the following letter, dated July 18, to the Landamman and Stadtholders of the Helvetic Republic.

"Citizens Landamman and Stadtholders, you requested of me, by the letter which you did me the honour to address to me, dated the 13th of July, to give you some information as to the considerations which formed the motive of the resolution taken and answered by the First Consul, to withdraw immediately into France the French battalions which he had permitted to remain in Helvetia since the peace, and you request me to petition the First Consul to postpone the execution of that resolution until the Helvetic Ministry at Paris had transmitted to you the information which you had charged them to procure respecting that subject. The First Consul thinking, Citizens Landamman and Stadtholders, that the government of Helvetia will find in the virtue of the Helvetic people, now more united with respect to the principles of its political organization, sufficient resources to maintain public order and tranquillity in Helvetia, such are the considerations which have influenced the determination of the First Consul; you ought therefore to regard this resolution as a pledge of his confidence in the wisdom of the Helvetic people, and in the intentions of its Government, as well as of his repugnance to intermeddle in the domestic affairs of other nations.—Accept, Citizens Landamman and Stadtholders, my sentiments of consideration.

(Signed) "*R. Verninac.*"

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The following pithy proceedings in Jamaica are exceedingly well calculated for exercising the speculative faculties of politicians.

Jamaica, Kingston, June 17, 1802.—Tuesday the General Assembly of this island met agreeably to Proclamation, and his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor having been acquainted therewith, a message was sent commanding their attendance in the Council Chamber, when his Honour was pleased to open the Sessions with the following Speech:

"Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—It is with much reluctance that I have felt myself obliged to call you together at this season of the year, but the importance of the object will, I trust, sufficiently point out to you the necessity of the measure. I am at the same time happy that it affords me an opportunity of congratulating you upon the return of the blessings of peace, by the signing of the Definitive Treaty.

"Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—You will, I hope, with your usual patriotism and liberality, take into your consideration, the peculiar circumstances in which this island is at present placed, and make a full provision for the exigencies of the service accordingly.

"Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I shall direct the necessary papers to be laid before you, in order to explain the nature of the communications which I have had from his Majesty's ministers, upon the subject of the present meeting."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

It is a maxim in courts of justice, that the criminal who impudently sets up a *justification*, thereby forfeits those pretensions, which he otherwise might have, to mercy: we cannot, therefore, but be surprised, that the modest and meek Mr. Addington should have attempted publicly to justify his sei-

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zure on the clerkship of the pells. He has (see True Briton of the 11th inst.) cited the conduct of *Sir Robert Walpole*, and of the *old Lord Holland*, as precedents in his favour. The former, he says, gave this very clerkship to his son, then a minor, and the latter gave the clerkship of the Irish pells to the present Charles Fox, who was also under age at the time. To have made out his case he should have proved, that his claims, whether as to birth, consequence, or public services, were equal to those of Sir Robert or of Lord Holland. As to *disinterestedness*, few persons, we believe, will deny that his pretensions may be quite as well founded as those of the famous Lord Holland; but, with respect to *birth*, to *parliamentary weight*, or to *public services*, what resemblance is there between Mr. Addington and the rival of Lord Chatham? And, as to Sir Robert Walpole, to draw a comparison between Mr. Addington and him is, perhaps, the most outrageous insult that ever was offered to the understanding of a public, even the most senseless or forbearing. Sir Robert Walpole was a gentleman of an ancient and opulent family; of great influence in the parliament and in the nation, as well from his talents as his connexions, the whole of which influence he most sedulously and jealously employed, for many years, with the view of securing the succession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of these kingdoms; he *came into* office as prime minister with thirty years distinguished services already performed, and he brought with him a weight and consequence, without which the Government could not, at that time, have existed. Such is the man whom Mr. Addington thinks he has a right to emulate in point of remuneration. Supposing, however, that he were perfectly upon a footing with Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Holland, it remains for him to prove, that *their* disposition of the sinecures in question was not unjustifiable. He has hunted through the long list of ministers, and has been able to find but two precedents for his conduct. How comes he to have followed the example of *Lord Holland* in preference to that of *Mr. Pitt*? He says, the place was offered to Mr. Pitt. That we can readily believe. It would, perhaps, not have been very *safe* to omit the compliment. Nor, do we suppose, that he finally took the good thing into his own family, without Mr Pitt's consent and advice, for which, as well as for the refusal to take it himself, it requires no great sagacity to discover a very sufficient reason, without having recourse to the romantic motives of disinterestedness and friendship. We cannot quit this subject without pointing out the contrast between the conduct of the Premier and that of the Bishop of London. The rich living of St. James's has lately fallen in the gift of his lordship, who has several nephews in the church, all of them of excellent character and talents. On one of these gentlemen he might, without incurring any blame, without exciting any envy, have conferred this valuable preferment. He, doubtless, would have wished to do it; but, justly considering the interests of the church and of religion as of greater importance than those of his family, he has bestowed it, not on a relation, not on a favourite of the court, not an old friend or acquaintance, but on a gentleman, who was known to him only as a clergyman, exemplary in his character, and famed above all others for the eloquence and effect of his sermons.—Were it not too late, we would say to Mr. Addington: "Go thou and do likewise."

In looking abroad, the first thing we have perceived, since our last sheet, is, the actual promotion of Buonaparté's uncle to the archbishoprick of Lyons. We stated, (p. 154) that this poor peasant had been *put to school* by his nephew, in order to fit him for his meditated dignity; but, we hardly imagined, that, at his age, he would have made so rapid a progress in his studies. Were we not restrained by motives of delicacy, we should have no scruple in proposing to Mr. Addington to send to France for the *tutor* of uncle Fesche; for, not to mention the particular and most important object, at which we hinted at the top of page 154, this sort of telegraphic tutorship must, by the present ministry, be considered as of infinite moment to the well-being of the state.

Of the supplement to the French constitution, (see p. 165) what shall we, what *can* we say? There is no analysing such an unintelligible mass of words. The change it introduces is another step towards establishing a new dynasty, towards raising the house of Buonaparté to the throne of the Bourbons; but, as to the state of liberty, or slavery, in France, it will produce not the least alteration. If it makes any variation in the prospect of other nations, it renders it more gloomy; because it, in some slight degree, strengthens and consolidates the government of Buonaparté, and thereby tears one verse from the chapter of accidents, to which alone, this country in par-

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ticular, can possibly look for hope. The London papers, especially those of the republican stamp, have, in the new constitution, found a fertile subject of complaint and abuse. We can readily account for their clamour, and we are persuaded that Buonaparté will excuse it, when he considers, that he has completely blasted all their doctrines and their projects. They are now obliged to confess, that the predictions of Mr. Burke are fulfilled; and, as if on purpose to cap the climax of their disgrace, their great leader, Mr. Fox, arrived in France on the very day that the last stone of the "*stupendous monument of human wisdom and human happiness*," was levelled with the earth. There may it lie for ever! Far be it from us to extol the character or conduct of Buonaparté: they are too deeply stained with blasphemy and with blood: but, (leaving his *usurpation* out of sight) as far as relates to France itself, as far as relates to the people over whom he has obtained command, we must say, that his late acts merit commendation; of the truth of which, the clamours of our republican prints furnish a most satisfactory proof. They blame and abuse him, not for his tyranny, but for having ceased to exercise it against the royalists exclusively; not for what he has with-held from the church, but for what he has restored to it; not for his hypocrisy, but for his no longer being an open blasphemer; not for his having sanctioned past acts of plunder, but for his having forbidden them for the future; not for his keeping the Bourbons from the throne, but for having mounted it himself.

It has been stated in the ministerial prints, that the Emperor of Russia *has not given his assent* to the convention lately concluded at Paris between France and Prussia, having for its object a new partition of dominion in Germany. We believe, that the contrary of this is the fact; and we shall not be at all surprised to see Hanover once more an object of solicitude. England has abandoned the Continent, and can expect to retain no influence in any part of it; nay, we sincerely believe that Mr. Addington and his colleagues know no more of what is passing in the cabinets of Berlin, Petersberg, or Paris, than of what is passing in the moon.

From the language of the French official paper, we should suppose, that Buonaparté had some design to make war upon the Barbary States. If he does it, it will be with a view to colonize them, which would be no difficult matter. As to any *prevention* from us, or from the other neighbouring powers, that is out of the question. The very mention of a new rupture with France would drive Mr. Addington from his place, and he has not half finished his royal mansion in Richmond Park yet. Besides, the pulse of the nation beats high against the "atrocious horde of pirates." It is curious, and not less disgusting than curious, to hear those, who were loud for "*peace on any terms*" with France, now crying out for war against the poor despicable states of Barbary. The ministers would, doubtless, *wish* to adhere to our ancient policy with respect to those states; that is, to support them against the other maritime powers; but they well know, that they would not dare to act upon that policy; and, should France make the request, it is, with us, matter of serious doubt, whether "the respectable" Mr. Addington and his colleagues, would not send a British squadron to assist Buonaparté in his projected invasion. The supposition carries, indeed, their complaisance and our humiliation pretty far; but, what may we not suppose, after what we have seen actually take place? We do not see the necessity of our co-operation in any project against the piratical states; but, if it be absolutely necessary, and if it be made the *sine qua non* of a continuation of peace with France, we have no hesitation to say, that it will not be refused by the present ministers. The invasion of these states, made part of a project laid before the Directory at the time the invasion of Egypt was in agitation; and, it is by no means impossible, that this project may be revived. That Buonaparté intends to re-occupy Egypt there can be no doubt; but, without taking that object into view, the conquest of the Barbary States has quite sufficient charms for the nation who has always had a strong desire to exclude us totally from the Mediterranean, and who well knows, that, completely cut off from all communication with the coast of Africa, we should soon find the rock of Gibraltar untenable. We are aware, that the spinning-jenny politicians, will reply, "so much "the better!" Doctors Priestley and Price succeeded (as the former says) in convincing Lord Shelburne, that England ought to have *no foreign possessions at all;* and Sir George Saville frankly acknowledged, that he would have proposed *the giving up of Gibraltar*, only he found the proposition too unpopular, and that "the people had a *foolish* "*prejudice* against yielding what they called "*the honours of the country.*"* This foolish pre-

* Dr. Priestley's Address to the People of Northumberland.

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judice is now happily removed; and, we may safely conclude, that if Gibraltar has not yet been yielded, it is only because it has not yet been asked.

It is said, that the American minister, Mr. Livingston, has applied to the French government to obtain a delay, at least, in the *colonization of Louisiana and the Floridas*. We think it is very likely, that this application has been made. We know it was made in February last, to the government of both France and Spain, though it is very difficult to perceive why it should have been made to the latter. The answer then was, as we dare say it now will be, very equivocal. It is, indeed, no very grateful request to make to any power. Why should America solicit France to abstain from taking possession of, and colonizing, territories unquestionably her own? The language of Mr. President Jefferson, being plainly understood, will be this: "I am your friend; "my partizans are your friends: more than "one half of the people of the United "States are your friends. You have, moreover, the *noisy* half, and noise has more "influence in a republic than sense; you "have the *poor* half, and the poor are much "bolder than the rich; you have the *roguish* "half, and the rogues in my country are "much more active than honest men. But, "though you have all the noise, poverty, "and roguery; all the deception, boldness, "and vigilance, on your side; though a "great majority of the American citizens "love you better than the British, they all "love their own persons and property better than they love you. And, you must "know, that they are deeply impressed "with the notion, that if you take complete "possession of Louisiana and the Floridas, "you will serve them as you have served "Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, &c. &c. "This is, undoubtedly, an erroneous persuasion; nevertheless they have imbibed "it, and when they once take up a notion, they are not easily prevailed upon "to cast it away. This being the case, "they will be extremely jealous of you; "the partisans of England, who are all "upon the *qui vive*, will take advantage of "the favourable opportunity; a clamour "will be raised against you from one end "of the country to the other; your staunch "partizans will not, indeed, desert to the "enemy, but they will grow timid; I myself shall be compelled to put on the "garb of enmity towards you, and, notwithstanding this, I shall, at the next "election, be compelled to give way to a "partisan of England, who, very probably, "may avail himself of the anger of the "people against you, to obtain their consent to an alliance offensive and defensive with Great-Britain, which would "completely baffle all the glorious projects by which you intend to render the "world happy under the domination of "France." We do not say, that Mr. Livingston will, in the name of his master, make use of these very words; but, if ever the papers should be published, it will certainly be found, that we have here given the substance of his statement. What reply Talleyrand may make him it is difficult to say. Ours would be this: "It is something new in diplomatic history for a nation to solicit another not to make use of "its own territory. It is strange, too, that "the reason assigned for this sacrifice "should be the danger of offending a people, who love us, by going to settle in "the vicinage of that people! If they are "really our friends, they will rejoice at "our approach; if not, that approach will "not lose us their friendship. As to the "danger of throwing our present partizans into the opposite scale, and finally producing an alliance between America and Great-Britain, were it possible for "the former nation to propose the measure, the latter dares not accede to it. "She can have no war for many years. "In England *war* is become synonimous "with *evil*, and *peace* with *good*. This the "Americans will soon perceive, and, well "knowing, that they cannot support a war "with us alone, even in the heart of their "own continent (to say nothing of the "speedy destruction of their maritime "towns) they will have the sense to hold "their tongues, and think themselves very "fortunate, not only if we settle our own "territory, but if we should content ourselves with a trifling encroachment on "theirs."—Such, we believe, will be the substance of the negotiation. It is not impossible, however, that Jefferson may obtain a mitigation of the project of the First Consul, who will, for a time, probably be satisfied with occupying the mouth and the western bank of the Mississippi, leaving the Floridas untouched for a while. The projects of France are so great and so numerous, that it is absolutely impossible to undertake them all at once, and none will suffer less from delay than that which is connected with the colonization of Louisiana and the Floridas.

There is one enemy in America, of whom Buonaparté does not seem to have any knowledge, but who is, nevertheless, more

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formidable than the United States: we mean GENERAL BOWLES, the Director General of the four nations of Indians, inhabiting the eastern borders of the mouth of the Mississippi. They do, indeed, extend their boundaries over great part of West and a portion of East Florida. About six weeks ago, it was stated in the London papers, that Bowles had been taken by the Spaniards, and put to death. We contradicted this statement at the time. It is now discovered, that he is alive, and has vessels cruizing against the Spaniards. By turning to the Register, Vol. I. p. 735 and 736 it will be perceived, that he had long had vessels cruizing against the Spaniards, and that he had established a Court of Admiralty, for the trial of Prize Causes, at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, which he had made his principal place of rendezvous and residence. This is the enemy whom Buonaparté would have to fear in his American project; but Bowles, unfortunately, is upon bad terms with the Americans, and, without their aid, he must soon be driven back, especially if he obtains neither arms nor ammunition from this country, which he certainly will not. He is the lawful chief of a people as independent in the eye of the law of nations as the English or the French; yet, so brave are our ministers when they have Buonaparté at their back, that we shall be much surprized, if they do not, upon the first request, or rather order, of the Consul, send out instructions for the capture and condemnation of Bowles's vessels, and for the punishment of his seamen as pirates.

It is truly curious to observe with what wonderful zeal and unanimity the newspapers of London have united to repel the attack made on themselves and the ministry by Buonaparté's official paper, (see p. 179); just as if this was the *first time*, that the Consul had endeavoured to curtail the freedom of the British press! Most of the newspapers (the ministerial ones in particular) *highly applauded* the abuse which the Moniteur bestowed on the *opposers of the peace*. Its observations, though replete with venom and falsehood, then met with the "*hearty concurrence*" of the very persons who now are, or affect to be, mortally offended. This is, in fact, a little passionate squabble between Buonaparté and his bosom friends, with which we and our readers have, thank God, nothing to do. That this squabble should, however, *depress the funds three per cent.* is a circumstance which alone might give us a tolerable idea of "the *blessings of peace*." This fact, which cannot be disguised, has fully discovered the dependence of this nation on the will of Buonaparté. *Credit* is to preserve us; but what is to preserve that credit if the value of the funds depend upon the whim of our enemy? If a pain in the head, or a curtain-lecture, at Malmaison, may, at any time, spread bankruptcy through the city of London?

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Ordnance-Office, August 3, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Downman to be Capt. vice Rob. Lawson, deceased. Dated July 25 1802.

First Lieut. Geo. Lefebure to be Capt.-Lieutenant, vice Downman. Dated as above.

Second Lieut. Francis Bedingfield to be First Lieut. vice Lefebure. Dated as above.

War-Office, Aug. 7, 1802.

6th Regiment of Dragoons, Quarter-Master James Nugent to be Adjut. with the rank of Cornet, vice Lugard, who resigns.

9th Reg. of Light Drag. Veterinary Surgeon George Landers, from the 24th Light Drag. to be Veterinary Surgeon, vice Fergusson, superseded.

14th Ditto, Hospital-Mate John Hopkins Radford to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Riviere, who resigns.

17th Ditto, Tho. Turner, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Barclay, promoted.

20th Ditto, Ensign Lorenzo O'Toole, from the 48th Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Rose, promoted.

24th Ditto, Capt. Hen. Monckton to be Major, by purchase, vice Johnson, promoted in the 28th Foot. Lieutenant, Denis Bodkin to be Captain, vice Monckton.

28th Ditto, Cornet John Macnett to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Honeyman, promoted.

9th Reg. of Foot, Ensign Geo. Taylor, from the 16th Foot, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Myers, who retires. Ensign John Maclain, from the 58th Foot, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Cross, promoted.

15th Ditto, Major James Robinson to be Lieut.-Colonel, by purchase, vice Madden, who retires. Quarter-Master John Bolt, from the half-pay of the late 2d Battalion, to be Quarter-Master, vice Patterson, who exchanges.

16th Ditto, Lieut. John Galway, from the half-pay of the 24th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Laycon, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

28th Ditto, Major Wm. Johnson, from the 24th Light Drag. to be Lieutenant-Colonel, by purchase, vice Chambers, who retires.

29th Ditto, Ensign Algernon Langton, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Burdett, promoted. John Jebb, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Langton.

30th Ditto, Capt. George Monkland, from the 9th West-India Regiment, to be Capt. vice Morgan, who exchanges.

43d Ditto, Ensign Jam. O'Donnell to be Lieut. without purchase, vice De Young, promoted.

52d Ditto, Cornet John Kerwan, from the 18th Light Drag. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Miller, who retires.

62d Reg. of Foot, Ensign Robert Henry Dick, from the 75th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Macleod, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg. Mat-

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thew Yelverton, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Bradley, promoted.

97th Ditto, George Wright, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice M'Quarrie, promoted in the 40th Foot.

9th West-India Reg. Capt. John Drigue Morgan, from the 86th Foot, to be Capt. vice Monkland, who exchanges.

1st Devonshire Regiment of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

Major John Worth to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Sir Stafford Northcote.

—— Lord Graves to be Major, vice Worth.

West Kent Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

James Chapman, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Manford, who resigns.

Pembrokeshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

Lieut.-Colonel Joshua Roach to be Capt. of a Troop, vice Jordan, who resigns.

Memorandum.—The Exchange between Capt. Cornelius Cuyler, of the 33d Reg. and Capt. Thomas Hoggins, of the 64th Reg. of Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 12th of June last, has not taken place.

Lieutenant Wm. Metcalfe, of the 17th Foot, who was superseded in the Gazette of the 24th ultimo, is reinstated in his rank.

The undermentioned Officers are superseded, viz,

9th Foot, Ensign Thomas Burke.

Dunbarton Fencibles.

Capt. James Binning, being absent without leave.

Ensign Alexander Davidson, being absent without leave.

BANKRUPTS.

Beaumont, Wm. Francis, of Mitre-court, Cheapside, wine and brandy-merchant.

Camon, Methuselah, of Plymouth, grocer.

Crosner, Henry, late of Bridge, Kent, linen-weaver.

Davis, Isaac, and Moses Solomon, now or late of Union-court, Broad-street, merchants.

Easto, Robert, of Weybread, Suffolk, butcher.

Geddes, Alexander, of Mark-lane, London, merchant.

Hardy, Joseph, of Leadenhall-street, London, silversmith.

Heale, John, of Beckington, Somersetshire, baker.

Holder Wm. Compton, of Ross, Herefordshire, money-scrivener.

Kendrick, John, the elder, of Birmingham, bellows-maker.

Mendes, De Abraham, late of the Pavement, Moorfields, merchant.

Sealy, Wm. the younger, late of Rettendon, Essex, farmer.

Smallwood, Wm. of Greenfield-street, Whitechapel, upholder.

Weston, Richard, of Shepton-Mallet, Somersetshire, liquor-merchant.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	185½	—	—	182½
3 pr. C. R. An.	71⅞	70⅞	71	70⅞	—	69⅛
3 per C. Con.	70⅞	70	70⅞	69⅛	—	68⅛
4 pr C. Cons.	88⅛	87⅞	87⅞	87⅛	—	85⅛
5 pr Ct, Ann.	100⅛	99⅞	100⅛	100	—	99
Bank L. Ann.	20⅛	20 9/16	20 11/16	20 5/16	—	20⅛
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	70⅞	—	69⅞	68⅛	—	67⅛
D° Ann.....	12⅛	12 1/16	21 1/16	—	—	12 1/16
5 per Ct. 1797	104	103⅛	104⅛	103⅛	—	102⅛
Omnium ...	5½ dis	6½ dis	6 dis	6½ dis	—	8½ dis
India Stock..	—	—	208	208	—	204
D° Bonds....	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct, 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 35 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 17½	2 us.	LEGHORN 51½
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Bread *Ten Pence Half-penny* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of August, 1802.

Days.	M'sage	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
5		very Fine.	SE	SE	29,9	29,89	75,5	79
6	☾	Fine.	WNW	WNW	29,85	29,85	63	73
7		Fine.	SW	SW	29,83	29,85	69	70,5
8		Fine.	SSW	SSW	29,87	29,85	70	74
9		Sho. Fine.	SE	SE	29,7	29,68	72	76
10		Fine,	NW	SE	29,68	29,65	72	—
11		Fine.	SW	SW	29,8	29,82	64	73

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 7.] *London, Saturday, 21st August,* 1802. [Price 10D.

CONTENTS.—*Prog. Parl.* 193 *Free Port, Tortola,* 198. *Mr. Pitt,* 196. *Dispatches, Guadaloupe,* 197, 198. *Bowles ld. Ch.* 199. *Helvetia,* 200. *Imp. Decree,* 202. *Procl. Munster,* 203. *French Manufact.* 204. *Riots, West of Eng.* 206. *Scotch Peers,* 208. *Submission of the Min. to Buonaparté,* 208 to 217. *Conv. bet. Fr. & Russ.* 217.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

At the Court at Weymouth, Aug. 16, *Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

His Majesty in Council was this day pleased to order the Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor to issue Writs for proroguing the Parliament, which was appointed to meet on Tuesday the 21st day of this instant August, to Tuesday the 5th day of October next; and also for proroguing the Convocations of Canterbury and York, which were appointed to meet on Wednesday the 1st day of September next, to Wednesday the 6th day of October next.

At the Court at Weymouth, August 16, *Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas by an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled "An Act for "enabling his Majesty to permit the Importation and Exportation of certain Goods "and Commodities into and from the Port "of Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola, until the 1st day of July, 1803, and "from thence until six weeks after the "commencement of the then next Session "of Parliament:" It is declared to be expedient that certain articles, goods, and commodities, enumerated in certain acts passed in the twenty-seventh, thirty-second, and thirty-third years of his Majesty's reign, should be permitted by his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to be imported from countries and plantations in America, and the West-Indies, belonging to, or under the dominion of any foreign European sovereign or state, into the Port of Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands, and to be exported from thence to this kingdom, in the same manner, and subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions, and to the same penalties and forfeitures for the breach thereof, as are provided with respect to the Port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, in the said acts, or in any other act or acts of Parliament, for amending or continuing the same, and subject to such other rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions, as shall be directed by his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid; and it is enacted, that from and after the passing of the said act, and until the 1st day of July, 1803, and from thence until six weeks after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to permit the importation into the said Port of Road Harbour, in the island of Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands, and the exportation from thence to this kingdom of all such articles, goods, and commodities, as are permitted by the said acts to be imported into the said Port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, and to be exported from thence to this kingdom; and that such articles, goods, and commodities shall and may be imported and exported in the same manner, and shall be subject to the same duties, and entitled to the same daawback, and shall be subject to the same rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions, and to the same penalties and forfeitures for the breach thereof as are provided in the said acts, or any of them, respecting such importation into the said Port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, and the exportation from thence to this kingdom, and shall be subject to such other rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions as shall from time to time be directed by his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid; his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to permit, and doth by his order in Council permit, during the time limited by the said act, the importation into the said port of Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands, from countries and plantations in America and the West-Indies, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign European sovereign or state, of all such articles, goods, and commodities enumerated in the said above recited acts, passed in the twenty-seventh, thirty-second, and thirty-third years of his

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Majesty's reign, as are permitted by the said acts to be imported into the said port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, and also the exportation thereof from the said port of Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola aforesaid, in the same manner, and subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions, and to the same penalties and forfeitures for the breach thereof, as are provided in the said acts, or any of them, respecting such importation into the said port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, and the exportation from thence to this kingdom, and subject also to the conditions, rules, and regulations hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, that before any sugar or coffee, the produce of Tortola and its dependencies, shall be permitted or suffered to be shipped or laden on board any ship or vessel, each and every package shall be stamped or marked by the proper officer of the customs, in Roman letters, of not less than two inches in length, with the words *British Pn.*; that all sugar and coffee, not being the produce of any of the British plantations, islands, or territories, shall, upon importation into Road Harbour, be laid on land and examined, and shall be deposited in safe and secure warehouses under the joint locks of his Majesty and the owner or proprietor of such sugar or coffee, and the same shall not be afterwards shipped or laden on board any ship or vessel, unless directly from such warehouses, (upon due entry thereof being first made), under the care and inspection of the proper officer of the customs; and before any such sugar or coffee shall be permitted or suffered to be shipped or laden on board any ship or vessel, each and every package shall be stamped or marked by the proper officer of the customs, in Roman letters, of not less than two inches in length, with the word *Foreign*, and shall also be numbered progressively: and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

Steph. Cottrell.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. PITT.

hope, that you do read this Register, I take the liberty to make a few extracts from that paper, that you may be informed of the danger to which your reputation is exposed.

True Briton, 12th Aug.—" It is positively " asserted that the office of Clerk of the " Pells, vacant by the death of Colonel " BARRE, was offered to Mr. PITT, and de- " clined. The Minister, after having made " this laudable *offering* at the *Shrine of Pub- " lic Virtue*, naturally consulted the feelings " of a parent, and bestowed it on his eldest " son."—In the same paper of the 13th instant you are called " the *greatest* and *bright- " est* character that *this*, or *any other* nation " *ever possessed*." And further on: " A mi- " nister, whose vigorous mind, comprehen- " sive genius, and sublime patriotism are " balanced only by his private and unsullied " worth, and by a disinterestedness, which " has *no parallel in the annals of mankind*."— In the same paper of the 14th instant, you are called, " the man who *conciliates* the " *admiration* of *all nations*, and must conti- " nue *to be* that of *all posterity* while *civilized* " *society has existence*."—Having exhausted the powers of prose, your eulogist, in his paper of the 18th, has recourse to poetry; as thus:

" Hail, virtuous Son of CHATHAM, hail;
" May angels guard thy breast,
" And thro' life's boisterous sea still sail,
" By Britain's sons caress'd.

" But when the Lord of Life thinks fit
" To claim thee for his own,
" May thy just soul, O, WILLIAM PITT,
" Inhabit near his throne!"

The poor creature who promulgates this hyperbolical flattery, this execrable nonsense, thinks he is assisting not only to support your character generally, but, in particular, to preserve it in its state of exaltation above that of Mr. Addington; but, if not for your own sake, yet, for the sake of your friends, pray, Sir, order your valet to silence this canting sycophant. To be *puffed* like posture-masters, or play-actors, may, for aught I know or care, be no degradation to the Foxes or the Russells; but to you, Sir, it certainly is, and as such it is felt by all those whose friendship is worth your possessing.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Pall-Mall, 19th Aug. 1802.

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FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

MINISTER OF THE MARINE.

The General in Chief to the Minister of the Marine.

Head-quarters at Basse Terre, Guadaloupe, 18 Messidor, year 10, (July 7.)

Citizen Minister,—I have ordered that the members of the Provisional Council established in Guadaloupe on the 29th Vendemaire should proceed to France, that they may be at the disposition of the government. They will arrive at Brest on board the Fougeux, which sails to-morrow, with the exception of Citizen Danois, who before our arrival had gone to the United States of America. I have given the same orders with regard to a great many inhabitants of the colony. The latter, though they did not act so conspicuous a part in the events which have lately happened in Guadaloupe, nevertheless took a very active part. The explanations which their defence must render necessary, will contribute much to inform the government of the stability which the revolt of the 29th Vendemaire would have acquired, if its fatal effects had not been prevented by the victories of the French troops.

I have the honour to salute you,

RICHEPANSE.

The General in Chief to the Minister of the Marine.

Head-quarters at Basse Terre, 18 Messidor, year 10 (July 7.)

Citizen Minister,—The French soldiers, after having combatted the black troops, after having witnessed the barbarous treatment their wounded companions received, who were horribly mutilated in the field of battle, could not have seen such a man in their ranks without the most painful sensations and the best grounded mistrust. I have felt the same sentiment. I was of opinion their exclusion from the military profession, which they have disgraced, on which they have long built plans of independence, and which furnished them the means of oppressing the whites, was the first and the most necessary step to the re-establishment of order. I therefore have not included in the new formation of the divisions of the army any man of colour, except a small number for the baggage and provision department, and about 150 mechanics of different kinds for the corps of miners. I have ordered the greatest part of the black officers attached to the army of Guadaloupe before the arrival of the expedition to proceed to France in the Redoubtable and Fougeux. Those who took a part in the revolt have been shot, or have made their escape. I shall shut up all those who remain in retired places or in the neighbouring islands, and all who are arrested shall experience the same treatment. The removal of these individuals will greatly contribute to the permanence of good order, which cannot exist but by the presence and exertion of the European troops.

I have the honour to salute you,

RICHEPANSE.

The General in Chief to the Minister of the Marine.

Head-quarters Basse Terre, Guadaloupe, 19 Messidor, year 10 (July 8.)

Citizen Minister,—My last dispatches concerning affairs in Guadaloupe were dated 9 Prairial (May 29), at which time all my military operations of importance had terminated by the capture of Matouba. The troops have since had only to pursue the remnant of rebels, inaccessible to all the means of persuasion, and incapable of returning to their duty. Nothing but the death of these wretches could put a stop to conflagration and the murder of the whites in the colony. The assassinations, and the devastations which have fallen upon some proprietors, excite in my bosom the most painful sensations. But I must consider, as a fortunate event for the regeneration of the colony, the resolution taken by the people of colour to oppose the disembarkation of the army. It is certain that they flew to arms from a suspicion that the object of my mission was to reduce the whole body of black troops, and to compel a part of them to submit again to the labours of cultivation. They were likewise animated with a hope that Toussaint would be able to maintain his authority in Saint-Domingo. They were aware that the troops composing the expedition sent from France were very few in number. Now that security and tranquillity are completely re-established, all the ideas of agricultural and commercial prosperity begin to spring up. The obstacles to this prosperity arose from the ambition of the leaders of the armed force, from the license of a numerous body of troops, and from the habits of idleness and pillage of the common negroes. 15,000 have returned to their habitation, where they will be subjected to a just and severe discipline. The officers, subalterns, and men of the army

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have conducted themselves in this campaign like French soldiers. Courage, discipline, and attachment to the government. These are the virtues they had never ceased to display in a war which left them no alternative but to conquer. I will send you the names of those deserving particular praise; and I implore your friendly solicitude in favour of the widows and orphans left by those who have fallen in the field of battle, or who have died of their wounds. I subjoin a list (which is, alas! too numerous) of those brave men.

I have the honour to salute you,

RICHEPANSE.

America, New-York, July 9. Captain Jackson informs us, that one of the Bowles's privateers had lately taken a Spanish brig bound from Havannah for St. Augustine, valued at 40,000l. sterling; for the same privateer had also captured a Spanish schooner loaded with flour; both of which were sent into a port on the west side of Cuba, the name of which Captain Jackson does not recollect.—We are happy to learn from every quarter to which our inquiries have extended, that the crops this year, particularly of wheat and other small grain, are very extensive and uncommonly exuberant. A cargo of new wheat, grown in Talbot county, was brought over yesterday in the Easton packet, and readily commanded 9s. 6d. per bushel; a price by no means disencouraging to the farmer.—In many parts the wheat harvest has turned out more heavy than in any one year for the last twelve; and although the demand for flour, the staple of the middle states, is not now so great as when the seed was last fall committed to the earth, yet the augmentation in quantity, we hope, will amply compensate the farmer for the declension in price. Should wheat even fall to one dollar a bushel, our millers will in that case grind for the European market; and if double the quantity of grain be produced, as is the case in many districts, our country will probably reap the same advantage from this source of wealth the present, as she did the last.

Petersburgh, July 13.—The Count de Panin having resolved to visit successively the different States of Europe, has determined to begin with Sweden. Arrived in Finland, he was visited by the Count de Klingspor, who, after expressing surprise at his taking the road through Finland, which offered nothing to satisfy the wants, or gratify the curiosity of a traveller, advised him to proceed to Stockholm by water. This was refused by the Count de Panin, and the Count de Klingspor retired, but a few minutes after wrote to the Count de Panin, informing him that it was the desire of the King of of Sweden, that his Excellency should not continue his journey through the kingdom. With this desire the Count de Panin complied. It was observable, that after the peace between England and Denmark, Sweden claimed an indemnity of Russia, under the pretence of having fitted out armaments, at considerable expense, for the defence of the Sound, but that the demand was rejected at the time the Count de Panin was minister. The Count de Panin returned to Russia, and informed the Emperor of what had happened; who answered, "I desire "you to believe that I consider the insult "you have met with as an offence directed "against my own person." It is not yet known what will be the result of this affair, which has become very serious.

Proclamation of the Council of Execution of the Helvetic Republic to the Helvetic People.

Citizens of Helvetia, The French Government approves of the use you have made of your independence; and the first pledge it gives you of its esteem, is that of declaring its readiness to withdraw its troops from Helvetia. The Council of Execution has accepted of this offer.—That great act of justice, on the part of the First Consul, should call forth all your gratitude to so generous an ally. Without him, and without these troops, that are now about to depart from you, you again would have been a prey to all the horrors of anarchy.—Now he thinks you may be relieved from the expense which the necessity of maintaining a foreign army, had imposed upon you. Agriculture, industry, and commerce, will again flourish amongst you, under the shade of peace. The Citizens shall reap the fruits of those blessings, without being obliged to part with them: and the father of a family, retiring to his habitation at night, will feel with pleasure, that it contains none but his own children; every Swiss will see himself surrounded by his countrymen alone.—But the departure of foreign troops from your country, should above all things be a cause of thanksgiving to you. You, who are stung with grief at beholding this land, so celebrated for the glorious battles of our forefathers, become a theatre of war for neighbouring states: you who mourned when you thought you had no longer a nation!

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will left sufficient to restrain factions, nor a government able to support itself, should now rejoice; you should open your hearts to confidence. The independence of your country, acknowledged in the stipulations of Luneville, now obtains that privilege in substance. Helvetia again enjoys her national manners, and her ancient liberty.—But know on what conditions you are to have the blessings of independence; and what duties the confidence of the French government, and the confidence of your own government, impose on you. They command you to observe peace and concord. They require of you the sacrifice of all those regrets, of all those hopes and desires, which are no longer compatible with the existing order of things. They call on you in an imperious manner to rally round the constitution, and the government which it establishes; for it is only according to the constitution, and by the government, that liberty and independence can be preserved. In supporting these, you will be able to continue a nation; in abandoning them, you must perish. They wish that the author of every attempt against the actual state of things, may be punished in an exemplary manner. Such is the national will; such is the intention declared by the First Consul on withdrawing his troops. Citizens, there exists among the governments of Europe, a compact for the maintenance of peace, order, and those principles which preserve every political society.—Too long have the Swiss disturbed foreign powers with their dissentions; and if, now that those powers are disposed to take some interest in our destinies, any disorders should rise up amongst us, we must expect to see the same powers, for the sake of their safety, taking up arms against us.—We here declare ourselves to be the guarantees for the will of the people, consecrated by the constitution, and we have pledged ourselves to the French government, that the peace shall not be disturbed in Switzerland. Prudence in council; celerity in execution; justice to all; prompt severity against the factious and the disturbers of public tranquillity; these are, and shall ever be, the rule of our conduct.

Given at Berne, July 20, 1802.

The Landamman, President of the Council of Execution—*Dolder.*

The Secretary General—*Mousson.*

Vienna, July 26.—The decree of the imperial commission, relative to the indemnities, is to the following effect:

"On the part of his Majesty *Francis* II. "Emperor of the Romans, our most gracious "Sovereign, to the illustrious counsellors, "envoys and ministers of the electors, "princes and states of the holy Roman empire at the general diet. The essential "object of the conclusum most humbly submitted on the 2d of October to his Imperial Majesty, and ratified by him on the "7th of November last, was to fix and determine in a precise manner the mode of "co-operation of the states of the empire "to the fulfilment of the peace. The moment is arrived, when the extraordinary "deputation of the empire, appointed "constitutionally, and according to the accustomed forms of the deliberations of "the diet, and agreed to by his Imperial "Majesty, ought to assemble to attain this "important end, and to answer by the "scrupulous accomplishment of the important duties imposed upon it, the particular confidence which the Emperor and "the empire have placed in its enlightened "wisdom and its patriotism. In order to "this, his Imperial Majesty, in virtue of "the authority vested in him, as supreme "chief of the empire, orders that the states "which are to form a part of the said deputation, do send, as soon as possible, "their sub-delegates to the imperial city "of Ratisbon, which has been considered "in concert with the French government, "the most suitable place for holding the "congress, and that the full powers furnished by the empire to the said deputation, for the purpose of definitively regulating and terminating the work of peace, "be expedited conformably to the conclusum ratified by his Majesty, and submitted according to custom to the imperial "sanction. In consequence of these dispositions, his Imperial Majesty has already given the most precise orders to "the counsellor *Schraut*, appointed by him "in his quality of a state of the empire "electoral sub-delegate of Bohemia, to "proceed without delay from Paris to Ratisbon; and he has appointed as his minister plenipotentiary, in his quality of "supreme chief of the empire, the *Baron* "*de Hugel*, privy counsellor and imperial "commissary at the general diet."

This decree was expedited on the 23d to Ratisbon. The *Baron de Hugel* received his instructions immediately. *M. de Schraut*, who is at Paris, will find his at Ratisbon on his arrival in that city.

Munster, July 27.—Our government has

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issued the following proclamation relative to the entrance of the Prussian troops into this country: "We, grand dean and canon of the cathedral of Munster, vested with the sovereign authority, &c. &c.—The sovereign chapter, in taking the reins of government, has had no other object in view but the happiness of the inhabitants; and it presumes to flatter itself, that every body being convinced of this truth will repose unlimited confidence in the advice and orders of the sovereign chapter. Strong in this conviction it orders the inhabitants of whatever rank soever to comport themselves tranquilly upon the entrance of the Prussian troops, to give a good reception to the soldiers, who shall be billetted upon them, to prevent their wants, to abstain from all political reflections, and not to take the law into their own hands, in cases where any difficulties may arise between the inhabitants and the soldiers; but to carry their complaints, without delay, either before the civil officers, or the military officers, and to refer them to their judgment; and in case they shall not think justice done them by such judgment, to prefer new complaints to a superior officer, and in no case to take the proceedings in their own hands. Upon conforming himself strictly to this proclamation, every inhabitant shall enjoy peace and tranquillity; but on departing from it he may expect to be punished by his superiors. The sovereign chapter, bound by its duty, and the love it bears the inhabitants, to make this proclamation public, will not neglect to use extreme vigilance to procure for them solid and durable happiness. In order that the present proclamation may be made known to all the inhabitants, it shall be printed and read from the pulpit, posted up in every convenient place, and a copy sent to all the authorities.

Given at Munster, *July* 14, 1802.

(Signed) "*Egelbert De Wrelde, and* "*De Melchede.*"

Paris, 13th. Aug.—Memorial of the Engravers and Printers employed at the Manufactories of Printed Cottons in the City of Rouen, to the First Consul of the French Republic.

General First Consul.—If there be a principle at present generally agreed upon, it is, that the power and true greatness of empires are the patrimony of the industrious and commercial nations. England more than any other nation presents a model worthy of imitation. This empire, consisting of a territory of but small extent, and containing scarcely more than ten millions of individuals, possesses, notwithstanding, a marked preponderance in the commercial system of the whole world. Far from the war having proved disastrous to this power, amidst the calamities of the nations of the continent, she has established a domination of such colossal magnitude, that for a long period no nation can enter into competition with her.

France, more than any other power, seemed destined, by the genius of her inhabitants and her position, to excite that competition, to balance the value of the products of industry, and to maintain the contest in every thing which relates to the perfection of any production; and this merit is allowed to her by the unequivocal suffrages of all nations. But the cause which paralyzes our industry and our commerce, originates in circumstances of, perhaps, a more powerful operation than any which have been hitherto alledged.

The French government, almost incessantly occupied, during six years, with its own political dissensions, and having to carry on a war at home and abroad, could but little employ itself in examining these circumstances, and in preventing their effects. The epoch of a general peace induced a hope of less disastrous consequences. We make bold to inform you, citizen general, that it is of extreme urgence that you should fix your attention upon the city of Rouen and the department. Our manufacturing industry is on the verge of ruin, if speedy measures do not stop the decay produced by false theories, and the spirit of the commercial system.

Some have ventured to assert, that French industry can be carried to the highest perfection only by the stimulus of a rival industry. Were then is this rival hip to be found? Is it in the execution of the processes for completing the products of our industry, or in the want of the raw materials necessary to this perfection? Is it the channels of consumption for a commerce as yet but of very small extent, from the want of confidence? or, in a word, is it from a more fatal consequence, in the little national spirit possessed by Frenchmen?

Foreign industry, and particularly that our powerful rival, enjoys a degree of protection too little regarded by the French merchant, and which, though hitherto overlooked, has rendered it predominant. Our's on the contrary, compelled to trust to its own efforts, exhibits only decay and con-

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plete depression. On the one side there is an abundance of raw materials, and at moderate prices: and immense capitals, and resources always presented by the public banks, enable the manufacturer to attempt and to support every speculation. On the other, those materials are scarce and very dear; capital is not advanced for the promotion of our manufactures, but at a ruinous interest; in a word, an exchange destructive of commerce and confidence dries up every source of national prosperity; every thing makes in favour of the rivals of our manufacturing industry, and we must speedily be involved in total ruin!—Yet there are persons who can maintain that France must have the advantage in a competition where the means are so unequal!

We hold the same opinion as to the perfection of the objects of industry; but what signifies the value of things, if the sale is not certain, and if the nation gives greater advantages to foreign products? Our reflections are fixed on the present state of affairs. Scarcely has maritime peace been proclaimed, when the introduction of merchandize commences, the French warehouses are over stocked, our manufactures languish, and forebode general ruin. The French soil has not rejected the foreign commodities; avarice and extortion have favoured their circulation. See what is the result. The productions of industry incumber the warehouses of our manufactures; labour is repressed; workshops are shut up; thousands of workmen are thrown out of employment, without even a prospect of being able to gain wherewith to support their numerous families.

This is but an imperfect view of the picture. Let us consider the future. By-and-by, if such a system does not cease, if French commerce prefer the products of foreign nations, if our manufactories and workshops receive no encouragement, all is over. All the shops are shut, manufacturing industry abandoned, talents paralyzed, and thousands of citizens, with their families, reduced to the most frightful poverty! While we are representing to you our fears and alarms, there is not a fourth part of us in a state of activity. Every day witnesses many unfortunate men swelling the list of victims. Those who are yet retained, are retained only in consideration of old services, and they are threatened soon to share those calamities with which that class are afflicted, if the government does not speedily remedy the evil.

This is not all. Our hands once become idle, a thousand other states participate our misfortunes by a necessary consequence; our inaction stops their labours; every thing is linked together in a state; if you dam up a brook at the source, the fertile plains it watered are struck with barrenness.

We are exposing, General Consul, great and touching truths. Oh! that you could hear the cries of want, the sighs, and the despair of the families of our unfortunate companions! They are absolutely naked, and can see nothing before them but more profound distress.

General Consul, we expect, from your solicitude, a period to those miseries which weigh upon us in so terrible a manner. A few moments more, and our important city will possess no more workmen; many of them will be devoured by want and misery. Disgust, and offers from foreigners, will have caused the emigration of the rest! What powerful considerations!

We have spoken the truth; government is worthy to hear it. We hope that the First Magistrate of the Republic will turn his paternal regard towards one of the most industrious departments, to the workshops of our manufacturers, that their labours may receive encouragement! The workman asks only one favour, that his hands may be constantly employed, that his work may suffice for supplying his wants. Then his wishes will be accomplished.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The depredations committed by the mobs in the West of England, under pretext of a want of work, are stated as follows in the Gazette of the 17th instant.

April 22d last, a large hay-rick; and a few days afterwards, a dog kennel and oat-rick belonging to Mr. Warren, of Warminster, Wilts, was wilfully and maliciously set on fire.—May 20, the cart of Mr. Bayley of Calstone-Mills, near Devizes, returning from Warminster, was stopped on the Downs (by five men, four of whom had their faces disguised, and a sixth man holding their coats at a distance), and the driver compelled to leave the cart whilst the men cut and otherwise injured the cloths therein.—June 23, a gun was fired in the night into the window of a house occupied by a workman of Messrs. Bleek and Strode at Warminster: About the same time a rick

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of hay belonging to Mr. Dunn, of Trowbridge, was wilfully and maliciously set on fire.—June 26, a large rick of hay belonging to Messrs. T. and M. Tugwell, of Bradford, was also wilfully and maliciously set on fire; and a threatening letter was, about the same time, put under the door of the workshops of, and addressed to the said Messrs. T. and M. Tugwell.—June 29, in the night a gun was fired into the chamber of the dwelling-house of Mr. Henry Wansey, of Warminster, in the county of Wilts.—July 6, in the night, a gun was fired into the house of Mr. John Jones, and another immediately afterwards, into the house of —— Baker, both workmen to Mr. Henry Wansey; and the same night a gun was fired into the house of Mr. Stancomb, manufacturer, at Trowbridge.—July 13, in the night, a barn, stable, &c. the property of Mr. G. Warren, manufacturer, at Warminster, was wilfully and maliciously set fire to, and wholly consumed;—and an anonymous letter was sent to another manufacturer at Warminster about this time, threatening, by Almighty God, to have his life within a month.—July 14, in the night, the factory of Messrs. Jones, Hart, Jones, and Co. at Staverton, near Bradford, was attacked by an armed body of men, who fired many rounds of bullets, slugs, &c. which demolished the windows, and did other damage.—July 16, this night Clifford Mill and premises, near Beckington, Somerset, the property of Mr. Newton, was wilfully and maliciously set on fire and wholly destroyed.—July 22, the mills at Littleton, in the parish of Steeple Ashton, Wilts, belonging to Mr. Nash, of Trowbridge, were attacked by an armed body of men (many of whom had their faces blackened), and who wilfully and maliciously set fire to, and wholly destroyed the same, with the machinery and stock in trade therein to a very considerable amount, after which they went away threatening destruction to other mills.—July 24, this night two ricks of hay, the property of Mr. Newman, manufacturer, of Melksham, were wilfully and maliciously set on fire.—July 28, The factory at Staverton, belonging to Messrs. Jones, and Co., was again attacked by an armed body of men, who fired from three different parts at the sentinel on duty.—July 29, in the night, a dwelling-house situate at Bearfield, near Bradford, the property of John Jones, Esq. was wilfully and maliciously set on fire and destroyed.

Edinburgh, 14th *August*.—The election of sixteen Peers, to represent the Peerage of Scotland in the Imperial Parliament, took place on Tuesday, when the numbers were, for

Lord Eglington	59	Lord Aboyne	56
—— Stair -	58	Marquis Tweedale	54
—— Glasgow	58	Lord Strathmore	53
—— Dalhousie	57	—— Elgin -	53
—— Northesk	57	—— Cathcart	52
—— Bredalbane	57	—— Napier	52
—— Cassellis	57	—— Dumfries	51
—— Balcarras	56	—— Somerville	50

There were only two other candidates, viz. Lord Lauderdale, who had 24 votes; and Lord Elphinstone, who had 37. Lord Kinnaird gave one vote for the Earl of Buchan; and the Duke of Argyle voted for the Earl of Eglington only.

All the old Peers are re-elected, with the exception of Lord Torpichen, who is succeeded by Lord Balcarras.

The proxies were, the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Rothsay to Lord Casselis; Duke of Argyle, to Earl of Eglington; Earl of Errol, to Earl of Glasgow; Earl of Dundonald, to Earl of Lauderdale; Earl of Hyndford, to Earl of Stair; Lord Cathcart, to Lord Napier.

Before the election began, the Earl of Lauderdale protested against such Peers as had been created British Peers since the Union, 1707; to which protest Lord Semple adhered.

The election began about twelve o'clock, and was not terminated till after five in the afternoon. The place of election (the picture gallery of the palace) was crowded in an unusual manner. A great number of ladies and persons of distinction were present. When the election was concluded their lordships retired to the Tontine Tavern, where an elegant entertainment was provided, at which his Royal Highness Monsieur and suite, General Vyse and the Staff, and many other persons of distinction were present. The evening concluded with a ball in the assembly rooms.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

To constitute a politician, it formerly required a large stock of information as well as a considerable share of acuteness; it was necessary to know the extent, population and resources, warlike and pecuniary, of each of the principal states of Europe, and to obtain some acquaintance with the characters, interests, dispositions, and views

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of the different sovereigns, as well as of their respective ministers, and of the political parties in each state. This is no longer the case: the whole science is now reduced to the capacity of learning *the will of Buonaparté*. That will is, indeed, sometimes very difficult to ascertain with precision; but, when you have ascertained it, you may place perfect reliance on seeing its dictates obeyed. This remark, which we made more circumstantially on a former occasion, has been fully verified in the effects lately produced by Buonaparté's attack on the English ministers and the English press. The article in the Moniteur (inserted in the Register, p. 180) contains the most infamous libel on the ministers and government of this country, that, perhaps, ever was published in the world. It accuses the last ministry of exciting the massacres of September, of causing the manufacturing cities to be destroyed, and of influencing the movements by which the King was brought to the scaffold. The present ministers it accuses of hiring the pages of the English newspaper, called *The Times*, and of employing them to circulate the grossest calumnies against the rulers of France. It accuses them of receiving French robbers and assassins, of harbouring them at Jersey, and of sending them to make predatory incursions, to rob, murder, and to burn houses, on the coasts of France. It accuses them of giving their special protection to the person, whom it chooses to regard as the inventor of the infernal machine, and this, too, as a recompense for that invention. To cap this climax of most impudent and atrocious falshoods, it insinuates, that, if the infernal machine had succeeded in killing the First Consul, the assassin would have been created a Knight of the Garter!

As to hiring the proprietor of The Times, we shall say but little. *Once* to have hired such a man merits everlasting suspicion and reproach; and, to say the truth, we believe that the Times is, to this moment, as much in the pay of government as the True Briton is. But, while we candidly confess our belief, that the articles in the Times, which have given such offence to Buonaparté, were, if not dictated, approved of, by the ministers, we are far from acknowledging that those articles were not true, and proper to be published. There are, in this country, hundreds and thousands of traitors, whose whole time is spent in endeavours to produce the subversion of the government; and, is it not the duty of ministers to endeavour to counteract them? And how can they do this more effectually, than by showing the people what has been produced by a subversion of government in France? By drawing a comparison between the monarchy and the republic, between Louis XVI and Buonaparté, between the wooden shoes of 1789 and the fetters of 1802?

It is not, however, for the sake of exposing the impudence and insolence of the upstart Corsican that we have introduced these remarks, but for the purpose of showing how completely he has brought our government to his feet. And here we must beg leave to premise, that the newspapers called the *True Briton* and the *Sun* are, in some sort, the *property* of the ministers. They are, at any rate, as absolutely at their command as the Moniteur is at the command of Buonaparté. This being acknowledged, (and we believe no body will deny it) the language of these two papers will enable the world to judge of the effect which the threats of the Consul has produced on the British ministry.

As the menacing Moniteur arrived late at night, the article of which we have been speaking was, of course, inserted in the True Briton before the editor had an opportunity of receiving his instructions from the treasury; and, as the attack on the ministers (particularly *Mr. Pitt*) was inserted, it was thought necessary to insert also something by way of defence. This defence was not, indeed, very spirited; but it contradicted the falshoods of the Monitèur, and took the liberty to remind Buonaparté, that, if England did really *hire* the assassins of September, he would do well to ask Fouché and other persons, concerned in the massacres, and now in the government, what became of the *wages*. Before the next morning, however, the ministers had had time to convey their instructions, and the tone of the True Briton instantly changed. We shall copy this second article at length.

"*The more we reflect* upon the article "which we had yesterday occasion to ani- "madvert upon, *the more* we see grounds "for supposing that it could *not* have been "inserted in *The Moniteur with the knowledge* "*or consent of the French government.*" [Not so much as a *hint* of this sort was given the day before.] "We are the more inclined "to *indulge* in this opinion, when we re- "collect, that some time ago an aritcle "appeared in the same paper, in which "justice was, in some degree, done to the

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" talents and virtues of *the late minister*. We " can hardly suppose it possible that the " men who thus had magnanimity enough " to pay just homage to one who had so " lately been their enemy, would condes- " cend to authorize the publication, in the " face of Europe, and of the civilized " world, of assertions at once so mean and " so groundless. But even if the French " government chose, which we still believe " *improbable*, to vent its spleen against the " man who *conciliates* the admiration of *all* " *nations*, and must continue *to be* that of " *all posterity*, *while civilized society has exist-* " *ence*, why should it indulge in invectives " against the present ministers of this coun- " try? Men who have established peace " between the two nations with a candour " and sincerity of conduct, which must en- " title them to the respect and *esteem of all* " *mankind*—who have produced a reconci- " liation at which both nations so warmly " and sincerely rejoiced, and which it is " so much the interest of both to render " complete and permanent. For the ex- " pression of any hostile sentiments, we " are certain there can be no reasonable " grounds, and therefore it is that we are " *bound to believe* any member of the French " government incapable of entertaining it. " The article in question we are inclined, " '*upon the whole*,' to think the offspring " merely of some malevolent writer in the " French journal, who either gratifies his " personal feelings, or has some interested " end to answer, by an attempt *to disturb* " *the good understanding which prevails between* " *two governments, upon whose pacific dispositions* " *so entirely depend the tranquillity and happiness* " *of the world*."

Such was the reply to the false, malicious, impudent, and insolent article in the Moniteur! It is not upon the language of a French and an English newspaper that we are commenting, but upon that of Buonaparté and Talleyrand, on one side, and of Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury, on the other. These poor men may endeavour to disguise their and our disgrace, but all their endeavours will be in vain. Every politician, every man of common information, in Europe and America, *knows* that such an article could not have been inserted in the Moniteur, without the express command of Buonaparté. The ministers know it as well as Sir John Brute knew that his wife was in the closet; but, like Sir John, they know too, that their antagonist wears a sword; and, if we are not misinformed, he has, upon this occasion, *reminded them of that awful circumstance*, in terms too explicit to be misunderstood.

But, what are the views of Buonaparté? His views are, first to silence the English press, as far as relates to himself, family, and government; and, second, to sink still lower, in the eyes of the world, the character of the English government and nation. In the latter he has succeeded to the full extent of his wishes; but, the news-printers affect to believe, that he will never succeed in the former, which, in their eyes, is far the most valuable of the two. As to the *honour of the nation*, its character for good faith, for fortitude, for generosity, for valour, and for loyalty, that they will yield you with little reluctance; but the *liberty of the press!* the "palladium of freemen!" the "birthright of Britons!" this precious possession they are determined to enjoy. To a certain extent they may. They will have full liberty to ridicule, contemn, and abuse every person and institution belonging to the church or the state of this kingdom; and, as to foreign states, they may freely revile all those which are not closely connected with France. With respect to those that are so connected they must be cautious; and, should they have the folly to attack France herself, their fate is not at all difficult to be foreseen. If, however, they are a little cramped in this quarter, they will be amply compensated by the unlimited swing which Buonaparté will allow them against all the powers which he may wish to destroy.

The knights of the quill have talked of the *impossibility* of silencing them; and some of them have gone so far as to challenge Buonaparté to meet them in Westminster Hall. Are they aware of the probable consequence of this challenge, should the hero of Acre accept of it? Are they certain what would be the verdict of a *pacific* jury, if told by the attorney-general, that the licentiousness of the press, if suffered to remain unpunished, would inevitably produce another war with France? Another "extended, *expensive*, and *bloody* war!" A war that would again raise the quartern loaf to eighteen pence, and compel the minister to re-impose the income tax! We do not ask the knights of the quill, whether a jury would not, under such a persuasion give a verdict of guilty against a man who should censure Buonaparté; but we ask them, whether they are *quite sure*, that such a verdict would not fall upon any one whom the consul might choose to have punished for printing and publishing th

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Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, or the Decalogue? There would, indeed, be Lord Ellenborough to place the broad and impenetrable shield of his integrity between the innocent printer and the wrath of Buonaparté; but, if a man can, merely by holding his tongue, save his lordship the trouble, it may be full as well to do it.

The truth is, that the *liberty of the press*, as far as relates to Buonaparté or to his government, is completely at an end. The news-printers may, for a little while, vent their anger in puns and fables; but, even in these they will gradually become more and more timid, 'till, at last, not one person in ten thousand will be able to discover who or what is the object of their satire. Nor, are we certain, that this circumstance, in itself considered, ought to excite much regret. Nine-tenths of the censure bestowed on Buonaparté by the English prints, is levelled against his good, and not against his evil deeds; and, if it has any rational object, it is to create a thousand tyrants in France by the destruction of one despot. Those whose silly factious heads are filled with lofty notions about the liberty of the press we leave to mourn over the dumb-founded columns of the news-papers; for our parts, we should not be sorry to behold the complete destruction of that which has been the most efficacious instrument of destruction, which has filled the world with falshood, hypocrisy, atheism, and rebellion; but the worst of it is, this dreadful instrument, this truly "infernal machine" will still be employed against every body and thing, except Buonaparté and his government.

The knights of the quill, in order to justify their animadversions on the Consul and his measures, remind him of the *greater liberties* which they formerly took with the Bourbons and the monarchial government of France, without ever having produced any complaints from that quarter, much less recrimination and threats of hostility. What answer Buonaparté will make to this we know not: ours is ready: "You will now learn, then, that *lawful kings* are not the most overbearing of mortals; and, while the liberties you took with the Bourbons cannot possibly be a justification for your taking liberties with him who has driven the Bourbons from their throne, it may not be amiss for you to reflect, how far the scandalous misrepresentations and falshoods, propagated by the English press, against the monarchial government of France, may have contributed towards the destruction of that government, the exaltation of Buonaparté, and, of course, your present humiliation"

We are very anxious to enable our readers to form a correct opinion as to the feelings produced in His Majesty's ministers by the bullying paragraphs of Buonaparté, and, for this purpose, we shall again have recourse to the True Briton. In that paper of the 10th of August appeared the supplement to the consular constitution, followed by certain comments from which we shall extract several passages. On the 13th came the Moniteur containing the reproaches respecting the press, &c. SINCE that, there has appeared, in the True Briton, another set of comments on the change in the French constitution, not only completely unsaying all that had before been said in the very same paper, but strongly censuring those who had taken the liberty to animadvert on the said constitutional chagne. That these two sets of comments may the more easily be compared, we shall insert them directly after each other, begging the reader, before he enters on the perusal of them, to fortify his breast, lest it should burst with indignation against the men, who have brought on their country such indelible disgrace.

Comments, in the True Briton, PREVIOUS *to the Receipt of the menacing Article, in the Moniteur.*

"Buonaparté was seated on the throne of the Bourbons. He promised every thing; he *swore* to preserve this new form of government, without deterioration. Scarcely a week had elapsed, before *he altered a considerable part of its fundamental principles*; and, on the remonstrance of Sieyes, he placed his sword on the written copy, and asked whether any person could dispute the power which that instrument could enforce?

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"Since that period, the constitution *was but a name*, the First Consul every thing.

"The present constitution is, therefore, the sole offspring of the First Consul's brain, and it may be observed, respecting it, that he has shewn in its organization *a total ignorance of every kind of legislative principles.*

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"It must not, however, be supposed, that the constitution which we now present to our readers, has been a sudden ebullition from the restless and impetuous temper of this man. We are warranted in asserting that it has been the fruit of, at least, six weeks vast meditation; it was kept in em-

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bryo till the votes could be collected respecting his nomination for life, and when that point was decided (which *his bayonets rendered almost certain*) it was popped on the kind public, as an evidence of the gratitude and wisdom of their modern Solomon.

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"This constitution was presented to the French nation, in a manner that argues *an utter contempt of public opinion.* Some change was expected by the people, but it was hoped it would be a change from military despotism to civil authority. On the contrary, it was ushered to their notice amidst the thunders of martial power, and it was adopted by the Conservative Senate of France, *the only remaining wretched depository of popular authority*, on the very same day on which it was presented to their consideration. This event proves either that it was above their capacity, it being of divine origin, or that they were *such timid slaves* (not forgetting their 1200l. per annum), as to adopt it without discussion. *O wretched and degraded senate!* to what a hapless condition has the terror of military apparatus reduced you! *O wretched people*, who have shed the blood of thousands, for a principle you can never obtain! Like Ixion, you have seized a phantom instead of a substance, and while you calumniated the rest of mankind as slaves, *you have proved yourselves unworthy of that freedom*, for which you have disturbed the peace of all mankind; the peace of nations, who would have known happiness, had they never known your crimes.

"Senators of France! the Roman senate, after the usurpation of Octavius, became a farce and a pageant. The old forms were preserved, amidst the career of despotism. "What a collection" (said Tiberius, the last time he was in the senate) "*of willing* "*slaves.*"

Comments, in the True Briton, AFTER *the Receipt of the menacing Article in the Moniteur.*

"In *resuming* our remarks upon the new Constitution of France, we cannot but observe, that it has been discussed, or rather *abused*, with considerable violence, by some of our cotemporary journalists. It appears to us that the distinction between the internal policy and the exterior relations of France, has not been sufficiently marked and preserved in many of these discussions. That the *vehement* advocate for liberty should declaim against the present system of government in France, is by no means surprising; but that such a spirit should lead to gross invectives against that country, or its chief magistrate, *is greatly to be lamented.* Whether France now possesses the only government which is suited to her disposition or her character, is a question that may be calmly discussed without violence and without agitation.—Why direct the grossest invectives against the chief magistrate of the French Republic, for doing that, which *it remains yet to be proved, is not an act beneficial to the French Nation?* Liberty in the hands of those who know not how to enjoy it, can only degenerate into anarchy—and *the only remedy for anarchy, is the strong arm of power.* Governments are good or bad only in proportion as they are adapted to the respective characters of the people who are subject to them. It is evident, that if the British constitution was suddenly transplanted into Turkey or Persia, it could not take root in either of those countries, because no soil could there be found analogous to its properties and its habits. The fundamental error of most of the speculatists upon government, has consisted in beginning with theory instead of experience. * * * * *

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"Whether the present constitution of France is calculated to promote the comfort and happiness of the individuals of that nation, *time only can determine*; but when compared with the monstrous systems of democratical, or of oligarchical tyranny which have preceded it, *the people of France have certainly reason to congratulate themselves on the change.* More has unquestionably been done under the present system to conciliate the feelings of the heart, and increase the stock of domestic comfort, than under any system which preceded it since the revolution.

"This subject may be considered in many different points of view, but let it be discussed with temper and with moderation. To mix with the discussions, invectives and reproaches, breathing in some degree a spirit of hostility, is unnecessary and improper, impolitic and unjust. The government of France, become more consecrated, and surrounded with pacific emblems, offers an additional security for the permanence of the peace. To blend therefore remarks upon the constitution of France with invectives which can only wound and irritate, *betrays a spirit inconsistent with that peace which this country has promised to maintain*, and is desirous of preserving. While France faithfully maintains, on her side, the peace which has been so happily effected between the two countries, it is obviously *in the highest degree improper to make an hostile attack*

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upon her government and her chief magistrate, which can only provoke animosity, and engender hatred."

Such has been the effects of the threats of Buonaparté! Such is the meanness, the cowardice, the undescribable wretchedness, of the British Ministry! We must once more remind our readers, that it is not the language and sentiments of a printer of news, that we have here taken the pains to lay before them; but the language and sentiments of the ministers; of those men, who, whatever they may be in point of character and talents, have, at this time, the nation's wealth, power, and reputation in their hands. Let us not comfort ourselves by hoping, that the world will confine its contempt to the Addingtons and the Hawkesburies: they are, indeed, justly entitled to the pre-eminence, but we shall all be partakers with them: they will be despised for their ministry, and the nation because they are ministers.

The length to which this exposure has necessarily led us, will prevent our noticing, so much in detail as we intended, several other political topics.—In our last (p. 135) we observed, that the Ministers had, in their official papers, stated that the Emperor of Russia had *not given his assent* to the convention, concluded at Paris, in the month of June last. We, at the same time, expressed our persuasion, that *exactly the contrary* was the fact; and, we now find it acknowledged even in the ministerial papers, that the *ratification* of the said convention, by the Emperor of Russia, was received at Paris on the 2d instant. There is every reason to suppose, that this convention, which has for its object nothing less than a new-modelling of a considerable part of Europe, has been completed not only without the *consent* of England, but even totally without the knowledge of her ministers! The wishes of the *wise-acres* are, at last, fully accomplished: we are "rid of *continental connexions*;" almost as much so as the oysters that cling to the rocks of Marcou!

The convention, of which we are here speaking, was negotiated under the mediation of the King of Prussia. This fact, as well as that of the conclusion of the convention, was stated in the Register p. 130; so that this most important intelligence was received, and actually published in London, ten days, at least, before His Majesty's ministers had, through any other channel, heard a word of the matter! With a diplomatic department so filled, what have we not reason to expect! Some persons have, as we foresaw they would, affected to laugh at our letter from Stockholm (p. 130); but we sincerely hope, that the rest of that letter may prove less correct, than the passage which relates to the convention between France and Russia, and yet we fear that it will not; for, so adroitly have our ministers arranged our foreign concerns, that the successor of Paul I, who seemed to be raised to the throne for the express purpose of favouring our cause, is, next after Buonaparté and Jefferson, the greatest and most dangerous enemy we have in the world.

The festival of the 15th, at Paris, produced nothing worthy of remark. The addresses to the Consul were numerous; but, in their style and sentiments, they in nowise differed from what we have so often seen presented to him heretofore. There were firing of cannon, ringing of bells, singing of *Te Deums*, and illuminations; but then they were all *ordered by an arrêt of the police*, which was circulated through Paris and its environs, with as much industry and care as were the placards of those valorous knights, Sir John Eamer and Sir Richard Ford, on the eve of the illuminations in London. There was, however, some difference in the tone of the two arrêts. Fouché positively *ordered* the Parisians *to make a general illumination*, whereas we were *advised* to have "*only one general illumination.*" Different men, different tastes: for our parts we have no scruple to say that we prefer the *order* of Fouché to the *advice* of the chevaliers of the Mansion-House and Bow-street. Much rather would we have been *compelled* to illuminate our house by a legal command, than to have had *a choice in the matter*, and to have our house demolished by the clerks of the Post-Office, by reptiles in the pay of government, because we thought proper to exercise that choice.* The most execrable of all tyranny is that which is exercised under the semblance of freedom.

The manufacturers of Rouen, alarmed at the rumours of a commercial treaty with England, have addressed the Consul (see

* The principal rioters at Mr. Cobbett's house were Charles Beloe (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), a clerk in the General Post-Office, and Charles Wagstaffe, another clerk in the General Post-Office. These men were put in jail, indicted, &c convicted, and yet Lord Auckland never susdended them one moment from their employments in his office; at least so it was declared upon oath before the court, where a letter was also produced in Lord Auckland's hand-writing, in order to prove, that the affair had *in nowise injured the characters of the convicted men.*

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page 204) on the subject. Those who draw, from the complaints made in this address, a proof of the misery of the manufacturers of France, should recollect the complaints, and even the serious riots, which are at this moment existing amongst the manufacturers of England (see p. 200). The French Minister of the Interior has published a letter to the people of Rouen, assuring them that no commercial arrangement will be made injurious to the manufactures and trade of France. To convince them that their country would not be outwitted by England, it might have been quite sufficient for him to tell them, that Lord Hawkesbury was to be our negotiator.

The news from St. Domingo and Guadaloupe (see p. 197) represent those islands as in a state of tranquillity. More troops had arrived at the latter, and fresh reinforcements were expected. — Admiral Villaret has at length sailed from Brest, for Martinico, it is said, with 2 ships of the line, 1 frigate, 1 corvette, and 4 brigs.—No less than 3,500 British sailors have already entered into the French service.

The American article (p. 199) which represents General Bowles as having conveyed his prizes into a port in the island of Cuba must certainly contain a very gross error. This seaport is in the bay of Espiritu Santo, which is on the west side of East Florida. Did not this blunder render the whole article suspicious, we should congratulate our readers on the important prize which Bowles is said to have taken. Forty thousand pounds will furnish him with a stock of powder and lead sufficient to give the legions of Buonaparté a reception not altogether unhandsome, nor unworthy of an independent Indian Prince.

Commissioners are about to meet in London for the purpose of making a distribution of the £600,000, which is to be paid to this country by the United States of America. The claimants are, of course, the British creditors, whose property was seized on, in the shape of debts, during the rebellion. The *claims* amount to £5,000,000, the *correct sum* to about £3,000,000; so that the creditors cannot receive much more than a sixth part of their due. A cut of a loaf, however, is better than no bread, especially to men who have fasted for six and twenty years.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Whitehall, Aug. 14.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Rev. John Ireland, Clerk, Master of Arts, the Place and Dignity of a Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, void by the Resignation of Doctor William Vincent.

War-Office, Aug. 14, 1802.

1st Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Lieut. John Matchett, from the 28th Light Drag. to be Adjutant, with the rank of Lieut vice Webster, who resigns.

3d Ditto, Cornet Thynne Howe Gwynne, from half-pay, to be Cornet, vice Holah, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

7th Ditto, James Fisher, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Mingay, promoted in the 11th Light Dragoons.

13th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Lieut. Geo. H. Walters, from the half-pay of the late 28th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice the Hon. Geo. Browne, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

15th Ditto, Lieut. J. A. Gibson to be Adjutant, vice Leitch, promoted.

York Hussars, Lieut. Raymond Pelly, from the 27th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Schmidem, who retires.

Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen, Lieut. the Honourable Cornwallis Maude, from the 4th Drag. Guards, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cappes, who retires.

4th Reg. of Foot, Thos. Pipon, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Warburton, promoted.

9th Ditto, Geo. Marlay, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Powell, promoted.

16th Ditto, Ensign Wm. Broomfield, from half-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Ensign, vice M'Gleazey, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

20th Ditto, John Aytoun, Gent. to be Ensign, by Purchase, vice Coroyn, promoted.

22d Ditto, Lieut. R. J. J. Sampson, from the Half-pay of the 68th Foot, to the Lieut. vice Corry, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

31st Ditto, Lieut.——Huthwaite to be Adjutant, vice Sullivan, who resigns.

34th Ditto, Arthur Cuthbert Beaumont, Gent. to be Ensign, by Purchase, vice Sandys, promoted.

49th Ditto, Edward Langford Gent. to be Ensign, by Purchase, vice Horton, promoted.

60th Ditto, Lieut. Charles Gordon, from the 23d Light Dragoons, to be Captain, by Purchase, vice Bayard, who retires.

82d Ditto, Captain Charles Holland Hastings, from Half-Pay of 21st Foot, to be Captain, vice Swinburne, deceased.

83d Ditto, Ensign William Oliver to be Lieut. vice Wright, deceased.

Ensign Michael Parys to be Lieut. vice Farrells deceased.

84th Ditto, Ensign Wm. Witheridge to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Taylor, promoted in the 30th Foot.

91st Reg. of Foot, Ensign J. W. Truter to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cooper, who retires.

A Corps of Riflemen, First Lieut. Samuel Mitchel, from half-pay, to be First Lieut. vice Powell, who exchanges.

Staff-Corps, Lieut. the Hon. Robert Lawrence Dundas, from the Royal Engineers, to be Capt. of a Company.

Staff.—Joseph Otway, Esq. late Capt. in the 48th Foot, and Barrack-Master at Maker Heights, to be Paymaster of a Recruiting District.

Barracks.—Geo. Barnard, Gent. from the half-pay of Ensign of the 56th Foot, to be Barrack-Master in Great-Britain, vice Otway, appointed Paymaster to a Recruiting District.

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War-Office, August 17.

1st Reg. of Life Guards, Lieut. Samuel Ferrier to be Captain, by purchase, vice Herbert, who retires. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Jas. Townley to be Lieut. vice Ferrier. John Lewis Phillips to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Townley.

4th Reg. of Dragoons, General Guy Lord Dorchester, K.B. from the 27th Light Dragoons, to be Colonel, vice Gen. Sir Rob. Sloper, deceased.

11th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Geo. Luard, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Foote, promoted.

15th Ditto, Wm. Deane, Esq. late Lieut. in the Reg. to be Paymaster, vice Read, who resigns.

24th Ditto, Cornet the Hon. John Jones to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Girling, who retires.

27th Ditto, Major-Gen. Wm. Loftus, from the 24th Light Dragoons, to be Col. vice Lord Dorchester, appointed to the Command of the 4th Dragoons.

4th Reg. of Foot, Major James Orde, from the 52d Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. by purchase, vice Twysden, who retires.

11th Ditto, Ensign Lancelot Browne to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Gazotte, who retires.

15th Ditto, Lieut. Cadwallder Waddy, from the half-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Bigger, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Ensign John Galt, from half-pay of the late 2d Battalion, to be Ensign, vice Comyn, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Ensign W. B. Reynolds, from Ditto, to be Ensign, vice Bigger, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

16th Ditto, Lieut. Samuel Woods, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Grant, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Lieut. Sackville Berkeley to be Adjutant, vice Wyse, who resigns.

34th Ditto, John Robertson, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Cole, promoted in the 84th Foot.

35th Ditto, Wm. Abbott, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Stone, who retires.

54th Ditto, Lieut. Francis Nesselrode de Hugenpoet, from the 5th Battalion of the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Makenzie, who exchanges.

[illegible] Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Smith to be Adj. vice Shelton, who resigns.

[illegible] Ditto, Capt. Wm. Coast, from the 35th Foot, to be Major, by purchase, vice Orde, promoted in the 4th Foot.

[illegible] Ditto, Lieut. Duncan M'Gregor, from the half-pay of the 72d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Hendley, who resigns.

[illegible] Ditto, Ensign Thos. King to be Lieut. by purchase, vice White, who retires. Lieut. Keating Allen Bradford to be Adjutant, vice Buckley, who resigns.

[illegible] Ditto, Ensign Chas. Dod to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Roberts, promoted.

[illegible], Quarter-Mast. Wm. Hetherington, from half-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Adj. with the rank of Ensign, vice Royal, promoted.

[illegible], T. C. Wooler, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Vyvyan, promoted.

[illegible] Lieut. Allan Maclean to be Capt. by purchase, vice Clarke, promoted. Lieut. Alex. Macgregor, from the 39th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Nugent, who exchanges. Lieut. Francis Holmes, from half-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Lieut. vice [illegible], who exchanges. Surgeon —— Stewart, from half-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Fitzgerald, who exchanges. Assistant-Surgeon Marton, from half-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Mulheran, who exchanges.

64th Ditto, Lieut. Thos. M. Wilson, from half-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Hagar, placed on half-pay. Lieut. Geo. Fawcett, from half-pay of the 28th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Stewart, placed on half-pay.

65th Ditto, Wm. Chichester Harvey, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Clarke, promoted.

68th Ditto, Ensign Wm. L. Darling, from the 87th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hollis, who retires.

69th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Carroll, from half-pay of the 40th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Walker, resigned.

Scotch Brigade, Major James Ferrier to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Major-General Ferrier, who retires.

2d West-India Reg. Joseph Walton, Gent. be be Ensign, without purchase, vice Symes, superseded.

3d Ditto, Ensign John Ball to be Lieut. vice Munro, deceased.

6th Ditto, Lieut. Chas. Francis Sheridan, of the late Cheshire Fencibles, to be Ensign, vice Chambers, deceased.

8th Ditto, Serjeant-Major Edw. Bremmer, from the 4th West-India Reg. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Gordon, promoted in the 35th Foot.

11th Ditto, Edw. Stapleton, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Collins, removed to the 57th Foot.

Staff.—Lieut. Col. Geo. Burgess Morden, of the 60th Foot, to be Deputy Adjutant-Gen. to the Forces serving in the Leeward Islands, vice Thomas, who resigns.

Arthur Baynes, Esq. to be Deputy-Commissary-Gen. of Stores, Provisions, and Forage, to the Forces in the Mediterranean.

Memorandum.—Major Terence O'Loghlin, from the 14th Light Drag. is appointed Major and Lieut. Col. in the 1st Reg. of Life Guards, vice Gambier, and not Second Major, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th September 1801.

Erratum in the Gazette of the 16th February last. 57th Regiment of Foot,

For Ensign Henry Balguy to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Roberts, promoted,

Read Ensign Henry Balguy to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Fowler, who retires.

BANKRUPTS.

Appleton, Thomas, of Wigan, Lancashire, dyer.

Brown, John, of Goldsmith-street, London, warehouseman.

Crean, Edward, of Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, carpenter

Elliot, George, and George Picard, Wood-street, Cheapside, ribbon makers.

Horton, Thomas, late of Lawrence-Pountney-hill, London, dry salter.

Hazlehurst, William, Back-hill, Hatton-garden, engraver.

Lloyd, John, late of Woolwich, Kent, victualler.

Pontey, William, of Sledmore, York, cornfactor.

Rogerson, Thomas, of Oxford-street, Westminster, linen-draper.

Self, Stephen, Hulcsworth, Suffolk, corn merchant.

Thomas Thomas, Streatham-street, Bloomsbury, jeweller.

Warner, Avery, Marlborough, Wilts, stocking-manufacturer.

Wrighton, Thomas, Doncaster, mercer and woollen draper.

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BIRTHS.

On Thursday, the 5th inst. at Grantham, the Lady of Montague Cholmeley, Jun. Esq. of a Son and Heir.

At Hendon, the Lady of the Hon. Hugh Lindsey, of a Son.

On Wednesday last, at Creedy, near Exeter, the Lady of Sir John Davie, Bart. of a Daughter.

On Sunday morning last, at Garnons, Herefordshire, the Lady of John Geers Cotterell, Esq. M. P. for the County of Hereford, of a Son.

On Wednesday, at Amport-house, in the County of Southampton, the Marchioness of Winchester, of a Son.

MARRIAGES.

On Thursday, the 5th inst. at Langton, in Lincolnshire, Peregrine Langton, Esq. Second Son of the Rt. Hon. the Countess of Rothes, to Miss Eliz. Mary Ann Massingberd (whose Name Mr. Langton is to take), only Child and Heiress of the late Henry Massingberd, of Gunby, in the same County.

Lieut. Cobbe, of the Royal Artillery, to Miss Amelia Sophia Borton, Daughter of the late Royston Borton, Esq. of Colchester.

At Forres, on Thursday se'nnight, the 5th inst. John H. Forbes, Esq. Advocate, to Miss Louisa Cumming, third Daughter of A. P. Cumming Gordon, Esq. of Altyr, M. P.

At Barras, on the 3d inst. A. Livingston, Esq. of the 12th Light Dragoons, to Miss Jane Benjer Ogilvy, second Daughter of the late Sir David Ogilvy, Bart. of Barras.

On Saturday, the 7th instant. by the Rev. I. M. Sayer, Isaac Minet, Esq. to Miss Pole, Daughter of Sir Charles Pole, Bart. of Wolverton Park, Hants.

On Sunday last, at East Bourne, Miss Louisa Hudson, youngest Daughter of Sir Charles Grove Hudson, Bart. of Wanlip Hall, Leicestershire.

On Tuesday last, at Windsor, the Rev. Thomas Carter, of Eton College, to Miss Proctor, of Windsor.

DEATHS.

On Wednesday se'nnight, in Upper Grosvenor Str. Her Grace Mary-Anne, Duchess Dowager of Somerset, Widow of the late, and Mother of the present, Duke.

Monday, the Rev. Dr. Lewes, at his House in Sloane Street. He was Rector of Whippingham, in the Isle of Wight, worth about 1,500 l. per annum, and of Ewell, in Surrey.

On Tuesday evening, Miss Fr. Martin, youngest Daughter of Sir Mordaunt Martin, of Burnham, in Norfolk.

On Thursday last, at his house at West-Green, Hants, General Sir Robert Sloper.

On Saturday last, at Mr. Blake's, in Great St. Helen's, a few days after his arrival from Tortola, Isaac Pickering, Esq. of that Island.

At Antigua, the Hon. Walter Colquhoun, Member of the Assembly, in which situation the Hon. Thos. Scotland has been elected.

David Roberts, Esq. merchant, of a malignant fever.

Mr. Richard Hunt, of Falmouth, a very near relation to his Excellency Mr. Liston, now Ambassador to the Batavian Republic.

On the 3d of July, at his father's house in Kingswood, near Bristol, Mr. Joseph Churchill, lately arrived from Demerary.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	186	—	184¼
3 pr. C. R. An.	69	69⅛	70	70⅛	70	69⅝
3 per C. Con.	68⅝	69	69¼	69⅜	69¼	69
4 pr C. Cons.	86⅞	86	86⅛	87⅜	87⅛	87¼
5 pr Ct. Ann.	98⅛	99¼	99⅛	109½	100	100⅛
Bank L. Ann.	20 1/16	20½	—	20 5/16	—	20⅝
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	5	—	5
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	68	—	—	—	68¼
D° Ann.....	12 1/16	12 5/16	12⅜	12 1/16	12 5/16	12⅜
5 per Ct. 1797	101¼	102 3/16	102⅜	102¼	103¼	103⅛
Omnium ...	8½ dis	7½ dis	7½	7¼ dis	7 dis	8¼ dis
India Stock..	203	—	207	207½	—	206
D° Bonds....	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 30 c.
American eight per cents. 111½.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	10 18	2 us.	LEGHORN	51¾
D°, at sight	10 15½		NAPLES.....	44½
ROTTERDAM	10 19	2 us.	GENOA	47¼
HAMBURGH..	33 2	2½us.	VENICE, 56½ livres piccol effective per £. ster.	
ALTONA	33 3	2½us.	LISBON.....	67½
PARIS 1 day	23 10		OPORTO	67¼
PARIS....	23 18	2us.	DUBLIN.....	12
BOURDEAUX,	23 16		BILBOA.....	36¼ D
CADIZ	in paper		PALERMO	
DITTO	36½	eff.	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	
MADRID ..	in paper			
DITTO	36½	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s. s.		s. s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	45 to 67	Hops per cwt...	120 to 20
Foreign.....	00 .. 00	Hay per load....	73 .. 15
Rye.....	33 .. 35	Beef, per stone....	4s. 0d
Barley.....	31 .. 35	to 5s. 0d.	
Malt.....	46 .. 52	Mutton 5s. 6d. to	6s. 4d
Oats.....	14 .. 24	Veal ....4s. 6d. to	6s. 0d
Pease (white)....	40 .. 44	Pork.... 5s. 6d. to	7s. 0d
Beans (horse)....	35 .. 38	Tallow	3s. 8d
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 54	Average of Sugar	
Seconds.....	45 .. 50	per cwt.	36s. 4½d.
Coals per chal....	38 .. 42	Salt, per Bushel	14s. 6d.

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of August, 1802

Days.	Mr. Sage.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
12		Fair.	SW	SW	29,89	29,95	68	68,5
13	○	Fine.	SW	SW	30,13	30,11	62	69
14		Fine.	SE	SE	30,15	30,13	66,5	72
15		Fine.	NE	NE	30,13	30,05	67	73
16		Fine.	SSE	SSE	29,98	29,98	69,5	77
17		Fine.	SSW	SSW	29,98	29,97	69	76
18		Fine.	SE	SE	29,7	29,65	73	79

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 8.] *London, Saturday, 28th August,* 1802. [Price 10D.

CONTENTS.—*Treaty. Fr. and P. Orange*, 225. *Mr. Windham*, 226. *Troubles in Italy*, 233. *Switz.* 235. *Barbary & the Ionian Is.* 238. *Berne*, 240. *Ext. Let. East-Ind.* 243. *War bet. Russ. and Pers.* 246. *Bar. St.* 248. *B. Sea*, 249. *Divi. of Germany*, 249. *Newspaper War with Buonap.* 252. *Gen. Lasnes*, 253. *Jam. Asse.* 253.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty concluded between France and the Prince of Orange.

Art. I. His Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, formally renounces for himself and his heirs and successors, the dignity of Stadtholder of the United Provinces which now form the Batavian Republic; he also formally renounces all rights, claims, and pretensions whatsoever, which arise from the above-mentioned dignity; as likewise all domains and territorial property situated in the said Republic, and in its colonies.

II. His Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, the Princess his consort, their children and heirs, shall enjoy all permanent or annual rents which they have in the Batavian Republic, in the same manner as other possessors of rents in the said Republic.

III. To indemnify the house of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz for the renunciations and cessions in the first article of the present treaty, his Highness shall receive, 1. The Bishopric and Abbey of Fulda; 2. The Abbey of Corvey; 3. The Abbey of Weingarten, with its dependencies; 4. The Imperial Town of Dormund, in Westphalia, and Ysny and Buch-horn, in Southern Swabia, with their territories and dependencies. His Highness shall possess, for ever, and in full sovereign property, for himself, his heirs and successors, the above-mentioned Bishopric and Abbeys, which shall be secularized in his favour, and the Imperial towns, with all the territory belonging to them, under the condition that his Highness shall engage to satisfy the existing and acknowledged claims to certain inheritances appertaining to his house, in the course of the last century. This satisfaction shall be determined by arbitrators to be appointed by the two contracting parties.

IV. The inheritance in the New States which shall be assigned to the house of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, shall be regulated in the following manner: the male line shall succeed to the exclusion of the female; but in failure of male heirs, the female shall enter into all their rights. This clause shall extend to all the legitimate offspring of his Highness the Prince in a direct line; and in case of the failure of that line, the above-mentioned territory, states, and sovereignty, shall devolve to the royal house of Prussia.

V. His Majesty the King of Prussia and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, reciprocally guarantee, in conjunction with his Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, the indemnifications of the ceded or conquered countries, as they are stipulated in this treaty.

VI. His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, in like manner acknowledge the Batavian Republic.

VII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, his Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, may take possession of the states and territories allotted to them as indemnities.

VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties within 40 days, or sooner if possible.

Paris, May 24, 1802.

Marquis de Lucchesini.
General Beurnonville.

The following article is taken from the True Briton of the 24th instant. It is the language of those who advised and who made the peace; it was written, or, at least, approved of, by them, or some of them; and, therefore, it demands attention: it is worthy of perusal and of comment.

"MR. WINDHAM.

"The attacks which have been made "*by the jacobin writers* upon this gentleman "since his failure at Norwich, are *as malevolent as they are unjust*; but no man has "been a more powerful enemy to those "persons, no man more fully deserves the

" honour of their abuse. We differ widely " in some of our political opinions from " Mr. Windham, but that difference of " opinion can never make us cease to ad- " mire the manliness of his character, the " powers of his mind, or the uprightness " and disinterestedness of his conduct. " *Faults, as a public man, we think he has— " but they are faults into which the most ho- " nourable principles betray him.* Like many " of the pupils of Mr. Burke's school, he will " admit *no exceptions to his rules, no qualifi- " cation of his opinions.* He reasons ably and " acutely upon all points which become " the subject of his reflection, but we think " he often reasons and acts like a man who " has deeply considered the theories upon " the point in question, *without having cor- " rected the errors into which his theories lead, " by an observation of the practice which is ap- " plicable to them.* His speeches in the House " of Commons are full of ingenuity, they " charm every person who has attention " and penetration enough to follow him " into all the nice divisions of his argu- " ment, but they sometimes want the plain " down-right common sense which alone " convinces plain men—they often rather " exhibit the powers of his understanding, " than his just conception of things—they " are thought by some persons to consist " only of subtile refinements, and, perhaps, " more frequently excite admiration, than " enforce conviction.

" Mr. Burke and his disciples appear to us " to err, chiefly *by pushing their opinions to " extremes*—they seem to forget that there " are many propositions true to a certain " point, but which, beyond a fixed limit, " become fallacious and absurd. It is the " province of common sense and judgment " to discover *to what degree* such proposi- " tions are just. There is no source of er- " ror more common, even among enlight- " ened minds, than that of supposing that " the reasonings applicable to the conduct " of human life are as certain and invariable " as the rules of arithmetic, or the princi- " ples of mathematics.

" But let it never be forgotten, that to " this man and to others, who were (by " those who wished to lull us into a delu- " sive security), opprobriously termed *alar- " mists*, we owe, at this moment, perhaps " our very existence as a nation; but cer- " tainly the preservation of our constitution. " He will ever deserve our gratitude, and " that of the whole nation, for his exer- " tions at the period to which we refer. " The only [illegible] in which we dif- " fer from Mr Windham, is in his conduct " respecting the *peace*, and here we think " his opinions were *carried to an extreme*. " We think with him, and with almost " every man in the country, that the war " was *just and necessary*; but if, without at- " taining the best and most desirable ob- " jects which were looked for, there arose " a crisis in which, under all considerations, " the adoption of peace *on reasonable terms*, " became *more advantageous to the country " than the continuance of the war*, that mo- " ment ought to have been, and was, we " think, wisely seized upon by his Majes- " ty's ministers. We *do not accuse him of " having wished never to be at peace with " France*, but at the moment the treaty was " signed, *he thought war preferable to peace*, " and he thought so in our opinion without " having looked into the *means we possessed " of carrying on the war*; or, at least, with- " out having fully weighed the sacrifices we " must have made for the probable attain- " ment of any advantages which the fur- " ther prosecution of the war held out " to us.

" The opinion to which we have alluded, " is *the only point of union between Mr. Wind- " ham and the party with which he appears " lately to have connected himself.*—The party " is small in number, and *the voice of the " nation is against them.*—If they ever rise " into importance, it must be by the force " of their abilities alone—collateral aids " they have none—and amongst *its ablest " supporters* there is a great want of those " *engaging and conciliatory manners* which " Mr. Windham possesses in so eminent a " degree.

" *In private life*, Mr. Windham, as he is " *sans peur*, so is he *sans reproche*. He is " a gentleman and a scholar. His acquain- " tance is sought by every man who admires " the manly spirit and character of an En- " glishman, softened, but not weakened, " by urbanity and politeness. His society " is courted by all those who have experi- " enced its charms, and the warmth of his " heart betrays him even into *extravagant " pretensions and unreasonable pursuits in the " service of his friends.*

" We rejoice that such a man as we have " described is again elected to Parliament, " —Though we may not think him a *safe* " politician in all points—upon how many " questions which may occur, may his en- " lightened mind most usefully display it- " self? Yet, to such a man, the electors of " Norwich have preferred William Smith! " The last time we inquired into the state

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"of the trade of Norwich, we were told "*that all the demand was for the coarsest* "*stuffs*; and they appear to have applied the "rule which was meant for their *crapes* and "*muslins* to the manufacture of their *mem-* "*bers of Parliament.*"

Amongst the various modes, which the ingenuity of man has discovered for the exercise of malevolence, none has been found more efficacious, and certainly none is more cowardly, than the one which is here employed—*an affected defence of a man's character conducted as to confirm and aggravate the charges which malice or ignorance may have preferred against it.* What attacks have there been on Mr. Windham, what sneering, what abuse, in which the True Briton has not heartily joined? Has it not had recourse to a repetition of all the old fabricated quotations, such as "*killing off*"—"*cheese pairings and candle ends*"—"*perish our* "*commerce*"—"*hardly scratched by the war*," &c. &c.? The fact is, that the "honour "of abuse" has been conferred on Mr. Windham full as frequently by the *ministerial*, as by the jacobin papers; and he must be a weak mortal indeed, who does not perceive, that the present eulogium on the *urbanity*, the *politeness*, the *learning*, the *frankness*, the *disinterestedness*, and the *integrity* of that gentleman, is intended merely to give the air of truth and candour to a publication, in which his "FAULTS *as a* PUBLIC "*man*" are intended to be impressed on the mind of the reader. The author of this eulogium was well aware, that all the accomplishments and the virtues, which he has *candidly* attributed to Mr. Windham, are not sufficient to constitute a statesman, unless, in addition thereto, he possesses a due share of caution and moderation; in other words, unless his zeal be tempered with reason and with that knowledge which arises from industry and experience. Therefore it is, that, while he most heroically denies what nobody ever asserted, and candidly asserts what nobody ever denied, respecting the *private* character of Mr. Windham, he artfully corroborates an opinion, which he knows to be false, that this gentleman is *misled by dangerous theories*, that he *pushes his opinions to extremes*, and, in short, that, though he is an accomplished gentleman, an eloquent speaker, and a perfectly honest man, he is "*not a safe politician.*"

This is the position, which he endeavours to establish; this is the impression, which he wishes to leave on the mind of the reader: let us, therefore, see how it will bear the test of examination.

With regard to Mr. Windham's adopting *dangerous theories, uncorrected by an observation of the practice which is applicable to them*, as no particular instances of this "fault" is named or even alluded to, we are not called upon for a refutation of the charge; but, we cannot refrain from observing, that, the *abolition of the Slave Trade* and the *reform of Parliament*, the two theories which peculiarly appertain to this country, and which have been rendered famous by the terrors and mischiefs they have produced: that these wild and dangerous theories, the former of which has plunged the West-India colonies in confusion and bloodshed, while the latter had, at one time, shaken the government of the mother country to its centre; we cannot refrain from observing, that neither of these theories was either invented or adopted by Mr. Windham. The advantage, the triumph, indeed, which, on this subject, we might derive from minute *comparison*, we chearfully forego; but, when these *safe* and *discreet* politicians publicly impute *theoretical errors and political indiscretions*, to Mr. Windham, they compel us to remind them, that the opinions of that gentleman, however they may be "pushed "to *extremes*," have never been given in evidence *as a justification of men accused of high treason!*

Neither as a *disciple of Burke* is any *specific error* attributed to Mr. Windham. Falsehood always endeavours to wrap itself up in general allegations. We are mistaken, however, if Mr. Windham will disclaim any one article of the political creed of his great master, whose advice, had it not been rejected, would have preserved his country from its present disgrace. Let any man read the Memorials, presented to the late ministry by Mr. Burke; let him take a survey of what has happened since that time, and then let him decide between the disciples and the opponents of that truly great statesman. The fact is, that all men of common understanding can now clearly perceive, what Mr. Burke perceived several years ago; and, where is the man who has not, since the peace was concluded, heard it a hundred times regretted, that the advice of Mr. Burke was not adopted? Where is the man, who is not now fully convinced, that, if that advice had been followed, the house of Bourbon would now have been upon the throne, that France would have been circumscribed within her former limits, and that England would have been in the

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enjoyment of a safe and honourable peace*? Under such circumstances, Mr. Windham can never suffer from having his opinions identified with those of Mr. Burke.

But, it is Mr. Windham's conduct respecting the *peace*, which, in the eyes of this writer, is most exceptionable. His opinions were here "pushed to extremes," because "he thought *war preferable to peace*," obtained "on *reasonable terms*, and *more advan-* "*tageous to the country than a continuance of* "*the war*." This is not sophistry, but direct falsehood. Mr. Windham *denied*, and still denies, that the terms of the peace were *reasonable* and *more advantageous to the country than a continuance of the war*. He asserted, and most clearly proved, that the terms of the peace were unreasonable, disgraceful, and infinitely more injurious to the country than a continuance of the war could possibly be. He did not, at the time peace was made, or at any other time, "*think war preferable to peace*," taking the question in the abstract; but he certainly thought that war was preferable to *such a peace as had been concluded*; and, if he is not willing to abide by this opinion as the test of his political knowledge and penetration, he must be wonderfully deficient in that sort of confidence which every man ought to possess; for, as far as consequences have hitherto arisen from the peace, they have fully verified his predictions. Where is the man, who has read Mr. Windham's speeches on the peace, who remembers what he has read, and who now beholds the degraded situation of this country, and who does not wish that Mr. Windham's opinion had prevailed? The Convention between Russia and France; the expedition to Algiers and Tunis; the navigation of the Black Sea; the complete subjugation of St. Domingo; the colonization of Louisiana; the critical situation of Jamaica; and, though last certainly not least, the annihilation of the liberty of the British press, as far as relates to France, or to any transaction in which France has an interest. Such are some of the consequences, which have already resulted from a peace, for the disapproving of which Mr. Windham is accused of "push-" ing his opinions to *extremes*," of being "an *unsafe* politician!"

What is said respecting the *party*, with whom Mr. Windham has acted in opposing the peace, is equally disingenuous with the rest of the article. That this party is small in number, though great in abilities, we know; but, we are by no means disposed to allow, that "the voice of *the nation* is "against them." The wisdom and loyalty of the nation is with them: its folly and disloyalty are, indeed, against them, and, we are sorry to be obliged to confess, that their adversaries are, at present, more powerful than their friends. The writer in the True Briton does not, however, appear to perceive the point on which the fate of this party must inevitably turn. A party may, in some instances, perhaps, owe its success to those "engaging and *conciliatory* man-" ners," of which he (adopting the vulgar cry) represents some of the ablest of this party as being deficient; but, the political reputation and consequence of Mr. Windham and of the phalanx with whom he has acted on this occasion, must chiefly depend upon the effects produced by that important measure, which has placed them in opposition to the present ministers. What those effects will ultimately be, it is impossible precisely to foretel; but, if we may judge of the future from what has already come to pass, it will not require many months to convince even the most senseless part of the nation, that caution and cowardice are not the qualities to constitute "a *safe* politician."

In a country where such infinite pains have been taken to destroy every sentiment of national honour; where the love of military glory is almost extinct; where the people look to the Bank instead of the arsenals for the means of protection; in such a country *caution* will ever be the first, and *courage* the last, quality that will be generally desired in a statesman. A want of *discretion* will be regarded as much worse than a want of *zeal*, *ability*, or even *integrity*. Discretion is certainly a most essential quality; but it is *real* discretion, and not that spurious sort of it, which is much more worthy of the name of *indecision*, or *pusillanimity*. Of indiscretion,

* When Mr. Burke published his Letters on a *Regicide Peace*; nay, *before* the first letter was published, the work was abused in the True Briton, a paper established by, and totally under the direction of, *the Treasury*. A gentleman acquainted with HERIOT, the conductor of the paper, remonstrated with him upon the subject, and requested him to wait till the letter made its appearance; to which Heriot replied, that *Burke had one foot in the grave, and that he wished to do the world all the mischief he could before he left it*. It is not certain, that a sentiment like this was entertained at the Treasury; but, it is very certain that Heriot had no political sentiments of his own. At any rate, it is well known, that the Letters on a Regicide Peace, were severely condemned by the ministerial papers, though they were written to prevent a negotiation, the failure of which Mr. Pitt has since repeatedly declared to be, on our part, a narrow escape from destruction.

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properly so called, we venture to defy the enemies of Mr. Windham to point out a single instance in which he has, as a statesman or legislator, incurred the charge; and it were much to be wished, that the same could be said of those, whose cautious demeanour is intended to be contrasted with his. To say nothing about the "*March to Paris*" and the "*Corsican Adventurer*," some of the observations made by Lord Hawkesbury, in his defence of the peace, were as *indiscreet* as any that ever fell from the lips of mortal man: we allude more particularly to what he said respecting the influence which the cession of Louisiana would have on the United States of America. He said, that "*placing the French upon the back of the American States would serve to attack the latter to Great Britain*, and that, therefore, it was *good policy* on our part to wink at the cession of Louisiana to France." This opinion, which, even if well founded, no temporary purpose, no heat of argument, should have drawn from a *Minister*, has produced the worst possible effect in America; it has excited great indignation in the minds of our friends, and has furnished the partizans of France with a most fertile and fortunate topic of abuse, in which they have spared neither King, Lords, nor Commons. This was, indeed, an unpardonable *faux pas* in the *solid* young lord, the *discreet* young lord; nor is it inapplicable to the present subject to observe, that the only thing which has, on this occasion, tended to mitigate the resentment of the Americans, and to disarm our foes in that country, is, the speech of Mr. Windham, who *lamented*, instead of rejoicing at, the danger to which the United States would be exposed.— We could purse this contrast much further; but we shall wait till some future opportunity.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Bologna, July 27.—Disturbances of a serious nature have broken out in this city. The scarcity and dearness of provisions was either the cause or the pretext. The Prefect, after having employed to no purpose every means of gentleness and persuasion, and seeing the public tranquillity every day more and more endangered, and even his personal safety menaced, he confided the exterior and internal policy of the city to the General of Division, Verdier, who immediately arrested several of the guilty, and published a proclamation on the 22d, in which he announced to the inhabitants, that he should employ the most energetic means to prevent further disorder, and to re-establish tranquillity. For this purpose, he prohibited the inhabitants from carrying about with them any species of weapon, even sticks, and threatened to arrest those who should act in contradiction to this order, and to deliver them over to be tried by a military commission, in the same manner as if they had been taken in the act of insurrection with arms in their hands. At the same time, the municipality ordered all dealers in articles of the first necessity to give in, within two days, an account of the quantity of provisions they had in their hands. On the 25th a large body of French troops arrived, and yesterday General Verdier published a second proclamation, explaining the motives of their arrival.

July 30.—On the 28th, a corps of French cavalry arrived here from Modena. On the following night, those persons who had been arrested, were sent to France. All is now perfectly quiet. The Prefect carries rigorously into execution his regulations of police, respecting foreigners who are unprovided with the necessary papers.

Italian Republic. Milan, July 27.

Sitting of the 26*th July, Decree of the Consulta of State.*

The consulta of state, on the proposition of the vice president of the Italian republic, having read several documents relative to the disorders and outrages which have recently disturbed the public tranquillity, and declared that the commune of Bologna is in a state of insurrection; therefore, considering that its situation comes under the description of cases provided for the 60th and 61st articles of the constitution, the consulta decrees: First, that a provisional measure by which the prefect *Du Reno* has confided the interior and exterior police of the commune de Bologna, to the military commandant, is approved of by the consulta of state. The orders issued by the commandant general at Bologna which prohibits the carrying of arms, or other offensive weapons, is likewise approved of. The authors of the outrages, and their accomplices, and all disturbers of the public tranquillity will be subject to martial law, and tried accordingly, without benefit of appeal. The government, in consequence, appoints a commission to consist of five military officers, who are forthwith to assemble in Bo-

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logna. The grand judicial minister of justice, and the minister of war, are charged with the execution of the present decree, which is ordered to be printed and published.

(Signed) *Melzi*, Vice-President.

Caprara-Paradisi, *Fenaroli*, *Costabeli-Lussi*, *Moscati*, *Guicciardi*, } *Consultori d'Etat.*

Gangoli, central secretary of the presidency.

Milan, July 27.—The vice-president of the Italian republic having perused the decree of the consulta of the state, of the 26th July, instant, decrees: 1st. That the following citizens do compose the military commission at Bologna:

Fontanelli, Chef de Brigade, President.

Bertolletti, *Foresti*, } Chefs de Bataillon.

Villata, *Masi*, } Captains.

2dly, Citizen *Charles Sormanni*, judge of the tribunal of appeal, at Milan, is appointed commissary of the government, at the said military commission. 3dly. The grand judicial minister of justice, and the minister of war, are charged, as far as they are concerned, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be printed and published.

(Signed) *Melzi.*

The counsellor secretary of state, *Nobili.*

Naples, July 20.—His Majesty has addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Palermo, President of the Kingdom of Sicily, announcing his happy arrival at Naples, and ordering that his faithful subjects should be informed of it. His excellency has published an edict upon this occasion, and *Te Deum* has also been sung, at which the sacred college, the senate, the noblesse, and the magistrature assisted.

Schwitz, July 13.—The Deputies of all the Communes in the three cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, to Citizen Verninac, Minister of the French Republic in Switzerland.

"We have uselessly endeavoured, for four years past, to tear from us a Constitution, which, from its origin, and still more, from the violence with which it was established, could not fail to be odious and insupportable. It is in vain that we have constantly hoped that the Helvetic Government, instructed by the sorrowful events of four unfortunate years, would at length find, that our separation from the Republic was that which was most wise and suitable for both parties, and that the wish which we have so often and so strongly expressed for our ancient liberty, would have induced them to set aside all hope that those three cantons would ever voluntarily accept any other constitution than that which has ever been considered as the only one suited to these countries, and for that reason so highly prized by ourselves and our ancestors. Our re-union with Helvetia, which has been stained with so much innocent blood, is perhaps the most cruel example of constraint that history can offer.

"In the conviction, therefore, that for a forced and unfortunate marriage, divorce is the only reasonable remedy, and that Helvetia and ourselves cannot recover repose and content, except by the rupture of this forced tie, we are firmly resolved to labour at that separation with all possible activity, and we think it best to address that authority which for four years past has united us, in spite of ourselves, to the Helvetic Republic. As to any thing further, we only wish to preserve good harmony in our commercial relations, as becomes brave Swiss. In listening to our just demands, the Helvetic Republic will acquire in us brothers and faithful neighbours.

"Health and consideration."

Genoa, Aug. 5.—We have received some information as to the depredations committed by the Dey of Algiers for these six months past on the powers of Europe.

It may be useful to publish the details, which must create astonishment at the extreme rapacity, as well as audacity, of this barbarian, who fancies himself the Sovereign of the Universe, and who treats all other governments as if they were his tributaries.

These details are followed by an account of the contributions which he imposes in Africa upon Princes following the same religion with himself, which proves that nothing is sacred with this Brigand.

The following may be considered as correct:

	Piastres.
Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, have made their regular presents, which are fixed by treaty at 16,500 piastres each, but the chicanery of agents increase these to a sum of about 25,000 piastres each	75,000
Spain sent three ships of the line and two frigates to reclaim three confiscated	

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vessels. The Dey was offended at this measure, and Spain, to avoid a war, paid in the whole 165,000

The Dey called upon the English for 180,000 piastres for several cargoes confiscated by the Court of Admiralty, and signified that if it was not paid within four months, he would declare war.. 180,000

His demands of France, presents to the amount of 225,000

M. Agrell, the Swedish Consul at Algiers *par interim*, made the usual presents, on condition that they should serve for M. Nordeling, the Consul who was about to arrive; but the Dey exacted from the latter new presents, the whole amounting to 50,000

Lastly, the agent of Denmark was written to by the Dey, who exacted from him a sum of 100,000 piastres, and granted him only four months to write to his court. This, with a vessel which the Danish government is besides to place at the disposal of the Dey, makes a total of 112,000

The capture of the Portuguese frigate with 312 men, on account of which the Dey makes the most extravagant pretensions: he demands 200,000 piastres for the ransom of one individual only (the son of a Portuguese Admiral.) Supposing the Court of Lisbon to be compelled, 2,000 piasters for each of the 312 prisoners (which is very probable,) the sum required will amount to 624,000 piastres. This, with presents during the negotiation, estimated at 20,000 piastres, and the value of the frigate 50,000, will make a total of.... 694,000

Value of seven ships taken by the Corsairs, with the cargoes..... 120,000

Seventy-five slaves, Genoese, Neapolitans, and others, at 2,500 piastres each 187,500

Total of exactions in Europe..... 1,818,500

Exactions in Africa:

The Beys of Titteri, Constantine, and Mascari, have some months since deposited at the foot of the throne their customary tributes. The Dey has besides exacted from them considerable sums. The whole amounting to not less than 300,000

Exactions from individuals..... 100,000

The Dey of Algiers has ordered the Bey of Constantine to march with all his troops against Tunis. He exacts from the Bey of the latter 450,000 zer-mahbouks, or about 700,000

Total..... 1,100,000

Exactions in Europe..... 1,818,500
Exactions in Africa..... 1,100,000

Piastres..... 2,918,500*

* To this sum may be added more than *a million* of dollars, whether in presents or in specie, paid by the *Americans*.

Ratisbon, Aug. 5.—The full powers for the extraordinary deputation of the empire have been published this day, and are of the following tenor:

Full powers of the Empire for the Deputation, charged with the discussion of the points which remain yet to be regulated for the fulfilment of the Peace.

"The Electors, Princes, and States of the Holy Roman Empire having judged it suitable to exercise, by an extraordinary deputation, the right which belongs to them, of discussing those objects which yet remain to be regulated for the fulfilment of the peace, and having for this purpose chosen and appointed in the College of Electors, Mayence, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburgh, and in that of Princes, Bavaria, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Wurtemburg, and Hesse Cassel; the said states deputed are fully authorised by these presents, in the name of the Germanic Body, and with the consent of his Imperial Majesty, in his quality of Supreme Chief of the Empire, to send forthwith their Sub-Delegates to the Imperial City of Ratisbon, which has been regarded as the most suitable place, there to examine, discuss, and regulate with the Imperial Minister Plenipotentiary, in concert with the French Government (having regard to the *Conclusum* of the 2d of October last, ratified by his Imperial Majesty), the points reserved by the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville, for a particular convention.

"In consequence, whatever shall be deliberated upon, concluded and signed by the said deputies, either by all of them, or in case of the absence, sickness, or non-appearance of some of them, by those that remain with the said Imperial Minister, shall be, within a determined period, ratified and agreed to, and shall be inviolably kept by the whole empire."

Ratisbon, August 3, 1802.

August 6.—The Bavarian Deputy, Baron Rechburg, received in the night of the 2d instant a Courier from the Bavarian Envoy at St. Petersburgh, to M. Posch, who arrived by the way of Berlin, and brought the General Plan of Indemnities concerted at Paris, and ratified by his Imperial Russian Majesty.—Two similar copies of this plan will be laid before the Empire on the part of France and Russia, by Citizen Matthieu and Baron Buhler. In this plan the future state of the Empire, both with respect to the large and small states, is circumstantially regulated. Wurtemberg, Baden, and

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Hesse Cassel, are proposed for the Electoral Dignity. The Emperor of Russia had likewise recommended Mecklenburg; and the French and Bavarian ministers have promised the co-operation of their courts to that effect. In the College of Princes, eight new voices are to be added, among which are Nassau Usingen, Nassau Weilburg, Salm, Kyrburg, and Leinengen. Osnaburg falls to Hanover, but under conditions that the latter shall resign its claims to Hildesheim and Corvey, and its eventual possession of Sayn Altenkirchen to Nassau-Usingen. The Toll at Elsfleth is to be abolished; but in compensation, the Duke of Holstein Oldenburg receives the Bishopric of Lubeck as an hereditary principality, a part of Munster, and the Hanoverian district of Wildeshausen. The Elector of Mentz remains the only Ecclesiastical Elector, and receives such indemnities for his losses, that his revenue, in the whole, will amount to a million.—Eight cities, viz. Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburgh, Frankfort, Augsburg, Nuremburg, Wetzlaar, and Ratisbon, are to be imperial cities, and the two last remain as before, the one the seat of the Chamber of the Empire, and the other of the Diet. The imperial cities, in all future wars of the Empire, are to be permitted to observe a perfect neutrality.

Berne, Aug. 8.—The latest intelligence from the Lesser Cantons, afford some hope of our being able to recall those parts of Helvetia to obedience to our Government. The refusal of the Canton of Uri, to make a common cause with the others, has strengthened the opposition in that quarter, and the eagerness manifested by the ringleaders of this counter-revolution to ingross the highest situations, has given general disgust.

The Commissary, Keller, published on the 4th instant, at Lucerne, on the part of the Central Government, the following Proclamation:

"The Government had fondly hoped for the cessation of all troubles, for the re-union of all men by the influence of concord and of fraternity, and of course, for the restoration of general prosperity.—It sees, however, with regret, that certain enemies of their country are eager to profit of the circumstances of the moment, to rend all those ties asunder, and to produce new calamities and misfortunes.

"These have violated the confidence which the Government placed in their sentiments of patriotism, and they have shut their eyes to the dangers attending such conduct. Behold your vallies and plains desolated—the still smoaking ruins of your houses—these are the fruits of such disastrous councils, and which on a former occasion you have experienced.—Consider well, if the assertions of those who mislead you, have been founded in truth—if they have not already deceived you.—And what trust can you repose in them after these reflections? Abjure their perfidious councils and rally round a Government, uniformly disposed to attend to your complaints, to administer to your necessities, and to sooth your misfortunes.

"The Executive Council, true to its principles, has endeavoured by every means of conciliation, to recall you to your duty but, at the same time, it entertains the determined resolution generally to introduce and to maintain the Constitution adopted by the Helvetic people in all parts of the Republic, and apprises you that measures are adopted to carry it into full effect against every species of opposition whatever.

"The Executive Council declares, that all Lansgemein, held, or to be holden, are contrary to the existing Laws and the Constitution, and decrees—

"I. That in all the Cantons, or where ever such assemblies are holden, the persons who were employed under the Constitution shall be reinstated in their respective situations, in the course of eight days.

"II. That in the Cantons of Uri Schwitz, and Underwalden, the Communes shall re-assemble, and elect a deputy from every 100 citizens.

"III. These Deputies shall re-unite under the Presidency of the Commissary of the Government, or of one of the delegates in order to appoint a committee or council consisting of 20 members.

"IV. The Government recognises those councils, and will hold communication with them. They shall administer the particular affairs of the Cantons, and shall be charged with the Cantonal Organization.

"Given at Berne, August 1, 1802."

Paris, Aug. 11.—On the 4th inst. news was received at Nantes from St. Domingo to the 26th June. At that period the colony appeared to enjoy the greatest tranquillity. The general in chief had just published the new constitution of St. Domingo, the execution of which was suspended with respect to some articles during the time the colony was in a state of warfare. An arrêté by the captain

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general determines the exceptions rendered necessary by existing circumstances. Another arrêté fixes the division of the French part of the isle into departments, quarters, and communes.

About the middle of June there arrived at St. Domingo, from Toulon, a frigate and two corvettes, on board of which were a thousand troops, who, it is said, were to be followed by 6000 more.

On the 2d of August, about three in the afternoon, the division under the orders of *Admiral Villaret Joyeuse* set sail from Brest for Martinique. It consists of the ships of the line *Le Berwick* and *Le Jemappe*, of the frigate *L'Incorruptible*, of the corvette *La Toche*, the brigs *Le Festin* and *Le Souffleur*, and the gallies *La Fine* and *La Coureuse*.

Decree of the 23d Thermidor.

Paris, Aug. 11.—The consuls of the Republic, on the report of the minister of the interior, respecting the law of the 29th of last Floreal, May 19, taking into consideration that the establishment of the customs has for its principal object to exclude articles of foreign merchandize, the introduction of which might be prejudicial to the national manufactures; that the regulations requisite for the accomplishment of that end ought not only to leave unrestrained, but to encourage exportation, consistently with those precautions which are necessary to prevent abuses from springing up, that in a word, the particular position of the ports and the commerce of the cities of Cologne and Mayence require the speedy adoption which shall on the one hand secure the advantage of the fair trader, to whom every possible facility is meant to be given, and on the other the interest of the public, which is desirous of opposing every obstacle in the way of fraud, make the following decree:

I. There shall be, in the ports of Cologne and Mayence, a real depôt *(entrepôt)* of foreign goods and merchandise, prohibited and not prohibited, and of goods which are brought from the colonies, and those which arrive from other quarters.

II. These places shall not enjoy the advantages of this entrepôt, but on the condition of providing in their ports, at the expense of their commerce, convenient and secure magazines, forming one contiguous series of buildings, for the purpose of forming such an *entrepôt*. For this purpose, the plan of the buildings shall be laid before the government; which, after a suitable examination of its propriety, shall establish it by a special decree.

III. There is nothing in the present decree to supersede any of the provisions of the decree of the 3d Thermidor (July 22) respecting the colonial produce of our own islands, and those of foreign countries, nor any of the regulations respecting the introduction of tobacco.

IV. The minister of the interior and of finances are charged with the execution of the present decree; which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

Buonaparté, The First Consul.
H. B. Maret, Secretary of State.

The prefect of the department of the Seine decrees the following Programma, for the distribution of the great prizes, at the general assembly of the three central schools of Paris:

I. The distribution shall be made on the 17th of August, at three, in the great hall of l'Oratoire, by the prefect of the department, accompanied by the secretary general and the council of prefecture, in the presence of the mayors, the members of the jury of public instruction, and the professors of central schools.

II. The tribunals of the department of the Seine shall be invited to assist, and the learned societies to send a deputation of some of their members.

III. The sitting shall be opened by a discourse pronounced by the prefect.

IV. A child from each school shall recite a thesis of his own composition. The distribution of the prizes to begin immediately after the recital.

V. The prefect shall declare the first prize for Latin composition. The élève crowned shall declare the other prizes.

V. The élève to whom the first prize shall have been awarded, shall conclude the distribution by an oration in French.

Done at Paris, Aug. 14, 1802.
Frochot, The Prefect.
Et. Megan, The Sec.-Gen. of the Pre.

From the Official Gazette of Lisbon.

Lisbon, August 14.—General Lasnes, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, left this court in the morning of the 10th instant, a measure which he took from his own proper will, and which is the more unexpected, as have been the constant and repeated civilities and attentions paid to him by this court, in demonstration of the constant friendship, perfect harmony, and good understanding subsisting between this monarchy and the French Republic—as there does

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not exist any actual object of discussion between the two Governments which can alter, in the slightest degree, the happy relations of this country with France, relations which this court desires efficaciously to promote, and even to render more intimate.

Copy of the Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the different Ministers resident at the Court of Portugal.

General Lasnes, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, having adopted the unexpected resolution of withdrawing from the court, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, my Master, has ordered me to communicate to you this event, which is the more unlooked for as he had received the most ardent and distinguished testimonies of regard, founded upon the most perfect harmony, and entire good understanding subsisting between this Monarchy and the French Republic; and this too at a moment when there existed no object of discussion which could in the smallest degree affect the friendly relations which his Royal Highness desires, and will make it his study to promote. You will have the goodness to give notice of the above to your respective courts.

Hamburgh, August 16.—Of the war between Russia and Persia there is yet no farther information, than that the new regent of the latter, Baba Kan, has collected a considerable body of troops, in order to meet the Russian army, which has penetrated from the corner of Astracan, through Derbent, to the Persian province of Ghilan. The circumstance which gave occasion to these hostilities is, that all the Russian subjects resident in the states of the said Regent were driven from their possessions, under a pretence that Russia acted unjustly in taking under its protection the provinces of Georgia and Mingrelia. It is apprehended that this dispute will be attended with a great deal of bloodshed.

Aug. 18.—By an Arrêté of the consuls, of the 12th instant, in *entrepôt* for foreign merchandize and produce is established at the cities of Cologne and Mayence, upon the same terms, and with the same restrictions as in other places, where an *entrepôt* has been already established.

Paris, Aug. 19.—The following letter has been transmitted by the minister of the interior to the prefect of the Somme, the department in which Amiens is situated:—

I observe with regret, Citizen Prefect, that the *unfounded rumours*, spread abroad by certain newspapers, relative to a treaty of commerce with England, have alarmed the manufacturers, and caused industry to decrease. Does the trading interest then no longer confide in the promise which I made in the name of government; and can the manufacturers believe that, in any possible case, their interests could be either sacrificed or neglected? I invite you, Citizen Prefect, to banish such false ideas from among the manufacturers—falsehoods calculated to discourage them in their labours. Inform them, persuade them that these reports are disseminated designedly by the enemies of their industry; make them entertain full confidence in a government which is worthy of it—assure them once more, that whatever can promote their prosperity is the peculiar object of the solicitude of the government; and that it will take a pleasure in availing itself of the advice and information of the manufacturers, when the time comes to open our commercial intercourse with our neighbours.

Chaptal.

Aug. 20.—By an arrêté of the counsel of the 13th inst. the minister of the interior is authorized to put in a state of activity the necessary labours for preparing the palace of the Louvre for the reception of the monuments of art arrived from Italy; as also for the national library, the removal of which to that palace is ordered. The sum of 25,000 francs per month is appropriated for this purpose, until the whole is completed.

The chest of the Legion d'Elète was robbed on the 4th instant of 180,700 francs; but the robbers have been apprehended, and 170,000 francs recovered by the police.

Arrêté of the 20th August.

The Consuls of the Republic, having seen the Brief of Pope Pius VII. given at St. Peter's, at Rome, on the 29th June, 1802.

Upon the report of the Counsellor of State charged with all the affairs relative to worship, the Council of State having been heard, decree,

The Brief of Pope Pius VII. given at St. Peter's, at Rome, on the 29th June, 1802, by which Citizen Maurice Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs is restored to the secular and lay life, shall have its full and entire effect.

The First Consul,

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*

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A person of the name of Desjardins, one of the most ferocious Brigands of the Cotes du Nord, has established his residence at Jersey. Thirteen individuals condemned to death as contumacious, for having assassinated several wealthy proprietors of national property, are with him: they appear to enjoy a special protection.—*Moniteur.*

It is confirmed that war has broken out between Russia and Persia. The Russians have already made some progress, and beaten the troops of the sovereign of Persia.

Extract of a Letter from Fort St. George, (East Indies) February 17, 1802.

The tidings of peace between England and France have reached India. The effect they produced was at first a temporary joy and gladness (for the sound of peace is of itself pleasing to every ear) but on mature and serious reflection, more painful sensations succeeded. To every considerate and reflecting mind, the peace, as extending and applying it to India, presents nothing but woes and misfortunes. It has already frustrated and counteracted all those schemes, that the deep and penetrating policy of the Marquis of Wellesley had formed and arranged for the preservation of our Indian possessions; what may be the consequence time can only discover: the Marquis, as distinguished for his public virtues as for his private ones, for his sagacity and prudence in the formation, as for energy and vigour in the execution of his plans, had conceived it necessary, in order to secure upon a firm and solid foundation, the Company's safety and prosperity, to deprive the Indian Princes of the assistance of the French officers, whom many of them kept in their pay and service, and who are eminent for their talents and courage. The employment of a great number of these officers by the Mahrattas, became a peculiar object of jealousy and uneasiness to the Marquis, and he determined to extirpate the very name out of the peninsula; accordingly he commenced a negotiation with the Mahrattas to obtain the dismissal of the French officers in their service, at the same time resolved to obtain his ends by force, if he could not by negotiation. The Mahrattas as might be expected, shewed no great readiness to comply with the Marquis's demands, and he was just on the eve of declaring war against them (and we have no reason to doubt of its success) to force them into a compliance, when the accounts of the peace arrived, which immediately prevented it, as the object thereof then became unattainable; and now the Mahrattas will not only have the assistance of the French officers, but aided by the intrigues and ambition of the French at Pondicherry, what have we not to expect! For my part, I shall not be surprised to find India, within a year or two, the theatre of a long and bloody war: the peace then, as applying it to India, is pregnant with war, and fraught with folly; no doubt you have, at home, cogent reasons for making it, unknown to us; no doubt it was "a consummation devoutly to be wished," and one of its blessed effects is, the making an English populace drag, with acclamations and shouts of joy, the carriage of a French republican general and ambassador; nothing but such an action remained to complete the list of insults that during the war, have been levelled at our king and country, and hands were soon found ready enough to commit it, for my part I can imagine no sight so disgraceful, so ignominious as this, how it could be patiently borne I am at a loss to account for. Would our forefathers have done so? they would sooner have died. Conquerors of old, have harnessed subjugated princes to their chariots, but the humiliating spectacle only excited sentiments of pity and compassion for the unfortunate sufferers, the victims of adversity and the resisters of oppression; but when a set of fools or villains voluntarily degrade themselves to the most ignominuous state, dragging, like beasts of burthen a foreigner, does such a spectacle excite compassion or contempt, pity or disgust? I have no doubt as to what it excited in your breast, and yet I fear there are too, too many, who were highly delighted and pleased with it, but can they be called, or do they deserve the name of Englishmen?

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

There are articles of intelligence, extracted from the foreign papers (see p. 243, 245), relative to a war between *Russia* and *Persia*, which will, probably, call to the recollection of our readers, a passage in the letter of a correspondent at Stockholm, published in p. 129 of this present vol. of the Register. He stated, that Russia and France had formed a project for establishing a republic in Persia, and for *delivering* Hindostan; and added, that the Russian troops

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were then on their march towards Ispahan. We cannot much blame those persons, who are disposed to treat this project with ridicule; let it be remembered, however, that the ridicule which was thrown on the invasion of Egypt did not prevent the attempt from succeeding to a fearful degree; it did not prevent Buonaparté from subjugating Egypt and attacking Syria, which last clearly proves, that India was the ultimate object. We repeat, that the project, spoken of by our correspondent, has in it somewhat of the marvellous, but is by no means impossible. Ten years ago we should have laughed at it; but, woeful experience has taught us, that nothing, which France undertakes, is a subject of derision. While therefore we hope, and, indeed believe, that the invasion of Hindostan by the way of Persia, is a project that will never be realized, we cannot help requesting those, who persist in making their own little minds the standard of that of Buonaparté, to consider; 1. That the Russians are absolute masters of the Caspian Sea, and of great part of its western coasts. 2. That the Wolga, together with its canals, joins the Baltic to the Caspian, and, therefore, the Russians can send every thing necessary for an army by water, as far as Fehrabad, a convenient town on the southern point of the Caspian Sea. 3. That from Fehrabad to Ispahan, on one of the great roads of Persia, is no more than about 300 miles. 4. That all the Tartarian hordes on the borders of Persia, from the Caspian Sea to Thibet, are in connexion with Russia. 5. That the Persian empire has long been a prey to anarchy, and is actually divided into several separate states, which, being hostile to each other, will not be able to make any efficacious resistance against the invaders, who, having no fortifications and scarcely any artillery to combat, will have no occasion for heavy cannon, the conveying of which is always the most formidable difficulty in such an enterprize. 7. That, as to the French part of the expedition, the port of Laodicea is not more than 60 miles from Aleppo, and, by water (on the Euphrates) from Aleppo to Bagdad, is, at most, 400 miles. 8. That Bagdad and Babylon have several times been taken and retaken by the Turks and the Persians, who have had immense armies in and before those places. Consequently, a French army of 30 or 40,000 men, moving from the coast of Syria to Bagdad, will meet with no obstacle, which has not already been met with, and overcome by armies much more numerous and less capable of such an undertaking. 9. That as to any opposition on the part of the Turks, it is, in the present state of things, absolutely impossible. Now, suppose that the provinces between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulph were over-run by the Russians and the French, it is only about 200 miles from Ispahan to the Persian Gulph, and even to Ormus no more than 400 miles; consequently, if the project be at all feasible, Ispahan is a very proper point of rendezvous, whether the intention might be to penetrate into Hindostan by way of the Persian Gulph and the Indian Sea, or by the way of Candahar.—It may, perhaps, be observed, that such an enterprize, were it to be undertaken, and even crowned with success, would be more useful to Russia than to France; to which we reply, that France will never regard any thing as useless to her, which may tend to the destruction of the riches and the maritime power of England.

The design of France (of which we spoke somewhat at length in p. 185 of this volume) to invade the Barbary states, appears, we think, more and more evident. A squadron is said to have sailed from Toulon for the purpose of punishing the Bey of Tunis and the Dey of Algiers; and, the very detailed account of the exactions of those pirates, which is given in the Moniteur, strongly indicates the intention of Buonaparté. As we observed before, his Majesty's ministers must see this movement of the French with regret and alarm; but, they will not dare to remonstrate against it. They would, were they to attempt to do their duty on this occasion have to encounter, not only the wrath of Buonaparté, but the almost universal clamour of the people of England, who would, with some shew of reason, complain, if a peace, purchased with the safety and honour of England itself, were so soon to be broken "for the sake of a nest of pirates." This is, indeed, already the language of all that timid and unthinking mass of mortals, who were, and who still are, for peace on any terms: that is to say, *with France*, for, as to *other nations*, they would fight with them to the last drop of their blood.

General Victor is, it seems, to command the division destined for Louisiana. This is an enterprize, of which very little is thought in Downing-street; but, the effects of which will, in a few years, fall upon us like a thunderbolt. Nothing that can happen on the continent of Europe, or even

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on that of Asia, will be half so pregnant with danger to England as the event, which may probably take place on the continent of North America. We shall, in our next sheet, once more endeavour to direct the attention of his Majesty's ministers towards this most important subject, on which we are now able to speak more in detail than we have done before: in the mean time, we think it right to remind them, that there is no time to be lost; that a very few months will see the French safe at New Orleans, and that it will be then too late to think of prevention. The Americans have now most amply discussed the subject, and the result of that discussion is, that they *may* be ruined by the transfer of Louisiana to France, but that England *must* be; in which opinion we sincerely concur.

The right to navigate the Black Sea has been obtained by France; and, there is every reason to suppose, that it has been obtained to our *exclusion*. Our poor minister at the Porte (like our ministers every where else) is in a truly pitiable situation. He cannot know how to act, and from Downing-street, as Downing-street is now inhabited, what instructions has he to expect! We had before obtained a right of navigation similar to that now obtained by the French; but there wanted an act of the Turkish government to ratify our convention on the subject. Whether to ask for this act, or to slip into the Black Sea unperceived, along with the French, is the question now to be determined on; the former, it is feared, would expose us to the danger of a blunt refusal, and of course, an exclusion; while the latter might, and most likely would, bring on us that kind of chastisement, which is generally bestowed on intruders. In short, though we may suffer much from French intrigue at Constantinople, our great danger arises from the dread which the Turks have of the French rulers, and from the contempt which they must feel for the ministers of this country.

When we published, nearly a month ago, the letter from our correspondent at Stockholm (p. 129), in which it was stated, "that the King of Prussia had acted as "mediating negotiator between the Em"peror Alexander and Buonaparté," and that they had "*arranged the division of Ger*"*many*," we excused the incredulity of others, because we ourselves doubted of the fact: our doubts were, perhaps, not so strong as those of our readers in general; but little did we imagine, that the intelligence was true to the extent in which it now appears it was. The French government has published a copy of a joint declaration (which is too long to come into this sheet, but which shall be inserted in our next) of Buonaparté and the Emperor of Russia, commanding a new organization of the German Empire; a new distribution of territory, of ranks, dignities, offices, and power. For the present we must, however, confine our remarks chiefly to the changes which are ordered to take place relative to the German possessions of his Majesty, and which are signified in the following terms: "The King of England, "in his quality of Elector of Hanover, has "raised pretensions to Hildesheim, Cor"vey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of "interest that he should desist from his "pretensions, it is proposed that the Bi"shoprick of Osnaburgh, which now be"longs alternately to the Electoral House "of Brunswick, should devolve to him in "perpetuity, upon the following condi"tions:—First, That the King of England, "Elector of Hanover, shall renounce all "his rights and pretensions to Hildesheim, "Corvey, and Hoexter.—Secondly, That "he shall likewise give up to the cities of "Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and "properties which he exercises and pos"sesses in the said cities, and within the "extent of their territory.—Thirdly, That "he shall cede the Bailliwick of Wildhausen "to the Duke of Oldenbourg, and his rights "to the eventual succession of the county of "Sayn, Altenkirchen—to the Prince of Nas"sau Usingen." In a subsequent sheet we shall give a detailed account of the situation, value, and importance of the territories, of which our sovereign has been thus plundered. It is not so very surprising that Hildesheim, which lies in the heart of the king's German dominions, should be seized on during the time of the minister, who began his career by seizing an estate in the heart of Richmond Park, and whose *respectable* example, perhaps, had no small weight with Buonaparté. There are some persons who set little value on German connexions: some even suppose (erroneously in our opinion) that it would be better for England if Hanover belonged entirely to some other sovereign; but, whatever may be thought on this subject, where is the man, where the loyal subject, who does not feel indignant at the present transaction? Where is the Englishman who can patiently see his sovereign thus insultingly pillaged of his patrimonial estates, without despising the men,

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whose measures have brought on us this indelible disgrace? The British Ministry were never consulted in this division of Germany; the object of the convention between Russia and France was not communicated to them; they did not, even at the time it was first mentioned in this Register, know of the existence of such an instrument; its ratification was known at Stockholm on the 5th of July; in Downing Street not till the middle of August! Is it possible for the affairs of a nation long to go on thus? On these "*indemnities*" we shall only further remark, at present, the unbearable insolence of indemnifying the Stadtholder, in part, out of his Majesty's Hanoverian dominions, without suffering him or his ministers in either country to have the smallest share in the transaction! On this topic we shall quote the Morning Chronicle, as having expressed precisely our sentiments:—"In "this transaction we have only to remark "the disgrace attached to the government "of this country in thus allowing this mat"ter to be wholly transacted by France and "Russia. We are studiously and insult"ingly excluded from the credit of procur"ing any indemnities for the House of "Nassau, which was formerly so distin"guished for its connexion with our in"terests, and which, in such times as the "present, and under such an administra"tion, has suffered so grievously by adher"ing to our cause. Every man who feels "for the honour of the nation must see how "much on the one hand, we are hurt in re"putation by abandoning the Stadtholder, "and on the other, what little influence we "possess, nay, to what contempt we have "fallen, in being left totally out of view in "a transaction which is in every respect so "interesting and important to us. The "Stadtholder disdains, the other powers "reject, our interference!" All this is very true, but we cannot but recollect, that this paper was amongst the very foremost to clamour for that *peace*, that shameful and humiliating peace, which has produced all this insult and contempt. The ministers are here blamed for "*allowing*" Russia and France to act thus! Allowing! How would the Morning Chronicle have ministers do otherwise than *allow* them to do as they please? Not to allow is to *prevent*; to prevent is *war*, and war is *ruin*. With what face, therefore, can those who have bellowed for peace *on any terms*, blame the ministers for *allowing any thing*? They must continue to allow any thing and every thing that is demanded of them, unless they again go to war; unless they abandon the happy system of "Peace and Plenty." This nation deserves to suffer, and the men at present in power seem destined to bring on it its deserts!

The London daily papers, after having for some days scouted our opinion, that the threats of Buonaparté's gazette had produced a fall in the funds, have at length subscribed to it in terms even more full and satisfactory than we could have hoped for. The confession is well worthy of attention:—"The very curious intelligence from "France respecting the journals" [That is, the news which has been received, and is now confirmed, of the English newspapers having been prohibited in France] "made a sensible impression on the funds, "and it is probable that the measure was "altogether calculated for the meridian of "our Stock Exchange. It is a fact worthy "of remark that these bursts of spleen in "the official journal of the Chief Consul of "France have uniformly made their ap"pearance, *so as to meet the settling day in our "stock market*. It is more probable that it is "a jobbing speculation than a symptom of "national misunderstanding. Without any "design of a rupture, however, it will ever "be a part of the tactics of France *to keep "us in incessant agitation*. Their speculators "will strive to profit from the fluctuations "which they occasion; and at a time when "opinion is so fickle, *the slightest show of a "hostile disposition will materially affect the "funds*."—Sayst thou so? Why, then, we are agreed at last. This is precisely the state of things that Mr. Windham foretold, in his speech upon the preliminaries of peace; not in substance only, but in so many words. If Buonaparté can carry on this game for a few months, he will not need another rupture with us; nor will he have any reason to envy us that capital and credit, of which he will have the continual command. The power which he possesses of raising and lowering the funds at pleasure, will, with the aid of two or three intelligent brokers, enable him to draw upon this country for much more cash than he will want to maintain his 300,000 soldiers. If we are asked, why the king of France did not formerly make use of the means, which we suppose Buonaparté will make use of, we answer, that the king of France *dared* not; a threat on the part of the king of France would have brought on a war; we have now entered on a state of things entirely new; Buonaparté is absolute master of the value of our funds, because it rests with

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him, and him alone, whether we shall have peace or war. Thus situated there is nothing to prevent him from drawing out of this country just as much money as he pleases.

The "blessings of peace" pour in upon us so fast, and from so many parts of the world, that it is absolutely impossible to enter into the enjoyment of them all. Portugal, whose *integrity* we so generously and so efficaciously provided for, is, as will be perceived by the intelligence from Lisbon (see p. 242) about to receive some new mark of the amicable disposition of France. This news has produced great sensation in London, and has considerably aided the depression in the funds, which were yesterday just one per cent. lower than they were in October 1800, upon the report, that a *naval armistice* was about to be signed! This fact, as far as the funds are a political criterion, proves that our present situation is not quite so worthy of the name of *peace* as a naval armistice would have been. The truth is, the thoughts of the nation are like a cork in the middle of the ocean: there is no such thing as public opinion; universal uncertainty prevails.

Were we to give an opinion as to the real cause of the French ministers quitting Portugal, we should say, that Buonaparté intends to extort something more from that power. We do not think he means to seize on Portugal immediately, though he may do it ere long. It would be unwise in him to do it at present: Our fleets are not quite dismantled, and there may, as yet, be a *possibility* of our once more sending them to sea in defence of Portugal, or, at least, in order to revenge the subjugation of that country. This, however, is by no means certain, but, it is, upon the whole, to be presumed, that Buonaparté will not be in such haste to put in execution those projects which he surely has in reserve, with respect to this nation, whom we have so shamefully abandoned to his rapacity.

As if peace had not brought us blessings enough, our ministers have been in search of others in our colony of Jamaica, where they have sown the seeds of discord, disaffection, and, probably, of something still more serious. The Lieut. Governor communicated to the Colonial Assembly, in the month of June last, a proposition from his Majesty's ministers, that the assembly should make provision for the maintenance of 5,000 troops, in addition to those already maintained by the colony. The governor urges "the *absolute necessity of her*" [the mother country] "*resorting to some extraordinary* "*means* for enabling her to support *the in-*"*creased naval and military establishments*, so "imperiously required *in all parts* of the "empire, but more *particularly in her West* "*India colonies*," as reasons for the present demund upon the colony of Jamaica. The assembly have rejected the proposition *in toto*; and, in refusing aid, have taken an opportunity to enumerate their *grievances*, one of which is well worthy of note:—"*the difficulties attending our commercial inter-*"*course with the American states*, from whence "many more essential articles, necessary "for carrying on the cultivation of our pro-"perties, and for the subsistence of the "inhabitants of all descriptions, can *alone* "*be obtained*, arising from the *prohibition to* "*export any article of our staple productions except* "*rum and molasses in American bottoms.*" Now, in alluding to what we have said in p. 234, (and to which we beg leave to refer the reader) we cannot help remarking here, that this proposition to the colony of Jamaica is a step which, we trust, never would have been taken by Mr. Windham. It was for the "*safe* politicians," the *discreet* Addingtons and Hawkesburies, to throw a fire-brand into the West India islands, which, thanks to another set of *discreet* and "*safe* politicians," has long been a magazine of powder. What a striking confirmation is here afforded, too, of Mr. Windham's opinion of the consequences of the peace! The governor of Jamaica here tells the world, that Great-Britain is now under the "*absolute necessity* of resorting to some "*extraordinary means* for enabling her to sup-"port the *increased* naval and military esta-"blishments, so imperiously required in "all parts of the empire, *but more particularly* "*in the West India colonies!*" And this is "indemnity for the past and security for "the future!" This is the state, in which we are to "husband our resources!" This is the effect of that "capital, credit, and "commerce," which are to defend us against the intrigues and the arms of France! The dispute with the legislature of Jamaica will terminate either in the humiliation of his Majesty's government, or in the distraction, and, possibly, the revolt, of the colony. The former must be chosen, of course; and, to all the other mortifications, to which these "*safe* politicians" have exposed their King, they will now add that of being obliged to yield to the opposition of his hitherto most loyal and most dutiful colony. As to the *merits of the dispute* with the assembly, we can at present give no opinion;

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but we know that it would not have been agitated, at this time, by any ministry worthy of the epithets of *wise* and *prudent*. The reasons urged by the governor, and the reply of the assembly, bear such a strict resemblance to the early part of the dispute with the colonies of America, that one would almost think they had been copied verbatim from the journals of Congress, and we should hope, that so terrible an example will deter the ministers from a further prosecution of their present attempt.

POSTSCRIPT.

We have this moment heard, with great pain, but without any surprise, that a prosecution is commenced, by order of the ministers, and at the request of Buonaparté, against MONSIEUR PELTIER, Editor of a French periodical work, entitled L'AMBIGU. In our last Register, p. 212, we made use of some very strong expressions in order to dissuade the writers of this country from their apparent intention to invite Buonaparté to *a meeting in Westminster Hall*. We then declared the liberty of the British press to be completely destroyed, as far as related to Buonaparté and his government: the prosecution of M. Peltier will convince every one of the truth of our assertion, especially when the nature of his publication is considered. We shall now witness a new scene of baseness: we shall now see news-papers, magazines, and reviews, filled with eulogiums of the Grand Consul, and with censure on those, who disapprove of his proceedings. We desire M. Peltier not to deceive himself; not to expect support from the other periodical publications: the hunted stag is always shunned by the herd; and a baser herd than the one we are here speaking of is not to be found even in this degenerate nation. The news-papers will affect to bluster for a little while; but it will be mere affectation: they will outcrawl any of the Spaniel Prefects of France. There prevails, all through the country, a strong disposition to submit to Buonaparté. In two words, we are a *beaten* and a *conquered* people.

Tyro's Communication shall have a place soon.—We should be glad to have the continuation.

☞ *The Supplement to Vol. I. which has been unexpectedly kept back by the great quantity of matter, which it has been found necessary to insert, will be published, and sent to all those persons who take the weekly numbers, on the 8th of September. We regret that it has been so long delayed; but we trust, that its contents will form some apology for us.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, August 2.—The Lord Chancellor has appointed Bernard Lucas, of Chesterfield, in the County of Derby, Gent. to be a Master Extraordinary in the High Court of Chancery.

Downing-Street, August 21.—The King has been pleased to appoint Sir John Borlase Warren, Baronet, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Rear-Admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, to be his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. Petersburgh.

The King has also been pleased to appoint James Craufurd, Esq. to be his Majesty's Agent at Rotterdam.

Whitehall, Aug. 24.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Reverend Samuel Goodenough, Clerk. Doctor of Laws, the Place and Dignity of Dean of the Cathedral Church of Rochester, void by the Promotion of Doctor Thomas Dampier, to the See of Rochester.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	184½	184	183½
3 pr.C.R.An.	69⅜	69¼	—	68¼	68	68⅛
3 per C. Con.	68⅛	68⅛	—	68	67¼	67⅜
4 pr C. Cons.	86¾	86⅝	—	86⅛	85¼	85⅛
5 pr Ct. Ann.	98¼	100	—	99⅛	99½	99⅜
Bank L. Ann.	20½	20⅜	—	20⅜	20⅛	20 7/16
D°S. 1778 & 9	5	4¼	—	5	—	4⅛
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	68	—	67¼	—	66⅜
D° Ann.....	—	—	—	12¼	—	12 1/16
5 per Ct. 1797	102¼	102⅞	—	102¼	101⅝	101¼
Omnium ...	9 dis	8½ dis	—	9½ dis	10¼ di	10½ di
India Stock..	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Bonds....	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,
near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of August, 1802.

Days.	M's age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
19		Fine.	sw	sw	29,75	29,75	69	72
20	☽	Cloudy.	sw	sw	29,76	29,78	67	68
21		Fine.	sw	sw	29,8	29,8	66	70
22		Cloudy.	sw	sw	29,82	29,8	68	70
23		Fair.	sw	sw	29,75	29,75	70,5	75,5
24		Clo. Rain.	s	s	29,67	29,59	68	66
25		Windy.	sw	sw	29,59	29,67	61	64

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 9.] *London, Saturday, 4th September,* 1802. [Price 10D

CONTENTS.—*New Division of Germany,* 257. *Let. to Ed. on Jamaica,* 266. *Belsham's Remarks,* 268. *Let. to Ld. Hew. on the Div. of Germ.* 271. *Count de Panin,* 278. *Switzerland,* 278. *Parl. prorog.* 279. *Emp. Germ.* 280. *Ital. Repub.* 280. *Mr. Fox at Paris,* 280. *English Newspa. at Paris,* 281. *French Royalists,* 281.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Report made to the First Consul of France, in the Senate, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Sitting of Saturday, the 21st of August.

The treaty of Luneville had produced the complete re-establishment of peace between France and Germany. It had, in an express and definitive manner, regulated the general relations between the two countries; and, France being satisfied in every point, the entire execution of the treaty would not have required any ulterior regulation, had it not been acknowledged as just, and stipulated in due form, that the cession consented to by the empire, for the advantage of the Republic, should be borne collectively by the Germanic League; admitting nevertheless the distinction between Hereditary Laic Princes and Ecclesiastical Princes possessing only a life rent interest.

This principle being once established, it appeared that it belonged to the Germanic body to occupy itself spontaneously, and, without delay, with the mode of its application.

The sincere desire of the French Government, solely intent upon its internal affairs, was to take no concern in the adjustment of the promised indemnifications; and it confined its influence merely to repeated declarations that it was anxious to see the treaty of Luneville carried into complete execution by that of the VIIth Article. But its exhortations remain without effect, and more than a year elapsed without the least appearance of any plan being even commenced for the repartition of the compensations.

The non-execution of one of the principal stipulations of the treaty of Luneville left all Germany in a state of uncertainty, which became daily more embarrassing, inasmuch as pretensions and intrigues were forming and acquiring strength in proportion as the state of the public mind and public affairs exhibited more indecision. The kind of dissolution which affected the Germanic body, retarded the advantages of the peace to all Europe, and might, in some respects, endanger the general tranquillity. The Government of the Republic was not the only one impressed with this danger; and whilst it received from all quarters the applications of the parties interested in the repartition of the compensations, the Court of Russia testified how urgent it was, in its estimation, that the affairs of Germany should be brought to an adjustment. The Emperor Alexander, on his accession to the throne, felt the noble desire of contributing to maintain the peace which had been re-established; and an intimate concert, a frank and complete association of the most generous views, having promptly taken place between the First Consul and the Emperor, it was felt by them that the pacification of the Continent could not be solidly guaranteed, but by carrying the treaty of Luneville into complete execution; and that this execution could not be accomplished but by the initiative and influence of the two powers perfectly disinterested, whose preponderant mediation might remove all the obstacles which had arisen in the course of eighteen months against the definitive repartition of the indemnities.

It was, therefore, solely for the purpose of sealing the pacification of Europe, and guaranteeing its stability, that the First Consul and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia determined, by common consent, to interfere in the affairs of Germany, to effect by their mediation, what would in vain have been expected from the internal deliberations of the Germanic body.

This first point being agreed upon, a discussion was opened, and continued between the two Cabinets, to ascertain the ways and means which should lead to the desired result. It was resolved, that a general plan of indemnification should be presented to the Diet; and in digesting this plan the most scrupulous attention was, on both sides, paid to the means of compensating every loss, satisfying every interest, and incessantly conciliating the demands of justice with political expediency.

It was not, in fact, sufficient to ascertain the strict value of the losses sustained, and to proportion the compensations accordingly: the effects of the war having changed the internal equilibrium of Germany, it was necessary to think of the means of re-establishing it. The introduction of new Princes into the Germanic system, required new combinations. Nor was the real value of the compensations to arise merely from the extent, but in many cases from their position; and the advantages desirable to some powers from the concentration of their old and new territories, were in themselves an important consideration, and which, therefore, required to be attended to.

The two Governments, therefore, applied themselves to examine with scrupulous attention the question of the indemnities in all these relations. They felt that, if policy required the complete satisfaction of the principal houses, strict justice equally required that the States of the second and third rank should obtain a compensation for their losses, and the First Consul made it his particular business to maintain the rights of those who might have found the least support among the parties interested.

The perfect concert which had been formed between France and Russia, the happy result of the direct intercourse which the First Consul took pleasure in maintaining with his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, having presided in all these discussions, all points were speedily settled, and a general plan of indemnification agreed upon at Paris by the respective Plenipotentiaries, it received the approbation of the First Consul, and that of the Emperor.

It was determined that this plan should be presented to the Diet of the Empire, in the form of a declaration to be made at the same time by Minis-

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ters appointed for that purpose. On the part of the First Consul, Citizen Laforest, Minister of the Republic to the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, has received orders to repair to Ratisbon; and on the part of the Emperor of Russia, the Baron de Buhler, likewise his Minister at Munich.

This declaration was to have been presented a few days ago, and the First Consul having ordered it to be read to him in the Senate, it will display the principles which have directed the two Governments, and the particular care which they have taken in their application.

In fact, the examination of the proposed plan will shew, that in the execution of a system which has for its object the consolidation of the peace of Europe, they have above all, applied themselves to diminish the chances of war. On this account, care has been taken to avoid all contiguity of territory between the two powers who have most frequently involved Europe in bloodshed by their quarrels, and who, being seriously reconciled, cannot now have a more ardent desire than that of removing all those grounds of misunderstanding which arise from neighbouring territories, and which, between rival States, are never unaccompanied with danger.

The same principle adopted, not in all its rigour, but as far as circumstances could admit, has also led to place the indemnities of Prussia beyond the reach of contact with France and Batavia.

From this arrangement Austria will have derived the immense advantage of seeing all her possessions concentrated.

The Palatine House will also have received an organization stronger and more advantageous for the purposes of defence:

And Prussia will continue to form, in the Germanic system, the essential basis of a necessary counterpoise.

The regulation of the secondary indemnities also proceed upon principles of general and individual accommodation, and nothing has been omitted with respect to the consideration of ascertained losses. It will nevertheless appear, that the house of Baden has been more advantageously circumstanced than many others, but it was judged necessary to fortify the circle of Suabia, which lies directly between France and the great German powers. In this instance the First Consul merits applause, as such a line of policy perfectly accords with the disposition of the French Government, which with pleasure sees an augmentation of power conferred on a Prince, whose virtues have long since obtained the esteem of all Europe, whose alliances so honourably distinguished his family, and whose conduct during the war, has particularly merited the good-will of the Republic.

It is also with real satisfaction that France and Russia, obliged to take the system of secularization as the basis of indemnities, perceive the possibility of preserving to the Empire, one Ecclesiastical Elector, and that they have proposed to assign him a suitable establishment, in conferring on him the title and functions of Arch-Chancellor.

It will be necessary farther to present to the Diet of the Empire some general considerations, as a proper basis for the internal regulations, which the new organization of the Germanic body will require. In this view, the First Consul and his Imperial Majesty of Russia, impressed with a desire to shew their sincere wishes for the consolidation of the peace of Europe, have not delayed to concert such a plan for the farther indemnities alluded to, as appears to them to include a basis and details as strictly conformable to the spirit as well as to the text, of the treaty of Luneville, as can possibly be framed, as well as analogous to the political interests of Europe, and favourable to the preservation of peace.

The two governments, France and Russia, are firmly persuaded that the time which they have allotted will amply suffice for the discussion of the interests of Germany, and they will reap, in a long duration of peace to that Empire, the most agreeable as well as honourable reward for the exertions which they have respectively made to procure it.

(Signed) *C. M. Talleyrand.*

DECLARATION.

The First Consul of the French Republic animated with the desire of contributing to the consolidation of the repose and tranquillity of the German Empire, has thought that no means were more calculated to obtain that effect of his solicitude, than those of fixing, by a plan of indemnity, adapted, as far as circumstances would permit to the respective interests, an arrangement proper to produce this salutary effect; and a concurrence of views having been established upon this subject between the First Consul of the Republic and his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, he has authorized the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to concert with the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty of Russia, the means best calculated to apply the principles adopted for these indemnities, to the different demands of the parties interested. The result of this work having obtained his approbation, he has ordered the undersigned to make it known to the Diet of the Empire by the present declaration; a measure to which the First Consul of the Republic, as well as his Imperial Majesty, have been impelled by the following considerations:

The seventh article of the treaty of Luneville having stipulated that the Hereditary Princes, whose possessions are comprised in the cession made to the French Republic of the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine, should be indemnified, it has been agreed that, conformably to what had been decided upon at the Congress of Rastadt, this indemnity should be effected by means of secularization; but though perfectly agreed upon the basis of the indemnity, the States interested have remained so opposite in views with respect to the distribution, that it has hitherto appeared to be impossible to proceed to the execution of the before-mentioned article of the treaty of Luneville.

And though the Diet of the Empire has named a special commission to direct its attention to this important business, we see, by the delays which its assembling meets with, what obstacles the opposition of interest, and the jealousy of pretensions place to the making the regulation of the indemnities the spontaneous act of the Germanic body.

It is this that has induced the First Consul and the Emperor of Russia to think that it became two powers perfectly disinterested to afford their mediation, and to offer to the deliberations of the Imperial Diet a general plan of indemnity, drawn up from the calculations of the greatest impartiality, and which the attention has been directed both to compensate the losses recognized, and to preserve between the principal houses in Germany the balance that subsisted before the war.

In consequence, after having examined with the most scrupulous care all the memorials, both upon the value of the losses, and upon the demand of

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demnities presented by the parties interested, it has been agreed to propose, that the indemnities shall be distributed in the following manner:

To the Archduke, Grand Duke—For Tuscany and its dependencies, the Archbishopric of Saltzburgh, the Provostship of Bertolsgaden, the Bishopric of Trent, the Bishopric of Brixen, the part of the Bishopric of Passau, situated beyond the Iltz, and the Inn on the side of Austria, except the suburbs of Passau, with a radius of 500 toises; the Abbeys, Chapters, and Convents situated in the above-mentioned Dioceses.

The above Principalities shall be possessed by the Archduke upon the conditions, engagements, and reliances founded upon existing treaties; the said principalities shall be taken out of the Circle of Bavaria, and incorporated in the Circle of Austria, and their Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, both Metropolitan and Diocesan, shall be also separated by the limits of the two Circles; Muhldorf shall be united to Bavaria, and its equivalent in revenue shall be taken from those of Freisingen.

To the *ci-devant* Duke of Modena, for the Modenese and Dependencies, the Brisgaw and the Ortenau.

To the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, for the Duchy of Deux-Ponts, the Duchy of Juliers, the Palatinate of the Rhine, the Marquisate of Bergenopzoom, the Seignory of Ravenstein, and others situate in Belgium and Alsace; the Bishoprics of Passau, with the reservation of the part of the Archduke; of Wurzbourg, with the reservations hereinafter-mentioned; of Bamberg, of Aughsted, of Freisingen, and of Augsbourg; the Provostship of Kempten; the Imperial Cities of Rothenbourg, Weissenbourg, Windsheim, Schweinfort, Gochsheim, Sennefelt, Altbousen, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelsbuhl, Nordlingen, Ulm, Bossfingen, Buchorn, Wangen, Leutkirch, Ravensbourg, and Alschausen; the Abbeys of Saint Ulric, Irsen, Weugen, Sooflingen, Elchingen, Ursberg, Rochenbourg, Weltenhausen, Ottobeuren, and Kaisersheim.

To the King of Prussia, for the Duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of the Rhine, and of Gueldres; the Principality of Mœrs, the territories surrounded by Sevenaer, Huissen, and Mahlbourg, and the Tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuse; the Bishopric of Hildesheim and that of Paderborn, the territory of Erfort and Untergleichen, Eichtfeld, and the Mentz part of Trefort, the part of the Bishopric of Munster, situate on the right of the line drawn from Olphen, by Munster to Tecklenbourg, comprising within it the two Cities of Olphen and Munster; as also the right bank of the Ems as far as Lingen; the Imperial Cities of Mulhausen, Northausen, and Goslar; the Abbeys of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Eden, Essen, and Werden.

To the Princes of Nassau; that is to say, Nassau Usingen; for the principality of Saarbruck, the two-thirds of the County of Saarwerden, the Seignory of Ottweiler and that of Lahr in the Ortenau; the remainder of the Electorate of Mentz on the right of the Mein, with the reservation of the grand Bailliwick of Aschaffenbourg, and that between the Mein, the County of Darmstadt, and the Country of Erbach; Caub, and the remainder of the Electorate of Cologne, properly called, with the reservation of the County of Altweid, the Convents of Seligenstadt and Bridenstadt, the County of Sayn Alten-Kirchen, after the death of the Margrave of Anspach, the villages of Soden and Soultzbach.

Nassau Weibourg—For the third of Saarwarden and the Seignory of Kircheim-Polanden; the remainder of the Electorate of Treves, with the Abbey of Arnstein, and that of Marienstadt.

Nassau Dillenbourg—For indemnity for the Stadtholderate and territories in Holland and Belgium; the Bishoprics of Fulda and Corwey; the City of Dortmund, the Abbeys and Chapters situate in these territories, with a charge upon him to satisfy claims subsisting and previously acknowledged by France upon certain successions connected with the majority of Nassau Dillenbourg, during the course of the last century; the Abbey of Weingarten and those of Kappel to the country of Lippe, of Kapperbourg, to the countries of Munster and Delkerchen.

To the Margrave of Baden—For his part of the County of Sponheim, and the territories and seigniories in the Luxembourg, Alsace, &c. the Bishoptic of Constance, the remainder of the Bishopric of Spires, Basle, and Strasburg, the Bailiwicks Palatine of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the Cities of Heidelberg, and Manheim, the Seignory of Lahr, when the Prince of Nassau shall be put into possession of the County of Alten-Kirchen, the remainder of the County of Lichtenburg, upon the right of the Rhine, the Imperial Cities of d'Offenbourg, Zell, Hamersbach, Gengenbach, Uberlingen, Biberach, Pfulendorf, and Wimpfen; the Abbeys d'Schwarzach, Frauenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gengenbach, Ettenheim-Munster, Peterhausen, and Salmansweiller.

To the Duke of Wirtemberg—For the Principality of Montbeleard, and his possessions in Alsace, and Franche-Comte; the Provostship of Ellwangen, the Abbey of Zwiffolten, the Imperial Cities of Weil, Reutlingen, Eslingen, Rothweal, Giengen, Aulenhall, Gemeindt, and Hailbronn.

To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel—For St. Goar and Rheinfels, and as provision for his charge of the indemnity of Hesse Rothenbourg, the Mentz territories situate within Amenebourg and Fritzlar, with their dependencies, and the village of Holzhauzen.

To the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt for the whole of the County of Lichtenberg, and its dependencies; the Palatine Bailiwicks of Lindenfels and Olzberg, and the remainder of the Bailiwick of Oppenheim, the Dutchy of Westphalia, with the reservation of the indemnity of the Prince of Witgenstein, the Mentz Bailiwicks of Gernsheim, Bensheim, Hoppenheim, the remainder of the Bishopric of Worms, the City of Friedberg.

To the Prince of Hohenloe-Bartenstein; to the Count of Loewenhaupt; to the Heirs of the Baron of Dietrich for the allodial parts of the County of Lichtenberg; that is to say, to Hohenloe for Oberbronn, the Bailiwick of Yaxtberg, and the portions of Mentz and Wurzbourg, to the Bailiwick of Knufelshaw; to the others for Rauschenbourg, Niderbronn, Reichsolen, &c. the Abbey of Rollen-Munster. To the same Count of Loewenhaupt, and to the Count of Hillesheim for Reipoltz-Kirchen, the Heclig-Kruenthal.

To the Princes and Counts of Loewanstein—For the County of Wirmbourg, the Seignories of Schartenech, and other territories in the Counties united to France; the part of Wurtzburg, as far as the Counties of Rhineck, and Werthein, on the right of the Mein, the Abbey of Bronnback.

To the Prince of Linange—The Mentz Bailiwicks of Mittenberg, Amorbach, Bischofsheim, Konigshofen, Krautheim, and all the parts of Mentz, comprised between the Mayn, the Tauber, the Neckar, and the County of Erbach, the parcels of Wurtzburg, upon the left of the Tauber, the Palatine

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Bailiwicks of Boxburg, of Mosbach, the Abbey of Amorbach, and the Provostship of Combourg, with territorial superiority.

To the Count of Linange Guntersblum—The Mentz Bailiwick, or Killery of Billigheim.

To the Count of Linange-Heidesheim—The Mentz Bailiwick, or Kellery of Neydnan.

To the Count of Linange-Westerbourg, the elder branch—The Convent of Schonthal, upon the Yaxte, with territorial superiority; the youngest branch, the Provostship of Wimpfen.

To the Princes of Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kirbourg, to the Rhinegraves, to the Princes and Counts of Salm-Reifersheid, the remainder of the upper Bishopric of Munster.

To the Prince of Wied-Runkel—For the county of Creange, the county of Altwied, with the reservation of the bailiwicks of Linz and Unkel.

To the Duke of Aremberg, to the Count de la Marck, to the Prince de Ligne—For the principality of Aremberg, the counties of Saffenberg, Schleyden, and Fagnolles, the county of Rucklinghausen, with the bailiwick of Dalmen, as far as the country of Munster.

To the Prince and Counts of Solms—For Rohrbach, Hirchsfeld, the convents of Arnsbourg, and of Ilbenstadt.

To the Prince of Wilgenstein—For Neumayen, &c. the abbey of Graffschafft, the district of Zuschenau, and the forest of Hellenbergerstreit, as far as the Duchy of Westphalia.

To the Count of Wartemberg—For Wartemberg, the kellery of Necke-Steinack, that of Erenberg, and the farm of Wimpfen, dependant upon Worms and Spires.

To the Prince of Stolberg—For the county of Rocheforte, the convents of Engelthal and Rokenberg.

To the Prince of Isenberg—The part of the chapter of Jacobsberg as far as the village of Gemsheim.

To the Prince of Tour-Taxis—For indemnity of revenue of imperial posts in the ceded provinces and domains in Belgium, the abbey of Buchans, with the city, those of Marchthal and Nernheim, the bailiwick of Ostrach, dependant upon Salmansweiler.

To the Count of Sickingen—For the county of Landsthul, &c. the abbeys of Ochsenhausen and of Munchroth.

To the Count of Leyen—For Bliescastel, &c. the Abbeys of Schoussenried, Goutenzell, Heybach, Bamdt, and Bouxheim.

To the Prince of Brezemheim—The abbey of Lindau with the city.

To the Countess of Colloredo—For Daschthal; the abbeys of Sainte Croix de Donawerth.

To the countess of Sternberg—For Mandersheid, Blankenheim, the abbeys of Weissenau and Isny, with the city.

To the Prince of Dietrichstein—For the Seignory of de Trasp, which will be abandoned to the Grisons, the Seignory of Neu-Ravensbourg.

To the Counts of Westphalia, of Bassenheim—For Ollbruck, of Sinzendorff; for Rhineck, of Straesberg; for Kerpen, of Ostein; for Millendonck, of Quadt; for Wicketade, of Plettenberg; for Wittem, of Metternich; for Wennebourg, &c. of Aspremont; for Reckheim, of Torring; for Gronsfeld, of Nassalradel; for Welri, &c. the lower Bishopric of Munster.

To the Grand Prior of Malta—For the commanderies on the left of the Rhine; the abbey of Saint Blaise, and the county of Bondorf and dependencies; the abbeys of Saint Trupert, of Schultern, of St. Pierre, and of Tenebach.

The First Consul of the French Republic, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, after having proposed to regulate thus the demandable indemnities of the Hereditary Princes, have acknowledged that it was at once possible and fit to preserve, in the first College of the Empire, an Ecclesiastical Elector.

They propose, in consequence, that the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire should be transferred to the See of Ratisbon, with the abbeys of Saint Emeran, Ober Munster, and Heider Munster, keeping of his old possessions the Grand Bailiwick of Aschaffenbourg, on the right of the Mayn, and that there should be united to it besides, a sufficient number of mediate abbeys, so as to make up to him with said lands, an annual revenue of a million florins.

And as the best means to consolidate the Germanic body is to place in the first college the Princes of the greatest influence of the Empire, it is proposed that the electoral title should be granted to the Margrave of Baden, to the Duke of Wirtemberg, and to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

The King of England, in his quality of Elector of Hanover, has raised pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of interest that he should desist from his pretensions, it is proposed that the Bishoprick of Osnaburgh, which now belongs alternately to the Electoral House of Brunswick, should devolve to him in perpetuity, upon the following conditions: First, That the King of England, Elector of Hanover, shall renounce all his rights and pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter. Secondly, That he shall likewise give up to the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and properties which he exercises and possesses in the said cities, and within the extent of their territory. Thirdly, That he shall cede the Bailliwick of Wildhausen to the Duke of Oldenbourg, and his rights to the eventual succession of the county of Sayn, Altenkirchen—to the Prince of Nassau Usingen.

In consideration of the cession of the bailiwick of Wildhausen, to the Duke of Oldenbourg, and the secularization that shall be made for his advantage of the bishopric, and of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsficet shall be suppressed, and shall not be re-established under any pretence whatever, and the rights and properties of the said bishopric and chapter in the city of Lubeck shall be united to the domain of the said city.

The propositions made with relation to the indemnities, lead to several general considerations, which ought to occupy the attention of the Diet, and on which they will not fail to make the necessary decisions. It appears then,

First, That the ecclesiastical property of the Grand Chapters and their dignitaries, ought to be incorporated with the domains of the bishoprics, and pass with the bishoprics to the Princes to whom they are allotted.

Secondly, That the property of the chapters, abbies, and convents, as well of men as of women, mediate and immediate, which has not been formally disposed of in the present propositions, should be applied to complete the indemnity of the states and hereditary members of the Empire, if it should be found that what is already allotted is insufficient, and saving the sovereignty, which remains always to the territorial Princes, to the endowing of new cathedrals, which are to be preserved or established, as well as for the support of the bishops and their chapters, and

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other expenses of public worship, and to the pensions of the suppressed clergy.

Thirdly, that the property and revenues belonging to hospitals, zabriques, universities, colleges, and other pious foundations, as also those of the communes of one of the two Banks of the Rhine, situate on the other Bank, should be placed at the disposal of the respective governments.

Fourthly, that the lands and property assigned to the states of the Empire to replace their possessions on the Left Bank of the Rhine, should remain subject to the payment of the debts of the said Princes, as well personal as those appertaining to their ancient possessions.

Fifthly, That all the tolls of the Rhine ought to be received, without the power of re-establishment, under any denomination whatever, saving the duties of customs.

Sixthly, That all the fiefs held of feudal courts, established heretofore on the left Bank of the Rhine, and situate on the right Bank, should be henceforth held immediately of the Emperor and the Empire.

Seventhly, That the Princes of Nassau Usingen, Nassau Weilburg, Salm-Salm, Salm Kirburg, Linange, and Aremberg, should be maintained or introduced in the college of Princes; each with a vote annexed to the possessions which they receive in indemnity for their former immediate possessions; that the votes of the immediate Counts of the Empire should be in like manner transferred to the lands, which they receive in compensation, and that the ecclesiastical votes should be exercised by the Princes and Counts, who, by virtue of the treaty of Luneville, are in possession of the capitals.

Eighthly, That the college of cities ought to remain composed of the free and imperial cities of Lubec, Hamburg, Bremen, Wetzlar, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ratisbon, and that the means ought to be provided, in the event of future wars in the Empire, that the said cities shall not be compelled to take any part, and that their neutrality should be assured by the Empire, and also that it should be recognized by the other Belligerent powers.

Ninthly, That the secularization of the convents of Recluse Women ought not to be effected, but with the consent of the diocesan bishop; but the convents of men should be at the disposition of the territorial Princes, who may suppress or preserve them, at their pleasure.

Such is the whole of the arrangements and considerations which the undersigned is ordered to present to the imperial Diet, and on which he thinks it his duty to call for its most prompt and most serious deliberation, declaring to it, in the name of his government, that the interest of Germany, the consolidation of the peace, and the general tranquillity of Europe, exact that all that concerns the regulation of the indemnities must be terminated in the space of two months.

(Signed) *Ch. Maur. Talleyrand.*

Paris, August, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—What you say on the subject of Jamaica, is precisely what I had, before I saw your last week's Register, observed to a friend: particularly you pointed out, as it well deserved, the passage tending to claim a free trade with the United States of America, which struck me more forcibly than all the rest. I hope you will print the papers, relative to this subject, at length, that your readers may have them to refer to, as occasion shall require. [These papers will be inserted in our next.]

When I took up the pen it was my intention merely to thank you for your remarks, and not to trouble you with any of my own; as, however, I have the paper to spare, I will fill it up with briefly noticing one or two points in the message of the Lieutenant Governor, relating to the difference in the language which ministers have held *here* and *there*, and which exhibit such a contrast, as scarcely ever before met the eye or the ear, at any time, or under any government. At the very time that Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Vansittart are exulting at the flourishing state of our commerce and revenues; at the very time that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington are assuring the House of Commons, that we *could easily have found resources for continuing the war for years*; at that identical moment, Sir, the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica is instructed to declare to the Legislative Assembly of that colony, that the mother country is under "*the absolute necessity of resorting to extraordinary means*" for the purpose—not of *continuing the war*, Sir, but of *supporting her peace establishment!* Which of these sets of assertions is true, and which is false? Is the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, or the House of Assembly of Jamaica to be cheated, deceived, and misled, by representations, which the ministers who make, or who direct them to be made, know to be not only unfounded, but the very reverse of the truth, if they are to be believed on either side of the Atlantic?

Something of the same reprehension is also due to the pretty tale of the Lieutenant Governor, that there is a "great prospect of a much *more ready* and extensive sale for the produce of the colonies, from *new markets* being opened to its commerce by *the blessings of peace.*" Compare this, Sir, with the admissions of Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Vansittart (which were, in reality, extorted from them by the notoriety of the fact), that our West-India trade, with the products of which we supplied all Europe during the war, must now be confined to the supply of our home consumption; which, however, they (Mr. Vansittart in particular) laboured, by every sophistry

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to prove, or pretend to prove, would not, upon the whole, injure the country; because, on the re-exportation there was a *drawback*, and that drawback ceasing, though the *quantity of produce required from the colonies would, of course, be greatly diminished*, the *revenue here* would continue the same as before!

I shall, perhaps, be told, Sir, that the mere *admissions* of ministers, in the course of debate, are not to be seriously contrasted with their subsequent and more deliberate declarations, I therefore, to avoid all dispute, shall contrast this more solemn declaration with the *fact*, as it now stands. And first, let me ask his Majesty's servants, in what quarter of the world they expected the "blessings of peace" to open "*new* "*markets*" for a "*more ready and extensive* "*sale* of the produce of the colonies?" Do they not mean to shut one, at least, of the markets, which were open during the war, and that too, a market, which appears, in the estimation of the colonists, to be the most essential to their interests? Is not the *American market*, which, during the war, was kept open by perpetually renewed proclamations of the several governors, and annual acts of indemnity sanctioning those proclamations, now to be shut against our colonies; or, does Lord Hawkesbury mean, by the advice of Lord Liverpool, to surrender the great principle of the Navigation Act, with regard to colonial trade?

But, Sir, the best possible illustration of the Lieutenant Governor's statement respecting the "*new markets*" and the "*more* "*ready and extensive sale* of the produce of "our colonies," which, according to the communication he was instructed to make, were to be numbered amongst the "*blessings of peace*," is the variation in the *price of sugar*. During the war, Sir, the average price of this great staple of our islands was sometimes very high indeed; but, I shall carry my statement no farther back than the 31st of September 1801, when the average price was *forty eight shillings and nine pence* the hundred weight. Since that day, Sir, which was the last day of war, the average price of sugar has experienced a regular decline, till it is now fallen down to *thirty-three shillings and four pence* the hundred weight. Let me not be told, that this astonishing fall proceeds from the reduction in the charges for freight and insurance, which does not, at most, amount to more than *six and a half* per cent., while the reduction in the price of sugar amounts to about *thirty-three* per cent. I find too, Sir, by consulting your Register, that the fall in the price of this very important article of colonial produce has not only been occasioned by the "blessings of peace," but that it has kept pace with the different degrees of that blessing. At the signature of the preliminaries, the average price of sugar was 48*s.* 9*d.* At the signature of the definitive treaty, it was 38*s.* 8*d.* It is now 33*s.* 4*d.*—Such, Sir, are the proofs, that the "blessings of peace" have opened "new markets for a more "ready and extensive sale of the produce "of the colonies!"

Sir, I have no desire to exaggerate; I have no motive for wishing to lower the character of the ministry; but I cannot refrain from expressing my contempt and indignation at these puerile arts of fraudulent prevarication and falsehood, no less dishonourably than dishonestly employed, in the hope that, from the distance of place, they may escape detection, till their purpose is obtained.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A WEST-INDIA PLANTER.

Highgate, Aug. 2, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Review of Mr. Belsham's Remarks on the Definitive Treaty of Peace.

Page 3. Among a long string of questions stated for the purpose of being negatived, Mr. B. asks—"has Britain received "indemnity for the past and security for "the future?" Most certainly she has not. Yet in the very next page Mr. B. infers from certain positions there stated, "that "the treaty of Amiens is not *merely* safe "but highly beneficial and honourable."—These two passages are manifestly contradictory: for, if Britain has *not* received *security for the future*, then can the treaty in no sense of the word be called *safe*. And, if the treaty is not *merely safe*, but even highly beneficial and honourable, then Britain *has* received security for the future.

Page 5. Mr. B. observes,—"on the go-"vernment of this country, refusing either "to maintain the Russians captured in "Holland, or to exchange them for French "prisoners captured by England, the First "Consul with his *characteristic magnanimity* "sent the Russian prisoners, fed and cloth-"ed, back to their own country without "ransom." To talk of the First Consul's *magnanimity* on this occasion, is an adulatory falsehood alike base and impudent. For

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it is notorious that, before this act of magnanimity took place, the Emperor Paul had been debauched from his alliance with England by the meretricious influence of a French actress, sent from Paris to Petersburgh for that express purpose; and this liberating of the Russian prisoners was a "*coup de théâtre*" for the better carrying on of the plot. No blame should be imputed to the First Consul for thus co-operating with Madame (I forget her name) who proved herself to be an able and successful agent; she did Buonaparté's business, and she did the emperor's business, and I hope she did her own business, by getting well paid: but where is the magnanimity in contriving or succeeding by a profligate intrigue?

Mr. B. closes his remarks on this subject by asserting that—"to refuse to regard the "Russian auxiliaries in British pay in the "light of British soldiers, were (was) a "complication of inhumanity, impolicy, "and injustice." Mr. B. has not shewn on what expressions in our treaty of alliance with Russia he founds this assertion, and I have no present opportunity of turning to that treaty; but the following points seem to be perfectly reasonable. 1st. If by that treaty it was *expressly agreed* that England should maintain all such Russian soldiers as should, whilst under our command, be captured by the enemy; then nothing less than an act of hostility on the part of the Emperor Paul could release England from her engagement. 2dly. Even if it were *not* so *expressly* agreed by the treaty; yet it seems that an agreement, *generally* to maintain the Russian troops under our command, should be extended by a liberal construction to the supporting of such as should be captured: so long however as the emperor's faithful performance of his engagements should entitle him to claim a *liberal* instead of a *literal* construction of the treaty, and no longer. 3dly. If the Emperor Paul had made any French prisoners, nothing less than an *express agreement* could give him a reasonable claim on England to redeem the Russians by an exchange of *her* French prisoners, so long as the emperor should be able to redeem them by French prisoners of his own. That the Emperor Paul had forfeited all claim to liberality on the part of England, long before the First Consul sent back the Russian prisoners, I believe no one will dispute: I believe also that he had in his possession a sufficient number of French prisoners to have exchanged for his own.

Page 6. The articles iii. iv. v. "stipulate "the restitution by Britain of all the possessions belonging to France and her "allies previous to the war; Trinidad and "Ceylon excepted, &c."

By confining his remarks to the particular articles contained in the treaty of Amiens only, Mr. B. has ingeniously endeavoured to keep out of sight those oppressive and extortionate treaties of aggrandizement to which France has compelled the other belligerent powers to submit. Relying therefore upon the substance of the 3d, 4th, and 5th articles, by which it cannot be denied that Britain has acquired Trinidad and Ceylon in addition to her former possessions, Mr. B. triumphantly exclaims—"to "every useful and beneficial purpose—"nay, to every purpose of national pride "and glory, was not that vast portion of "the globe possessed by Britain before the "war began amply sufficient, and indeed, "in the view of impartial reason, much "more than sufficient?" But it matters not whether our possessions were or were not sufficient *before the war*; the question is, whether our present possessions, as settled by the peace, are now sufficient for all the above purposes. Yes, says Mr. B. for "here we see new sources—if not of "national prosperity, at least of national "and commercial adventure, marked out. "And considered in conjunction with those "new and immense territorial acquisitions "made during the war by the East-India "Company, on the final subversion of the "Empire of Mysore, they must surely "satisfy all who are capable of being sa-"tisfied." But should any of Mr. B.'s readers be unfortunately in the number of those who are not satisfied, they will receive no further satisfaction from Mr. B. as he has not offered a single reason in support of his opinion. Yet surely when Mr. B. was stating our acquisitions of Ceylon and Trinidad as matters of such abundant satisfaction, the subject naturally led to a comparative view of those acquisitions with the acquisitions made by France, and of the means which the acquisitions made by either of the two powers afford of levying troops, raising revenue, employing shipping, extending commerce, attacking their enemies or defending themselves: for it is from the proportion maintained between the two countries in these the several constituent parts of national power, that the future prosperity and security of Britain or France can be reasonably estimated. On all these points Mr. B. is carefully silent. Is it un-

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fair to presume that he foresaw in such a comparative investigation the complete refutation of his whole pamphlet?

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

MY LORD,

The new partition of the ranks, honours, titles, and estates of the princes of Germany, the inevitable consequence of our shameful and idiot-like dereliction of all ancient policy, in making peace without renewing our standing treaties, seems to call for a revival of that correspondence, which, at and after the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, so happily existed between your Lordship and myself.

The arguments, made use of to convince you, that a disgraceful treaty would bring upon this country the contempt of every nation in the world, will, I imagine, now require no farther illustration; for, wicked and detestable as is the act itself, the *mode* of "settling the indemnities," the unexampled insult to our sovereign and to our country, is what certainly excites, in the mind of every man of sense and honour, the greatest degree of indignation. What powers have settled this partition? Russia, which has hardly any thing that can be called a direct interest in the empire, having no possessions but of a very trifling description in a remote corner; and France, which not only has none, but seems to me to have been bound by the VIIth article of the treaty of Luneville not to interfere in the settlement of these indemnities, which were to be ultimately determined by the German Empire, according to the basis, established at the congress of Rastadt. Indeed, the report of Talleyrand itself seems to admit something of this kind, and to aim at a very lame and paltry excuse for this violation of the clear meaning of the treaty.

With whom was this division negotiated? Not with the emperor, who had made the treaty of peace for *the whole Germanic body*, and who is the natural and political head of the empire: not with the king of England, who, by all the treaties of the last century and a half, had an immediate interest in the conservation of the Magna Charta of the empire, the treaty of Westphalia, who had protected Germany for the sake of the barrier of the Netherlands, and who now, in his electoral capacity, is a principal member of the empire: who was an ally of the emperor when the treaty of Luneville was made, who, having been wantonly attacked by the Emperor Paul, had recently returned to peace and amity with Russia, and had more recently made a treaty of peace with France, which was, in effect, the sequel of the treaty of Luneville; who, above all, having no indemnities to demand for himself in either capacity, was the prince of greatest influence connected immediately with the empire, that was qualified to be an impartial arbiter. It was negotiated with the King of Prussia, who had indemnities to demand in the very vicinity of the electorate of Hanover, and who, immediately before, without any hostilities being declared, had taken possession of the electorate itself: and, with the inferior princes under similar circumstances, who chose to make themselves dependent on this new confederate head of the empire, France, Russia, and Prussia. Never before, my Lord, was Great Britain treated with such neglect and contempt. Not only was his Majesty not a party to this important transaction; not only was he never consulted in the forming of a compact by which a transfer is made of a part of his dominions; but, the intention, the *will*, of the contracting parties, was never even *notified* to him; and, you and your colleagues, his intelligent and vigilant servants, those "*safe* politicians," who are to preserve us from the might and malice of a whole world of foes, never *heard of* this treaty of partition, 'till its conclusion was announced in this Register. Is it thus, my Lord, that you keep the promise made to the nation, in the address on the treaty of Amiens, "to employ that *vigilance and* "*attention, which the present situation of Europe* "*demands?*"

But what is done by this pretended settlement, as far as affects England through Hanover? Some territories, to which his Majesty had clear and indisputable pretensions, and others which he actually possessed, were wanted to fulfil certain views of the hostile confederacy, for such, *in* spirit, it was and is. He is, therefore, at once told by citizen Talleyrand, that he must surrender these to be parcelled out as the confederates have been pleased to appoint, and, in return, he is to have a partial secularization, which he never asked, of Osnaburgh. This is direct dictation from France, first announced, my Lord, to your insulted sovereign, in the new style of diplomacy, through the channel of the very

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newspaper, which just before had published a most atrocious libel against him, as the hirer and rewarder of assassins! And this, my Lord, is the effect of that "*conciliation* "*with firmness*," the profession of which was repeated 'till the parliament and the public were weary of the sound!

The Elector of Hanover is to give up his pretensions to the Bishoprick of Hildesheim and the Abbey of Corvey. It is not the intrinsic value of the former, so much as its local situation, which strikes the politician. It is situated in the middle of the territories of the house of Brunswick and Hanover. From Brunswick it is 28 miles, from Hanover only 14. The King of Prussia, who is to be its new sovereign, by placing a garrison in it, will become master of the elector's capital. Hildesheim is, undoubtedly, a part of the principality of Calenberg, of which Hanover, though now the capital, was formerly only the second town, Gottingen being the first. The elector, as prince of Calenberg, is patron of the city of Hildesheim, and maintained there a small detachment of foot. In the year 1519, just at the commencement of the reformation, the Bishop John having begun what was called the Hildesheim war, was not only stripped of the greater part of his territories, but put under the ban of the empire, and all but the cathedral itself with three bailiwicks, solemnly and legally conferred on the House of Brunswick, in whose possession the great bishoprick (as the conquered portion of the diocese was styled) continued for more than a century, when it was given up by a particular convention, not long before the peace of Westphalia; by which convention, the *patronage*, or *guardianship* of the city was reserved by the elector: so that, the "*pretensions*" (as Citizen Talleyrand has the insolence to term the claims of his Majesty) to this bishoprick are just as good as any man's pretensions can be to the lordship of a manor.

Wildhausen ceased to belong to the House of Oldenburgh since the year 1270, between five and six centuries ago. It came then into the hands of the archbishops, afterwards the bishops, from whom it passed to the Dukes of Bremen. The Dukedom of Bremen was created out of the bishoprick to recompense Sweden for the heroic achievements of Gustavus Adolphus and his illustrious successors in the command.

As to what his Majesty receives in Osnaburgh, it would not, had he not already much the better half of its possession, nearly compensate, in point of value alone, for what he loses. But, it is the local situation of Hildesheim in particular, which is of importance in the present examination. The Electorate of Hanover bounded to the north east by the Prussian provinces of Alt-Marck, Magdeburgh, and Halberstadt; to the west by the Prussian provinces of Minden, Ravensperg, Pyrmont, and, having Hildesheim, with a Prussian garrison, in its very centre, while Osnaburgh is closely wedged up by the Prussian provinces of Westphalia and the bishoprick of Munster, which has also been seized on by Prussia. In order to complete the investiture of the states of Brunswick and Hanover, the King of Prussia has, towards the south, taken the country of Eisfeld, as his portion of the dismemberment of Mentz. If any doubt remained respecting the ultimate views of Prussia against Hanover, it must be removed in a moment, when we consider, that Osnaburgh, which is in itself of more value than Hildesheim, and is, besides, almost surrounded by the Prussian possessions in Westphalia, suited Prussia much better than Hildesheim, while Hildesheim suited the elector better than Osnaburgh. Had it been the intention of France and Prussia to stop here, the distribution would, therefore, have taken this turn; but, Prussian covetousness saw a prospect of seizing on Hanover itself, and Buonaparté gratified at once his interest and his malice, by holding in his hand the fate of the patrimonial possessions of the Royal Family of England, by the means of one of his humble vassals, with whom the Electorate of Hanover will, at any time, be a sufficient bribe, if fear should fail to produce the desired effect. It is absolutely impossible to contemplate the extent and situation of Hildesheim without anticipating the fall of the electorate. The bishoprick is larger than Hertfordshire or Surry, almost as large as Berkshire, and about the same size as Buckinghamshire. The city of Hildesheim is nearly the same distance from Hanover, as Epsom, or I may rather say, as it lies upon the same river, a mile or two farther than Kingston from London, and is situated, I believe, on a considerable hill. Now, my Lord, as you are *a military man*, suppose France, with a force double to what she now has, put in possession of Epsom, or Kingston, not as insulated spots, but connected with other territories lying behind either of those places; what would, in such a case, be the security of this metropolis? It would, my Lord, be in much

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greater danger than Paris was, when the Duke of Brunswick was on his march towards it, or even when your Lordship threatened to undertake a similar enterprize.—Such, nearly, will be the situation of the King of Prussia at Hildesheim with regard to Hanover, except that the disproportion of force will be against the electorate in a still greater degree. Thus then, the states of the House of Brunswick will belong to the King of Prussia, the moment the French stand in need of his aid to accomplish their projects against Austria or England.

I am aware, my Lord, that this prospect will be far from appearing gloomy to those zealous patriots, who think that the glory and liberty of their country consists in the humiliation of their sovereign; and, it must be confessed, that they will be most effectually relieved from the dread of seeing the Hanoverian troops in garrison at the Tower, which is, doubtless, a comforting reflection; but, my Lord, there is no such thing as perfect happiness in this world: if we have no longer to fear that the House of Hanover will enslave England by means of soldiers from the continent, we cannot but recollect, that Prussia and France are absolute masters of all the shores of Europe, from Memel to Venice, and that, in the whole distance, there is not a single port, where an English vessel will dare to be admitted contrary to the mandates of Buonaparté.—We shall, my Lord, soon see the time, when the suspicious, selfish, and stupid railers against continental connexions, will have cause to repent of their meanness and their folly, and will, when it is too late, perceive that the prosperity and happiness of themselves are inseparable from the interest, the honour, and the consequence of their sovereign; in the mean while, it may not be amiss to point out some of the means by which this most salutary conviction will be produced.

To get Bremen, as your lordship knows, was one great object of the German and English politics of George I., after his accession to the throne; but, my lord, it is much easier for your right worthy colleague to imitate Sir Robert Walpole in the disposal of the clerkship of the pells, than in the policy by which he at once preserved peace, and the dignity of the English name in Europe. Bremen and Hamburgh are important places; because, by our influence, through Hanover, on them, and especially on Bremen, they are the surest, though not the most convenient inlets for our commerce into Germany, if by any *pacific* arrangements of the new confederacy we should be deprived of other better and more direct channels. In time of war, the Imperial cities were generally, though not always necessarily neutral. The Emperor could, by certain constitutional proceedings, compel them to be parties in the war, and this power was partially exercised, for a short time, in the year 1793. In future, they are to be always and necessarily neutral, for the purpose of conveying the property belonging to our enemies, or of supplying their necessities, at least more securely, if we should ever again be as completely triumphant as late we were upon the seas. These blows are, then, struck at the vital interest of England through the sides of Hanover. The Electorate is to be robbed and pillaged for the purpose of furnishing the means of injury to England. What has the pretence of indemnities to do with so great and unnecessary an innovation in the constitution of the Empire, as detaching from it, in all future wars, the College of Cities? Because, out of the eight which compose it, the two principal which have sea ports are liable, more or less, to the influence of England. The hostile mind and intention here, are not disguised; and it is a new and original agression, not founded on any thing in the treaty of Luneville. The powers who confer this independence, will most probably guarantee it on their own terms.

It is clear, then, that no part of this arrangement is to be ascribed to a desire of injuring the Elector of Hanover, but to injure, affront, and insult Great-Britain, through the sides of that Elector and Electorate, and, probably to furnish the world with an illustration, which was very much wanted, of your lordship's "*conciliation with* "*firmness*," which was to produce such happy consequences to the nation. The degree of respect, of weight and importance, which Great-Britain has secured by this "*conciliation with firmness*," is clearly ascertained by the indemnity to the Stadtholder, and by the *mode* of that indemnity. The Abbey of Corvey is given to the House of Nassau, to which house, in our treaty of peace, your lordship and your colleague told us, that *France would not allow the title* of ORANGE; but to which in the convention negociated *with Prussia*, (Register, p. 225) she has restored that title, in the act of plundering our king to indemnify the House. In the debate on the treaty of Amiens, it was urged by the opponents of the

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peace, that, coupling the clause which we had there inserted with Schimmelpenninck's private convention, signed the same hour, at the other end of the same table, the result might be, that *we* should indemnify the late Stadtholder. This was received as a point and turn of debate, and not as a serious interpretation; but it is now, in part, very seriously carried into effect. And will you and your colleagues, my lord, who procured that stipulation at Amiens, dare now to insist upon it, in opposition to the seizure of Corvey? or will you, by a pusillanimous silence, sanction such a shameful and iniquitous construction of it? The Stadtholder has, indeed, lost rank and dominion by the base desertion of England, but he is now most amply avenged, in beholding our disgrace, which, if our means are considered, is far greater than that of either Holland or Spain. The King of Sardinia, kneeling at the feet of the lowbred miscreant Joubert, did not present to the world a spectacle so shockingly degrading as England does at this moment: the unfortunate feeble-minded monarch, had the love of life as a plea for his conduct, while England has nothing to plead but her love of money, from which base and despicable motive she has voluntarily sacrificed both her allies and herself. For, my lord, be you well assured, that neither her past nor her future acts of baseness will purchase security to her pelf: a respite may be obtained, but the same hand, which has already reached the press, will finally dive into the Bank.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

September 2, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Hamburgh, Aug. 20.—On the arrival of M. le Comte de Panin, on the frontiers of Sweden, he received a positive order not to enter the kingdom; against which, however, he formally protested, as an indignity offered to a minister of his Imperial Majesty of Russia, and at the same time declared, that he would represent the circumstance to his court. In consequence of which he received the following letter from the Emperor.

Minsk, June 24.

"M. LE COMTE,

"I have learned, with extreme surprize, by your letter from *Wibourg*, the very extraordinary manner in which you have been treated in the dominions of his Swedish Majesty. I cannot imagine that that prince, can have any motive for personal dissatisfaction with respect to you, and it would be still more difficult to think that he has taken umbrage at any proceeding in the course of your mission, in which you have been only the organ of my will, and are responsible to me alone. However, be the motives of his Swedish Majesty what they may for such conduct, I have less displeasure at the proceeding itself, which cannot injure you, than at the state of embarrassment which it must necessarily place your family in. I remain, with assurances of my good will and esteem, &c.

(Signed) "*Alexander.*"

Berne Aug. 22.—The following representation has been addressed by the Lesser Cantons to the First Consul, on the subject of the evacuation of Helvetia.

"Citizen First Consul,

"The three Cantons of *Uri, Schwitz*, and *Underwald*, have been apprised, by public report, of your resolution to withdraw the French troops from Switzerland. They see in such a measure the most convincing proofs of that good will which you have manifested towards the Landamman, Alays Reding, and for the undersigned, &c. The Cantons re-assembled at *Schwitz*, and by their deputies, have determined, in pursuance of the wishes of the people, to renew their former connexions, and to establish in their Cantons a government conformable to their position and to their circumstances; such as you, Citizen First Consul, have approved of, and is exemplified in the 9th and 10th articles of the note of the 20th December, which the Landamman Reding has had the honour of presenting to you.

"We should add, Citizen First Consul, that this resolution has been incited by the arbitrary measures of the Cantonal authorities, and principally carried into execution by the commissary *Keller*, in the Canton of *Underwald*, proceedings which, by depriving the people of the power which they had formally reserved, of constituting their own government, have induced the greatest aversion against the central government, and to such a degree, that no way remains to maintain the public tranquillity in those coun-

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tries, but by immediately restoring the people to the exercise of that legitimate right.

"We have the honour, Citizen First Consul, to communicate to you by these presents, the public declarations of the abovementioned Cantons, in the conviction, that you are determined those brave people shall continue to experience your benevolent support, which they so highly estimate; and which none, Citizen First Consul, feel a juster sense of, &c. than the under signed."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His Majesty in Council, on the 16th of August, was pleased to order the Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor, to issue writs for proroguing the Parliament, which was appointed to meet on Tuesday, the thirty-first day of this instant, August, to Tuesday the fifth day of October next; and also for proroguing the convocations of Canterbury and York, which were appointed to meet on Wednesday the the first day of September next, to Wednesday the sixth day of October next.

Orders for the Court's going into mourning on Sunday the 29th ult. for his late Royal Highness, Prince Henry of Prussia, viz.—The Ladies to wear black silk, fringed or plain linen, white gloves, necklaces and ear-rings, black or white shoes, fans and tippets.—Undress, white or grey lutestrings, tabbies, or damasks.—The Gentlemen to wear black full-trimmed, fringed or plain linen, black swords and buckles.—Undress, grey frocks.

The Court to change the mourning on Sunday, the 5th of September inst. viz.—The ladies to wear black silk or velvet, coloured ribbons, fans, and tippets; or plain white, or white and gold, or white and silver stuffs, with black ribbons.—The Gentlemen to wear black coats, and black or plain white, or white and gold, or white and silver stuff waistcoats, full-trimmed coloured swords and buckles.

And on Thursday the 9th of September, the Court to go out of mourning.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The dispute between the ministers and the assembly of Jamaica, on which we intended to make some further remarks, has been taken up by an abler pen: we, therefore, beg leave to refer our readers to p. 266, where they will find some observations well worthy of attention.

The comments, which we signified our intention to make on citizen Talleyrand's report, have assumed the form of a letter (vide p. 271.) addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, to whom, as he claimed the honour of making the peace, the nation will certainly impute a share, at least, of its consequences.

Some articles in the foreign journals seem to indicate the intention of the Emperor of Germany to resist the execution of the convention between France and Russia; but this intelligence is not well authenticated, and, indeed, resistance appears to be impossible.

The Swiss Cantons are still in a state of disorder and confusion, to put an end to which, a *French army* is on its march.—The new constitution of Genoa has received the sanction of Buonaparté.—The Italian republic is raising and embodying an army of sixty thousand men, which, of course, will be at the command of a *president* of that happy nation.

The attitude of all Europe is extremely hostile towards this country, yet not so hostile as contemptuous. The very smallest powers, nay states, which we never used to reckon as powers, seem to seek for opportunities of expressing their pleasure at our fallen estate. The Englishman who can now travel on the continent without shame must have a soul very little more lofty than that of a Jew. Mr. Fox, however, that "firm friend "of freedom," that idol of the whig club, is now at Paris, and, if the news-papers are to be believed, is living in great intimacy with Talleyrand. This visit may, perhaps, be productive of good; the contemplating of that "stupendous monument of human "wisdom and human happiness," the government of France, may, at last, sober the mind of this enthusiastic patriot. The forbearance, too, which he will be compelled to practise, the habit of silence, the science *de se taire*, which he will not fail to acquire at Paris, may, probably, tend to preserve us from a repetition of his disgusting and insolent harangues. It is almost impossible to conceive a situation more degrading than that, in which this man has placed himself. He must detest and abhor the consul and government of France, or he must be the greatest hypocrite that ever dishonoured the human shape; yet he voluntarily crawls to the feet of that consul, bows his grey head to the earth before him, and gathers up the crumbs that fall from his table. This is

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the man, who, surrounded by his ignorant and drunken admirers at the whig club, boasts of his right of *cashiering kings*. Let him take care how he talks of cashiering consuls, or Buonaparté, who is extremely quick-sighted, may yet chance to find out a way of rewarding him for his audacious attacks on his native sovereign. This caution is, however, totally unnecessary; he will take care; he will smile and fawn, not only on Buonaparté, but on his underlings. He will be altogether as supple and submissive in France as he is stiff and turbulent in England. It is in the nature of men of his description to be either excessively insolent, or excessively mean; to be the tyrants of the humble and the weak, and the slaves of the haughty, the resolute, and the strong.

The circulation of the English news-papers is stopped at Paris after they are become perfectly harmless. The threat to prosecute Mr Peltier (which is, for the present, suspended) has humbled the tone of the heroes of the quill. Their attacks have, as we foretold they would, dwindled into puns and fables, of the wit of which Buonaparté will certainly not be afraid. The French journalists, seeing them *down*, have fallen upon them without mercy, and, which is truly curious, they, who very probably are regicides, accuse the English journalists of having slandered the French monarchy!

We have before declared it as our decided opinion, that the destruction of what is *called* the liberty of the press would be a good act, by whomsoever it might be performed. If any man of sound sense and sound principles be (which we can hardly believe) inclined to dissent from this opinion, let him read the following article, which, with little or no alteration, has appeared in all the London news papers, on and since the 28th ultimo.

"The complaint of the French official "journal on the subject of the countenance "given to criminals in the island of Jersey "has attracted much attention. We are "informed that even previous to the splenetic article in the Moniteur, M. Otto "had addressed communications to this government on the subject. M. Otto specified nine individuals as charged with "assassinations and other crimes in France, "nay, with actually having offered money "to induce men to undertake something "against the life of the First Consul. It is "said that *these persons or some of them, had formerly been employed as agents by the prince de Bouillon*, our commander at Jersey *during the war*, A CIRCUMSTANCE TO "WHICH NO BLAME ATTACHES, AND IT IS "NOT EVEN PRETENDED THAT THEY HAD "ANY COUNTENANCE IN THEIR DESIGNS "SINCE THE PEACE. In consequence of "M. Otto's representation, *however*, government sent orders to Jersey to make "the strictest inquiry after the persons "named, and *four of them have been arrested, and have been brought to Southampton "to be delivered up. The other five are supposed to have gone to the coast of France, and "there is not a doubt that they will not be permitted to return to Jersey.* In addition to "those specified under the treaty of Amiens, "*seventeen persons*, Chouans or emigrants, "*have been brought from Jersey to Southampton, in order to be sent out of the kingdom as "aliens. Nineteen* still remain, it is said, "who *are likewise to be brought to England.* "It is to be observed, that *none but the nine "persons* named as guilty of specific crimes, "*were demanded, and that the steps taken "against the others have been voluntary.*

"Such being the case, it is clear that the "official invectives of the Moniteur were "injurious and libellous to this country. "Ministers have done every thing that depended upon them to remove, not only "the cause, but the pretext of complaint. "We wish they had not by the mean and "unmanly alien act given any indirect opportunity for the interference of the "French government to require the banishment of every foreigner they choose to "suspect, or even to blame—Ministers "having taken upon themselves the discretion of sending foreigners out of the country, must be in a very *aukward situation* "when the French government applies to "get any obnoxious man, not specifically "accused of crimes under the treaty of "Amiens, removed. Ministers are obliged "to act on the merits of each case, and to "argue with caprice or ill humour in rejecting their demands, should they occur, as "they probably will, when they might have "stated that the laws of England gave common protection to all foreigners against "whom specific crimes were not alleged. "Their protection of persons whom the "French government chooses to suspect, "and whom it cannot accuse, may thus be "a source of ill humour. We point out "this disagreeable consequence of the alien "act in general; and this is a different "thing from the limited and specified conditions of surrender of criminals stipulated by treaty.

"At the same time it seems fair to admit

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" that *ministers are taking every proper mea-*
" *sure to silence the angry and captious spirit*
" *of complaint in the French government*, where-
" ever it could have any plausible founda-
" tion. THIS CONDUCT MUST BE APPLAUD-
" ED BY THE COUNTRY."

This article is, perhaps, the most striking example that ever was exhibited of the evil tendency of what has been dignified with the appellations of " the palladium of free-
" men," and the " birth-right of Britons." A writing, at once more false in point of fact, more base in principle, more detestably wicked as to its inevitable object and tendency, never obtained circulation in the world, and, it is but justice to say, that it originated in the Morning Chronicle.

As to the fact, it is, we believe, certain, that M. Otto did address communications to his Majesty's ministers, requesting that certain persons, offensive to Buonaparté, might be apptehended and sent out of the kingdom, or, perhaps, delivered up to him, as coming within the stipulations of the 20th article of the treaty of Amiens; but no persons have been either *confined* or *taken up*, in consequence of that application. The truth is this: there were several royalist officers in the island of Jersey, who had come thither from France, some of them, probably, since the conclusion of the peace. Buonaparté was uneasy at the near neighbourhood of these gallant gentlemen, who had braved death in ten thousand shapes for the sake of their lawful sovereign; and, indeed, it would be uncandid to blame the fears of the consul, who sleeps not upon a bed of roses, and who must be excused for having the feelings inseparable from his situation. When we recollect that the hero of Drogheda lived in continual alarm, wore armour under his clothes by day, and shifted his lodgings every night, for the last five years of his life, we ought to be by no means astonished at the apprehensions of the hero of Alexandria. The ministers, willing to remove the cause of his dread, without violating the laws of the land, or the no less sacred laws of hospitality and of honour, sent to Jersey and prevailed upon *twenty-six* of the persons in question to remove themselves to England, which they readily agreed to. These gentlemen arrived at Southampton on the 20th ultimo, and are now in this country; but not one of them is, or ever was for a moment, in *confinement*; and as to its being the intention of ministers to *deliver* them, or any one of them, up to Buonaparté, it is an assertion infinitely more libellous than any thing published against them in the Moniteur: they were there accused of hiring assassins to kill Buonaparté, but here they are accused of meditating the commission of a crime, too cruel and too infamous to be described, a crime of a dye much deeper than that of cutting the throat of an infant after having rocked it to sleep: and, it is upon the supposition, that they were about to commit this crime, that the " *infernal machine*" (we mean the London press) calls upon the country, before hand, to " *applaud* their conduct"!

Of all the subjects we ever attempted to discuss, this is, in our estimation, by far the most interesting, as it immediately affects the tranquillity, the security, and even the lives of a band of the bravest, most loyal, and most faithful men that the world ever saw. We shall, therefore, resume it in our next, assuring our readers, in the mean time, that his Majesty's ministers have no intention to deliver these gentlemen, or any of them, up to Buonaparté; and if they had such an intention, we have no hesitation to say, that they could not do it without a total subversion of the laws of the land, without a complete annihilation of the authority of the courts of justice, and, of course, without putting the life of every man in the kingdom, whether native or foreigner, in jeopardy.

The situation of Mr. Peltier's affair is this: on the 28th of August, Mr. White, solicitor to the Treasury, sent a notification to De Boffe, the publisher of *L'Ambigu*, informing him, that he had the orders of the *Attorney-General* to prosecute the authors, printers, and publishers of the said work, and that, he submitted to Mr. De Boffe, whether, after this notification, it would be prudent in him to continue the sale of the offensive work. De Boffe, who is a Swiss, instantly stopped the sale at his house, and sent the prohibited ware home to the proprietor. Nothing further has yet been done; and, if Mr. Peltier refrains from attacks on Buonaparté, nothing we hope will be done. If our advice be of any weight with him, it is that he should so refrain. After ten years labour in the cause of monarchy against the infernal republicans, it would be very hard to be thrown into Newgate for the rest of his life. Besides, we doubt of the *policy* of attacking Buonaparté for his present acts *in* France. We think it somewhat inconsistent, that Mr. Peltier should at all unite with the republican journalists of London, the principal ground of whose

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hatred to Buonaparté, is, that he has blasted, for ever and ever, the hopes of themselves and their rebellious supporters.—As Englishmen, we would resist, we would attack Buonaparté, with fleets and with armies; and, were we Frenchmen, we would not attack him with a pen.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

War-Office, August 28.

1st Reg. of Dragoons, Lieut. Frederick Edw. Morrice to be Capt. Lieut. by purchase, vice Forster, promoted in the York Hussars, Cornet Geo. Hulton to be Lieut. vice Morrice.

15th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Lieut. Wm. Boothby, from the 20th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Barker, who exchanges.

18th Ditto, Surgeon Simon Rawling, from the 52d Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Preston, who exchanges.

19th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Lamont, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice O'Reilly, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

20th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Barker, from the 15th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Boothby, who exchanges.

87th Ditto, Cornet Alured Fairlie Christie to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stothart, removed to the 3d Foot Guards.

York Hussars, Capt. Thos. Foster, from the 1st Dragoons, to be Major, by purchase, vice Wright, who retires.

29th Reg. of Foot, Lieut. James Stopford, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Holden, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

40th Ditto, Lieut. Chas. Renny, from half-pay of the 35th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Despard, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

42d Ditto, Hospital-Mate —— Mackenzie to be Assistant Surgeon.

52d Ditto, Surgeon John Preston, from the 18th Light Dragoons, to be Surgeon, vice Rawling, who exchanges.

55th Ditto, Lieut. Mark Anthony Bozon, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase. Wm. Billingham, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Heyliger, promoted.

60th Ditto, Ensign John Kirwan, from the 52d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Prater, who retires.

62d Ditto, James Fairtlough, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Ker, removed to the 1st Foot Guards.

69th Ditto, Ensign John B. Phillipson, from the 60th Foot, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Byrne, promoted in the 4th Foot.

82d Ditto, Ensign Alex. Campbell, from the 3d Foot Guards, to be Ensign, vice Parys, promoted.

Garrison.—General Ralph Dundas to be Governor of Duncannon Fort, vice General Sir Robert Sloper, K. B. deceased.

Memorandum.—Assistant-Surgeon Geo. Cross, of the 1st Reg of Dragoons, and Assistant-Surgeon John Bryce, of the 9th Reg. of Foot, are superseded, being absent without leave.

BANKRUPTS.

Behenna, Rich. late of Penryn, Cornwall, maltster.

Boulton, John, of St. Martin's-lane, Middlesex, upholder.

Calderwood, John, of Clarence-place, Pentonville, Middlesex, wine merchant.

Clark, Christopher, of Buckingham-street, Strand, victualler.

Dance, John, late of Oxford-street, orange merchant.

Emmott, John Henry, Browne, James, and Browne, Francis, of the Old Jewry, London, wine merchants.

Fox, Jonathan, and Fox, William, of the Pavement, Finsbury, merchants.

Gerforth, Thomas, of Bramhope, Otley, Yorkshire, corn-merchant.

Harding, John, late of Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell, victualler.

Heald, William, of Wakefield, Yorkshire, Heald, Timothy, of ditto, Heald, Richard Henry, of ditto, Heald, Joseph, of King-street, London, and Foster, Richard, of Wakefield, merchants.

Jackman, James, of Exeter, linen-draper.

Last, John, late of All Saints, South Elmham, Suffolk, shop-keeper.

Mallinson, George, and Sheard, Josiah, of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, dyers.

Naylor, William, of Liverpool, Lancashire, timber merchant.

Phelps, Samuel, late of Grosvenor-place, merchant.

Pyne, Thos. of Southwark, victualler.

Simpson, Daniel, late of Broad-street buildings, London, merchant.

Stott, James, now or late of Macclesfield, Chester, inn-keeper.

Turnbull, John, Forbes, John, Crawford, Rob. Allen, and Skene, David, of Broad-street, London, merchants.

BIRTHS.

On Wednesday, at his house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, the Lady of William Williams, Esq. of a son.

On Monday the 16th instant, at Castle Eden, Mrs. Burdon, wife of Rowland Burdon, Esq. of a son and heir.

On the 18th inst. at Stanmore, the Lady of Captain Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the Royal Navy, of a son.

The Lady of Captain Byron, of the Royal Navy, Stoke, Devon, of a son.

On Friday the 20th inst. at Novar-House, the seat of Sir Hector Munro, K. B. the Lady of Colonel R. C. Ferguson, of a son.

On Sunday, Lady Amherst, at his Lordship's Seat, at Montreal, in Kent, of a son.

On Tuesday morning, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Wombwell, of a still-born child.

On Wednesday the 25th inst. at Belmont, Bath, the Lady of Captain Wyke, 1st Foot Guards, of a daughter.

On the 26th inst. the Lady of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Chester, of a son, being her thirteenth child.

MARRIAGES.

On Wednesday last, by special license, in the Parish Church of Abergele, in North Wales, the Right

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Hon. Lord Viscount Kirkwall, to the Hon. Miss Anna-Maria Plaquiere, eldest daughter of Lord de Plaquiere.

On the 12th inst. at Staveley, Yorkshire, John Wattson, Esq. of Bitton Park, to Miss Hannah Hartley, second daughter of the Rev. James Hartley, Rector of that place.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vandeleur, to Miss Elizabeth Croasdaile, of Ryan, in the Queen's County, Ireland.

On Saturday last, at Kensington, the Rev. J. F. Stuart, Rector of Lower Gravenhurst, to Miss Caroline Stiell, of Chelsea.

On Wednesday last, at the Church of St. Clement Danes, Lord Viscount Falkland, to Miss Anton.

On Wednesday last, at Stapleford, in Nottinghamshire, Captain Tedley, of the Coldstream Guards, to Miss Warren, only daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B.

DEATHS.

On the 26th of January last, at Bengal, Captain George Simpson, of the Earl of Mornington East-India Packet.

On Wednesday, at Worthing, Mrs. Francis Aveling, relict of the late Rev. Thos. Aveling, Rector of Milbrook and Henlow, Bedfordshire.

On Wednesday the 18th inst. at his seat at South Ormsby, Lincolnshire, Wm. Burrell Massingberd, Esq. in the 84th year of his age.

The same day, Edward Hippesley, Esq. of Isleworth, one of the Directors of the South Sea Company, aged 86.

Suddenly, a few days ago, while pronouncing the word Amen, at the close of a marriage ceremony, Edward Clarvis, Parish Clerk of Wintringham, in Lincolnshire.

On Thursday last, at Windsor Castle, Mrs. Ramsbottom, wife of James Ramsbottom, Esq. and youngest daughter of the Rev. F. Langford, Canon of Windsor.

On the 14th inst. at Lilliput, near Deal, Captain Winkworth, of the Navy.

On Wednesday evening, Mr. George Slemaker, Dean's-yard, aged 62.

At Poole, Mrs. Paulina Allen, wife of the Controller of the Customs at that place.

On Wednesday last, Charles Count Lockhart, son of the late General Count Lockhart, of the Roman Empire, distinguished for his bravery in the Imperial Service.

Suddenly, in his Chapel, on Sunday se'nnight, the Rev. Mr. Turner, Minister of a Roman Catholic Congregation at Morpeth.

Last week, in Ireland, Lady Glentworth, relict of the late Lord Bishop of Limerick, and Dowager Viscountess Southwell.

At Biggar, on the 10th instant, the Rev. Robert Paterson, Minister of the Relief Congregation there.

On the 28th ult. at Southampton, Lady Jane Terry, sister to the Earl of Dysart.

On Thursday last, at Hales-place, near Canterbury, after a few days illness, in the 78th year of his age, Sir Edward Hales, Bart.

At Inveresk, on Monday the 23d ult Miss Marion Dalrymple, second daughter of the deceased David Dalrymple, Esq. of Westhall, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	184½	—	—	—	—	182½
3 pr. C. R. An.	—	68⅞	68	68⅞	—	—
3 per C. Con.	67⅛	68⅛	67½	67½	—	67⅞
4 pr C. Cons.	86	86½	86½	85½	—	86
5 pr Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	20⅛	20⅛	02⅝	20⅛	—	20⅛
D° S. 1778 & 9	5	4¼	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	—	—	—	—	67⅞
D° Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	12⅝
3 per Ct. 1797	—	—	102	102	—	103½
Omnium	9 dis	9 dis	10¼ di	9¼ dis	—	9¼ di
India Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Bonds.	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock:	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	99⅝	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 80 c.
American eight per cents. 111⅛.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 18½ 2 us.	LEGHORN	51½
D°, at sight	10 16½	NAPLES	44¾
ROTTERDAM	10 19½ 2 us.	GENOA	47½
HAMBURGH	33 3 2½us.	VENICE, 56½ livres piccol	
ALTONA	33 4 2½us.	effective per £. ster.	
PARIS 1 day	23 8	LISBON	67
PARIS	23 16 2us.	OPORTO	67½
BOURDEAUX,	23 16	DUBLIN	12⅜
CADIZ	in paper	BILBOA	36¼
DITTO 36¼	eff.	PALERMO	
MADRID	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
DITTO 36½	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	45	to 66	Hops per cwt.	120	to 21
Foreign	00	00	Hay per load	80	15
Rye	30	33	Beef, per stone	4s.	4
Barley	31	35	to 5s. 0d.		
Malt	46	52	Mutton 5s. 6d.	to 6s	6
Oats	14	23	Veal 4s. 6d.	to 6s.	4
Pease (white)	38	42	Pork 5s. 6d.	to 7s.	0
Beans (horse)	35	38	Tallow	3s.	9
Flour per sack	50	53	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	45	50	per cwt.	33s.	4
Coals per chal.	36	41	Salt, per Bushel	14s.	4

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Months of August a
September, 1802.

Days.	M's age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. De M.	Ther. De A.
26		Fair. Sho.	W	W	29,9	29,95	61	65
27		Clo. Fair.	SW	SW	31	39	61	65
28	●	Clo. Fair.	SW	NW	32	32	66	72
29		Fine.	S	S	32	32	67	73
30		Fog. Fine.	S	S	30,7	31	65	76
31		Cloudy.	SE	SE	30	30	64	66
1		Fine.	E	E	29,5	29,5	64	66

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Tr. bet. Fr. and Turkey*, 289. *Ligurian Repub. Buonap. Add. to*, 291. *Procl. Bp. Passau*, 292. *Notes on Belsham*, 293. *View of Aff. of Germ.* 295. *Com. Regul. St. Domingo*, 300. *Vendean Roya.* 303. *Opinion of London Prints respect. them*, 303. *Can't be ban. or deliv. up*, 304, *&c. Mr. Fox at Paris*, 312 *Jama. Ass.* 313.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Definitive Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and the Sublime Ottoman Emperor, being desirous to restore the relations of peace and amity which have of old subsisted between France and the Sublime Porte, have for that purpose appointed Ministers Plenipotentiaries, viz. the First Consul, in the name of the French people, Citizen C. M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French Republic; and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, Emeid Mahomed Said Ghalib Effendi, Private Secretary and Director of Foreign Affairs; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall hereafter be peace and friendship between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte: hostilities shall for the future, and for ever, cease between the two states.

II. The treaties or capitulations which, before the war, defined the respective relations of every kind, existing between the two powers, shall be renewed in all their particulars.

In consequence of this renewal, and in fulfilment of the ancient capitulation, according to which the French have a right to enjoy, in the states of the Sublime Porte, all the advantages granted to other nations, the Sublime Porte consents that the French merchant ships bearing the French flag, shall for the future possess the undisputed right to navigate and pass freely in the Black Sea. The Sublime Porte likewise consents, that the said French merchant ships, on their passage into and out of this sea, shall, with respect to every thing that can favour the free navigation of it, be placed precisely on the same footing with the merchant ships of those nations which now navigate it.

The Sublime Porte and the Government of the French Republic, will with common consent take vigorous measures to cleanse the seas, which the ships of both states navigate, from all kinds of pirates.

The Sublime Porte promises to protect the French trading-ships in the Black Sea against all kinds of pirates.

It is hereby understood, that the advantages secured by the present article to the French in the Ottoman Empire, shall in like manner extend to the subjects and flag of the Sublime Porte in the seas and territory of the French Republic.

III. The French Republic shall, in the Ottoman countries which lie on, or in the vicinity of, the Black Sea, both with respect to their trade and the agents and commissaries which that trade may render it necessary to appoint in such places, enjoy the same rights and privileges which France, before the war, enjoyed by virtue of the old capitulations, in any other parts of the states of the Sublime Porte.

IV. The Sublime Porte assents to all that was stipulated with respect to it in the treaty concluded at Amiens between France and England, on the 4th Germinal of the year ten (25th of March, 1801), or the 22d of Zillides, of the year of the Hegira 1216. All the articles of this treaty, which have relation to the Sublime Porte, are by the present treaty formally renewed.

V. The French Republic and the Sublime Porte mutually guarantee the integrity of their possessions.

VI. The restorations and indemnifications which are due to the agents of the two powers, or to their citizens and subjects, whose effects have been confiscated or sequestrated during the war, shall be regulated in an equitable manner, by a particular agreement to be concluded between the two governments at Constantinople.

VII. Until by common consent new regulations shall be agreed on, with respect to the tolls or customs on which disputes may have arisen, these shall in both countries continue to be regulated by the old capitulations.

VIII. Should any prisoners be found in the two countries, who are detained in consequence of the war, they shall im-

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mediately be set at liberty, without ransom.

IX. As the French Republic and the Sublime Porte, by the present treaty, wish to place their states reciprocally in the situation of the most favoured powers, it is expressly understood that each state grants to the other, all the advantages which have been or shall be granted to any other powers, in the same manner as if they were expressly stipulated in the present treaty.

X. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within eighty days, or sooner if possible, at Paris.

Done at Paris, the 6th of Messidor, of the year ten (June 25, 1802, or the 24th of Safernair, the year of the Hegira 1217.

(Signed) *Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*
Esseid Mohamed Said Ghalib Effendi.

Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the Senate of the Ligurian Republic, July 30, 1802.

"Citizens Senators of the Ligurian Republic—The interest with which your nation inspires the French people, and the particular confidence which they do not cease to repose in me, render it my duty to contribute, as much as possible, to consolidate your tranquillity, and secure your independence and prosperity.

"Genoa and its shores have been the theatre of a bloody war. I am pleased to recognize, that in the midst of the most terrible vicissitudes you have been faithful to, and made a common cause with, the great people. You have destroyed Oligarchy, which inspired different sentiments, and those factions which troubled your repose, compromised your credit, and placed your liberty in danger. Great powers may, perhaps, preserve resentment at your conduct, but the French people always considered your cause as their own. A constitution founded on equality, that first of benefits, consolidates your existence, whilst great provinces render compact and increase your territory.

"Let what you have suffered be forgotten. Recollect what your fathers endured for the purpose of acquiring some miserable districts. Proscribe all factions, maintain and preserve a respect for your constitution and your religion, and educate your children in a love for the great people. Then your wretched galleys shall be replaced by good ships of war, which will protect your commerce in the Levant, the countries of which are yet full of the remembrance of your ancestors.

"Citizens Senators of the Ligurian Republic, tell your fellow citizens, that in appointing the citizen who is to be the first occupant of the place of Doge, I have only acceded to their wish, and that under present circumstances, it is the greatest mark of attention I can bestow upon them.

"Tell them to recollect, that whatever adds to their happiness, will to me be a subject of joy and satisfaction, as their misfortunes will cause my regret.

(Signed) "*Buonaparté.*"

Proclamation of the Bishop of Passau.

"On the 10th, two columns of Bavaro Palatine troops, infantry and cavalry, entered the territories of this bishopric on each side the Danube, without making the accustomed requisitions, without any species of notification: a part of these troops proceeded against the capital; some pieces of artillery, accompanied by the necessary number of gunners, with matches in their hands, were sent against the gates, so that the fear of seeing the city occupied by violent means, became greater every instant. Such events are so extraordinary and alarming, that his highness would have thought himself wanting in his duties as sovereign, and as a state of the empire, had he neglected to inform his Imperial Majesty, in his quality of supreme chief of the empire, and to entreat him to protect his country against all foreign violence: a protection to which the contents of the last imperial decree of the 22d of July, gave him a new title.

"As the general commanding at Scharding has received from his superiors the order to grant that protection to the bishoprick, as in consequence, a proper number of imperial troops under his orders is to occupy the capital and the county on the 17th inst. as the most solemn assurance has been given that not the slightest change nor alteration should be made in the administration, the constitution, nor in any of its relations whatever, his highness has thought it proper to inform the public of these dispositions, to exhort paternally his faithful subjects to remain tranquil, to abstain carefully from speeches which relate to politics, and to wait with the tranquillity that become wise and good subjects, the termination of the great affair upon which the deputation of the empire is about to occup itself, and by which the fate of this capi

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tal and of the country will be decided in a constitutional manner.

"By conforming strictly to these exhortations, each will avoid all disagreeable effects."

Passau, 17th August.

(Notes on Belsham's Remarks continued.)

Page 7. Art. VI *The port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty, as it did previous to the war.*

"When (says Mr. B.) will vanity and "presumption submit to learn lessons of "moderation and discretion? Those, who "have exclaimed so vehemently in this "and other instances against the stipula- "tions of the present treaty, seem to have "taken for granted that England had it in "her power to dictate the terms of it: an "extravagant and ridiculous supposition!" —In truth so very extravagant and ridiculous, that not a single person of the many, who condemned the treaty, ever uttered an expression on which Mr. B or rather any reasonable man, could imagine that such a supposition was ever entertained. But they did entertain and avowed *another* supposition, namely, that by continuing the war we might have avoided the disgrace and (which touches more nearly the public sensibility) the danger of submitting to terms, which have left France in a far better and Britain in a far worse situation than they were at the time of signing the preliminaries.

"The fact is (continues Mr. B. page 8) "that we had no option but to relinquish "the Cape or to continue the war." This may or may not be true. But admit that the restitution of the Cape was a *sine qua non* of the peace; was every other of the many restitutions we made so many *sine qua non*? or, because it might not be prudent to continue the war for the Cape alone, does it follow that the Cape joined with Malta, Minorca, Martinico, &c. &c. &c. were not worth a longer struggle? Of the value of this long and melancholy list of restitutions Mr. B. has taken no notice; yet it was easy for him to account for these in the same peremptory manner, by telling us —"that we had no option but to relinquish "them too, or to continue the war." Mr. B. further observes, that "as by this article "the Cape is virtually declared to be a free "port, the advantage is wisely secured, un- "incumbered by the attendant expense." —This advantage in time of peace is little or none to Great-Britain, as our navigators now know that they save time by either going to Rio de Janeiro, or running down directly southwards, and never making the Cape. The advantage in time of war must be calculated upon the probability of the Dutch Provinces remaining neutral and independent of France: and whoever recollects that France can over-run those provinces, with as little opposition and in as little time as a regiment could march from London to Oxford, must estimate that probability at just nothing.

Page 9. Upon the cession of Portuguese Guinea with the free navigation of the River of Amazons, obtained by France by a treaty signed at Madrid, within two days of the signing the preliminaries at London, Mr. B. observes, "England had no express "or exclusive authority to treat for Por- "tugal." But although Portugal might not perhaps have given such express authority, and might therefore have fairly objected to any stipulations made on her behalf by England, yet France could not honestly make this objection; for Buonaparté's signature was an acknowledgment on his part, that England had sufficient authority, and was from the date of the signature a virtual, although by reason of the distance it could not be an official cancelment of the powers given to his minister in Spain. It was therefore unfair in him to insist on any articles contained in the treaty of Madrid, and dishonourable in our government to acquiesce in it.

Mr. B. adds, "if Portugal thought pro- "per, for whatever reason, to relinquish "any part of her territory, France might "with great plausibility urge, that England "had no right to interfere in order to pre- "vent it." In moral or legal discussion plausibility commonly signifies the *appearance*, in opposition to the *reality* of reason and justice; and in this sense of the word Mr. B. has very properly applied it to the argument which he suggests for excluding England from interfering in any acquisitions which France has or may hereafter make. "England had no right to interfere "in order to prevent it!" And pray why not? In what chapter of national law or common sense has Mr. B. discovered that a nation has no right to interfere in preventing other powers from making acquisitions or cessions which may end in its speedy ruin? If France were to acquire, by the most formal treaty that was ever ratified, the Port of Alexandria, or Lisbon, or the Passage of the Sound, although England

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might in her present peace-loving temper submit in spiritless silence, yet no man in his senses would maintain that any law of God or man forbade her to resist. The two obvious principles of justice and government, "*Contracts bind the contracting parties* "*only*;" and "*Salus populi suprema lex*;"—Mr. B., professing to be an historian and a politician, ought not to forget.

Page 10. "Happily however a compro- "mise was at last found; and the French "government had the *laudable moderation* "ultimately to recede from this alarming "claim, and to consent that the most nor- "thern branch of the Arivari should be the "boundary of her dominion in that part of "the globe."—Having shewn that Buonaparté had no *just* claim to *any* thing by the treaty of Madrid, I cannot admire his moderation for being contented with a part. Whether the navigation of the River Amazons can or can not be impeded from the northern branch of the Arivari, is the point of importance; and this point, "the bare "inspection of a map" (to use Mr. B.'s words) is by no means sufficient to decide. For of the navigation of coasts and rivers little is to be learnt from maps: sea charts and explanations from professional persons, who have used them, afford the only satisfactory information; and such information is not always to be had; at least, Mr. B. does not seem to have obtained it. If the rough draft of the coast given in one of your former Registers (Vol. I. p. 428) may be depended upon, the French have the means of becoming very troublesome neighbours to the Portuguese. Be this as it may; Portugal we are told (page 11) "expressed its "high sense of obligation to the British "government for this essential service."—This may induce us to hope the best. But although Portugal may be thankful for having regained a part of what had been extorted from her by the treaty of Madrid, it will be difficult to persuade us that she would not have been far better satisfied with the whole.

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITOR.

A short View of Affairs in Germany.

The events of the last war upon the continent prove sufficiently that Francis the Second was Emperor of Germany by name only. By the means of Buonaparté and his accomplices on one hand, and by the exhausting of Austria and the dereliction in which she is on the other, the title of emperor, which his great feodatories (now evidently revolted against and dictating laws to him) will still give him, will appear no more than a mere mockery. Prussia has followed up her system of fishing in troubled water, to aggrandize herself without any other motive than her usual rapacity, and, as it should seem, purely as a sort of indemnity for the loss of reputation. Buonaparté has availed himself of the opportunity to weaken still more and more the only power which, if supported, might yet bear up against him on the Continent, and to place "by "aggrandizing Prussia, *this necessary coun-* "*terpoise* (for himself) in the scale," so that the least addition, a single word from the Grand Consul, may make it incline in favour of France, to whom every people must henceforward bow the knee, whilst she herself is in fetters.

But the Emperor Alexander, to whom upon his accession every one had turned his eyes, as to the preserver of the social order and liberties of Europe, seems to have been guided throughout the whole of it merely by a momentary interest of relationship, to procure advantages to his brothers-in-law and his uncle. Let us hope he will confine himself to this, and think himself sufficiently bound to France not to expect other compliances from her; or to speak more correctly, that France, from a far different motive from that of gratitude, will not herself offer him indemnities too, for which sooner or later England would have to pay the charges. But this belongs to futurity; we will confine ourselves to the present, or if you will, to the past; for the First Consul will not allow us to call in question the strict execution of his *Senatus Consultum* respecting his *department* of Germany. In that unfortunate country of innocent victims, and of conquerors who will become victims in their turn, one stroke from Talleyrand's pen has changed every thing: we will here delineate only the principal features of the picture.

The *immediate nobility*, which from the protection it could hope for only from Austria, was devoted to her, is properly subjected under the more aggrandized princes: the *petty princes* are in the same case with the nobility. The catholic *chapters*, electoral, archiepiscopal, episcopal, abbeys, convents, all by their interests attached to Austria are destroyed; the free imperial *cities* which had the like interest, are delivered over to indemnified sovereigns; the few remaining are, as it may be said, separated from the Germanic body, but to certainty emancipated from the imperial

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authority by fixing their neutrality in every war, a neutrality which will be respected by France as that of Frankfort and of Hamburgh have been under Prussian protection, and as that of Switzerland, Tuscany, &c.

The *Electoral College*, which before the dismemberment of Germany had enough with *eight* electors, is to have *nine*, viz.

1st. A catholic ecclesiastic elector surrounded by the partizans of Prussia.

2dly The Elector of Bohemia, that is to say, Austria herself.

3dly. The Elector of Bavaria, a catholic himself, and ruling over subjects almost all of the same persuasion, but devoted to France and Prussia, cherishing an old grudge against Austria, and augmenting his hatred against her proportionably to the grievances that he has caused her, and from the revenge he fears from thence.

4thly. The Elector of Saxony, a catholic himself only, but sovereign over a protestant country, a protector by his oath of the protestant religion, and moreover entirely surrounded at this time by Prussia.

5thly. The Elector of Brandenburgh, that is, Prussia; protestant.

6thly. The Elector of Hanover, protestant; seldom of the same sentiment with the King of England, and acting mostly in concert with Prussia, and besides, now under the absolute command of a Prussian garrison.

7thly. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel, protestant, and both by inclination and locality a vassal of Prussia.

8thly. The Elector of Wurtemburgh, a protestant, and neighbour to France.

9thly. The Elector of Baden, protestant; in the neighbourhood of France, and moreover rewarded by *the esteem of the First Consul*, and the largest prize of this lottery for having, one of the first, detached himself from the cause of Germany. Of these three new ones of consular creation, two are doubtless to compensate for the two ecclesiastic electors politically put to death though physically still alive, viz. the Elector of Treves, uncle to the Elector of Saxony, a respectable old man in every point of view, and particularly for his fidelity in the common cause, as a return for which he is entirely despoiled, and the Archduke Anthony, brother to the Emperor, legally chosen elector by the electoral chapter of Ahrensberg, and bishop by the episcopal chapter of Munster, instead of his late uncle. The ninth elector has been created over and above to insure still better the protestant majority.

It will appear very plain by this exact exposition, that Austria has in reality for herself not more than one vote, her own; if she has more it will be only to paralize her, or, as on this last occasion, to make her bear the expense of her protection; it is only too, through similar considerations, that the imperial crown, elective in reality, grew in some sort hereditary in the house of Austria. The voice of the catholic part of the German people, if it could be reckoned on, is completely stifled.

Let us take a view now in what manner Austria is to be made amends for her losses in territory and influence in Germany? What will the Emperor receive in compensation for his possessions in the Low Countries and Lombardy, and the debts on these countries which he remains burthened with? For the Brisgau, the Frikthal, and what he had in Germany? For the security arising to him from the neutrality of Switzerland and of the Grisons, and the inoffensive existence of the Venetian Republic, the Duke of Parma, and the King of Sardinia; for that of the Archbishop and Bishop of Saltzburg and Passau, who as ecclesiastics were entirely at his devotion, and might have been considered as parts of his own possessions, whilst the Elector of Bavaria is now at the cost of these two states aggrandized, and brought closer to Austria? What will the emperor, I say, receive for all this? The little share of the Venetian States that he possesses, and, as Talleyrand says, *the immense advantage of seeing all his possessions concentrated*, that is to say, immensely diminished. Doubtless, Buonaparté, with like complaisance, will endeavour, if let alone, to concentrate by degrees Great-Britain in the same way, and to save her the trouble of thinking of her colonies. How has the family of the Emperor, in which only he can find adherents, been treated? The Archduke Ferdinand, his uncle, heir to Modena, will have the Brisgau, which he will doubtless do well to dispose of to the Margrave of Baden for the three millions of florins, which that prince offers for it: this will be at least a security for the future.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, his brother, will be compensated for that fine country, by the rocks of Saltzbourg and Passau with the exception however of what is given of it to Bavaria; and for what accrued to him from the trade of Leghorn, by the revenue of the poor little bishoprics of Trente and Brixen enclosed in the Tyrolese, an Austrian province. The Emperor besides, as

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chief of his house, in recurring to the history of times past, and recollecting what has happened since his accession, and what kings have to expect from their relatives; and not being able to depend on the tenderness and devotion of the descendants of the Grand Duke towards his own as he can depend upon the sentiments of his brother, will find perhaps one reason still more to regret for his posterity the neighbourhood of these two prelates.

The interior situation of Austria, her means and resources, the degree in which her misfortunes, her treaties, and the desertion of her natural allies, have compelled her to engage in these transactions, should be considered, in order to conjecture what would happen were she to resign herself through the pressure of circumstances, not to oppose by open force the execution of Buonaparté's will, but confine herself not to give sanction to it by her adhesion, nor even to draw any apparent advantage from it, but, maintaining the bishops of Saltzbourg and Passau in their possessions, and laying down the imperial crown, the conditions under which she accepted it ten years ago now no more existing; or if she would separate herself totally from the German empire.

Would not a resolution like this raise again the hopes of the plundered, would it not scatter uncertainty among the spoilers, and would her adversaries declare war against Austria because she renounced the first rank among sovereigns, or because she would not concur in the spoliation of her friends?

Agricola.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

August 23.

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Extract from the Official Gazette of Saint Domingo.

Head Quarters at the Cape, June 22d, 1802.

In the name of the French Government. The General in Chief, Captain General, decrees as follows:

"In the French part of St. Domingo, the Administration of the quarters and communes is confided to military commandants and councils of notables. The commandants to have the jurisdiction of police in their respective districts, and the chief command of the [illegible]. The Councils of notables to be composed of proprietors or merchants, and to consist of five members in the towns of Port Republicain, the Cape, and des Cayes, and of three members in other communes. The members to be appointed by the Colonial Prefect; and every one so appointed to be compelled to accept the office. The military commandants are charged with the delivery (gratis) of passports for travelling in the Colony, the suppression of vagabondage, the care of the police, the maintenance of cleanliness and health, the care of citizens newly arrived, the police of the prisons, and the verification of weights and measures, in concurrence with the council of notables. Except in the case of flagrant crimes, the military commandants cannot arrest any citizen without an order from the commandant of the quarter. The communes to provide for their own expenses: the sums to be regulated by a decree of the General in Chief, with the advice of the Colonial Prefect. No military commandant can put in requisition the labourers or the cattle of any plantation; the General in Chief reserves that power to himself. The council of notables to provide for the expenses of the communes, and for the imposts adopted by the Commander in Chief, with the advice of the Colonial Prefect. Those councils alone to deliberate upon the communal interests; all other Assemblies of citizens are prohibited, and shall, if attempted, be considered as seditious, and dispersed by force. The councils to correspond immediately with the Sub-Prefects, by whom their members may be suspended, and finally dismissed by the Colonial Prefect. There shall be in each parish a commissary to register public acts.

(Signed) "*Leclerc.*"

An account is given of the vessels, French, English, and Spanish, which had entered the Road of the Cape between the 14th and the 27th of June, in number 22, and of those which had quitted the port in the same time, in number 29.

COMMERCE OF ST. DOMINGO.

By another decree of the General in Chief,

"French merchant vessels are to be admitted only in the ports of the Cape, Port Republicain, des Cayes and de Jacmel. Merchandize or produce of the manufactures or soil of France not to be subject to any duty on importation. Colonial produce, exported by French vessels, to be subject to a duty on exportation.

"Foreign vessels of the burden of 70 tons, and upwards, are permitted to enter the above four ports. French or foreign merchandize imported in them to be subject to a duty on importation, conformable to tariff. The produce of the colony exported by them to be subject to a duty on exportation.

"Every Captain of a French or foreign vessel must, on his arrival in port, before any person on board lands, present himself before the Captain General and the Colonial Prefect, at the place of their residence, and in other ports to the General Commandant and the Chief of Administration, for the purpose of giving an account of his voyage. The Captain shall transmit on the same day, to the Commandant of the place, a declaration, written and signed, containing an account of the passengers he has on board: no passenger to disembark without the authority of the Commandant.

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"The Captain must, on the day of his arrival, remit the letters and packets in his charge, to the director of the post at the port, and shall receive discharge.

"The Captains of French and foreign vessels must within a day after their arrival, transmit to the directors of the harbours, the bill of lading of their cargoes. All merchandize found on board, which is not included in the bill of lading, will be confiscated.

"Every Captain of a foreign vessel must consign his cargo to a domiciliated merchant, who shall be personally responsible for the payment of the duties on importation and exportation, and for the frauds which may be committed by the Captains of the vessels consigned to him

"No French or foreign vessel shall be suffered to quit the ports, but on producing to the Captain of the port the certificate of the director of the Customs, stating that all the duties have been paid.

"Every French or foreign vessel which shall be found in any of the ports, not designated in the decree, or sailing within two leagues of the coast, shall be taken possession of by the Guard-vessels, and conducted into one of the designated ports, in order that the confiscation of the vessel and cargo may be adjudged by the Captain-General, on the report of the Colonial Prefect. The vessel making such capture, to be entitled to one-third of the value of the vessel and cargo confiscated."

Tarif of Customs in the French Part of St. Domingo.

IMPORTATION.

"French merchandize and produce in foreign vessels, 10 per cent. on the value.

"Meal, biscuits, salt, provisions, wood for carpenters and buildings, cattle and sheep, horses, mules, poultry, &c. ditto, 6 per cent. ditto.

"Foreign merchandize, ditto, 20 per cent. ditto."

EXPORTATION.

The following are the most material articles:

"Coffee in foreign vessels, 13 francs, 33 cents. per quintal.

"White sugar, ditto, ditto, ditto.

"Brown ditto, 6 f. 67 c. ditto.

"Cotton ditto, 80 f. — ditto.

"Indigo ditto, 80 c. per lb.

"Produce not enumerated, 20 per cent. on the value.

"French manufactures in foreign vessels exempt from duty."

Paris, Aug. 31.—The affairs of Germany are on the point of being terminated. France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, are agreed. Prussia has taken possession of the states granted to her by the plan of the two great mediating powers. Austria has taken possession of Saltzburgh, Berchtolfgaden, Brixen, and Trent, which are also granted to her by the same plan. Her troops were at Passau before that court had adopted the said plan; but the imperial minister has declared, that it took possession of it only to maintain the rights of the Bishop of Passau, until the period in which the mediating powers of the deputation of the empire should decide.

The Publiciste has published pretended letters from a Swiss canton to the First Consul. The French Government acknowledges but one government in the Helvetic Republic. A portion of that people could not write to him without being in rebellion against its own government.—*Moniteur.*

Sept. 2.—General St. Cyr, the French Ambassador to Spain, is on his return to Paris for three months, to re-establish his health.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

On the 31st of August, Their Majesties and the Princesses arrived at Windsor from Weymouth, on Tuesday evening, in perfect health.

On the 8th inst. his Majesty set off from Windsor at seven o'clock. After passing the morning at Kew Palace and in the gardens, he came to town, and held a Levee at St. James's Palace, which being the first court-day since his Majesty's return from Weymouth, was numerously attended.

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen took leave of the King: Lord Whitworth, on going to Paris, as Ambassador to France; Mr. Arbuthnot and Mr. L. Burrel, on their mission to Stockholm; Admiral Sir J. B. Warren, as Ambassador to the Court of Russia; he takes his departure in the Clyde frigate.

After the company had withdrawn, the Recorder made his report of the convicts under sentence of death, convicted in June and July sessions, when his Majesty was graciously pleased to respite them all.

The King, after giving audience to the Ministers, left town at six o'clock for Windsor.

On Thursday last, Mr. Arbuthnot, accompanied by Mr. Lindsay Burrell, as his Secretary, set off for Yarmouth, where they are to embark for Stockholm. Mrs. Arbuthnot and children set off the preceding day for Stockholm.

Madame Lasnes, accompanied by General Fraser and his Aid-de-Camp, and by Monsieur Sobervie, Aid-de-Camp to General Lasnes, arrived in town from Falmouth on Wednesday last.

Sir John Borlase Warren will set off for St. Petersburgh in a very few days.

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Lord Whitworth will not depart for Paris till Mr. Andreossi arrives at Dover, which is not expected to be sooner than ten or twelve days from this time.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

At the close of our last sheet, we promised to resume our discussion of the subject relative to the French royalists, commonly called Chouans. We quoted, on that occasion, a passage from the London newspapers (for it was, with some very trifling alterations, inserted in them all), the substance of which was this:—*That, upon the application of Mr. Otto, ministers had brought several Chouans from Jersey to Southampton; that some of these persons had not been in France since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and others had been there and were accused of having, since the signing of the treaty, committed some of the crimes therein mentioned; that ministers were, on the demand of Buonaparté, about* TO SEND THE FORMER OUT OF THE COUNTRY *by authority of the Alien Act, and to* DELIVER UP *the latter by authority of the treaty; and that these* PACIFIC AND CONCILIATORY *steps and intentions ought to be "* APPLAUDED BY THE COUNTRY."

We stated, that the facts, upon which these enlightened, humane, and honourable politicians proceeded, were extremely incorrect; we observed, and we now repeat our observation, that, while we believed Mr. Otto to have applied for the proscription of some of the royalists at Jersey, and for the surrender of others of them, we were certain, that it was not the intention of his Majesty's ministers to yield to either of his requests. We further observed, that (perhaps with a view to hush the fears of the *Grand Homme*) several of the royalists had removed from the Island of Jersey to England; but that not a man of them was, or ever would, at the request of Buonaparté, be deprived of that freedom, which, in this country, no man, whether foreigner or native, can lose, unless he commit some crime against the law of England.

Such was the amount of our statement, and such was really the case. But, we do not think it sufficient to have corrected the errors as to the *past*. It was our first duty to remove the alarm, which must have been excited by the report that ministers were about to commit a deed so lawless and so base as that of banishing or delivering up the French royalists; and, we shall now endeavour to do away the anxiety, which may yet be entertained, on account of those gentlemen, in case some future attempt should be made against them, by the Consul or his agents.

The terror, which Buonaparté has struck to the hearts of the people of this country, seems to have produced a total forgetfulness of the great maxims of our government and jurisprudence. Formerly, when a man was threatened with an arrest, with confinement, or with any other thing contrary to his interest or his will, he immediately appealed to the *law*. He did not ask what was the situation of this country with respect to any other country, or what was the character or policy of the ministers: his first and only question was, "*what says the* "LAW of England?" If that was in his favour, he set malice and power at defiance. Now, unhappily, our inquiries, if Buonaparté be the prosecutor, are of a very different nature. If, however, the "blessings "of peace" have not in reality, as well as in the imagination of the London newswriters, produced a complete and radical subversion of that part of our law, which has hitherto operated as a safe-guard to the persons of the innocent, we presume, that the following positions may be easily maintained: 1. That his Majesty's ministers *cannot send the royalists, of whom we are speaking, out of this country*; 2. That no one of these royalists can *ever* be delivered up for a crime committed *before* the conclusion of the definitive treaty; and 3. That, *as things now stand*, no one of them can be delivered up, even for a crime committed *since* the conclusion of the said treaty.

1. *That his Majesty's ministers cannot send the royalists, of whom we are speaking, out of this country.* When we say they *cannot*, or when we make use of any words expressive of their want of *power* to do, or to leave undone, any thing appertaining to this question, we, of course, do not speak of their *might*, but of their *right*; not of the physical force which they may possess; but of their legal capacity: and, therefore, the first question which presents itself, on this head, is,—in virtue of *what law* could the ministers presume to send the Vendean royalists, or any one of them, out of this country? The conductors of the London news-papers tell us, the *alien law*. What! does this law authorize his Majesty's ministers to send away the persons in question? Is it to be imagined, that those ministers, or any other set of men, whom a king has thought worthy of trust and confidence, would be guilty of such shameful profligacy

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is to attempt to convert the alien law, which was passed for the purpose of preserving the king and kingdom against the intrusion, the intrigues, and the plots of Jacobins and regicides, into an instrument for the persecution, the ruin, and the murder of royalists? The alien law is a shield which was given to the government for the purpose of defending *his Majesty and his people* against all such aliens as might be found hostile to them, or either of them; and not for the purpose of defending and supporting other sovereigns and other nations. The law does not, indeed, say, that a man shall *not* be sent out of the country for offences committed against Buonaparté; but if this were a good reason for the sending him out for such offences, then might he, upon the same ground, be sent out for having supplanted a minister in the heart of his mistress, or for any other act equally foreign from the crimes and intentions contemplated in the alien law. In fact, if the ministry can send a man out of the country, upon the application of Buonaparté, or, for the purpose of appeasing Buonaparté, or for any purpose other than those which the law had in view, then is every foreigner, who has the misfortune to be in this kingdom, at the absolute mercy of three or four men, and the British government is, as far as relates to foreigners, a despotism not less hateful than that of France or of Tunis Yet, such is the power given to the ministers, if we were to believe the London editors.

We shall, however, with all due submission to these enlightened, philanthropic, and honourable gentlemen, endeavour to prove, that his Majesty's Parliament have not, in their anxious desire to protect the nation against evil-minded aliens, been so shamefully regardless of the safety and tranquillity of aliens of another description; and that the alien law, instead of being the convenient means of gratifying private or political pique, instead of being what the factious have represented it, an instrument of tyranny, is, in fact, a very wise and lenient law, which, in providing for the safety of the state, has been by no means unmindful of justice to the alien.

The preamble of the act shews its object. It states, that, "whereas, under the present "circumstances, *much danger may arise* to "the *public tranquillity* from the resort "and residence of aliens," &c. &c. To the public tranquillity in *this* country most assuredly, and not to the public tranquillity in France, or elsewhere. And how could any minister pretend to say, that he apprehended danger to the public tranquillity of this country from the conduct of the royalists in Jersey, particularly when they had come to that island by his consent, and when it was notorious to the whole world, that they must be, from every possible motive, desirous to *preserve* the public tranquillity of this kingdom?

As to *the mode of executing* the law, one would, from reading the London newspapers (see the article quoted in p. 281), be led to imagine, that it was a thing left entirely to the caprice of the ministry, and that, of course, if Mr. Fox, or any other favourite of Buonaparté, happened to be in the place of Lord Pelham, he might catch and send off a ship-load of aliens with as little ceremony as is used in making up an assortment of cattle for market.—Hear them.—"In addition to those specified un-"der the treaty of Amiens, *seventeen Chouans* "have been *brought* from Jersey to South-"ampton, in order to be *sent* out of the "kingdom."—What country clown, upon reading this, would not imagine, that these Chouans were a sort of sheep, seventeen of which had been brought, with their legs tied, from Jersey, in order to be exported to foreign parts?

To *send* aliens out of the country is often talked of, but by those who understand very little of the matter. We are now speaking of aliens who have committed no crime against the Alien Act, or against any other law of this country; and we will, for a moment, suppose, that his Majesty's ministers were resolved to make one of them, for instance, leave the kingdom. The mode of proceeding is this. His Majesty must issue his royal proclamation, or an order of council, or an order under his sign manual, directing the said alien to *depart from* this realm *within a time limited in such proclamation, &c.* There is no sending away with the legs tied; no cart, no jail, no black-hole. The alien is to be ordered to depart withersoever he pleases. If he disobey the order, indeed, he is to be arrested; but he is not then to be *sent* out of the kingdom; he is to be tried in the Court of King's Bench or other Court of Oyer and Terminer, and, upon conviction, is to be imprisoned for any time not exceeding one month, at the end of which time he is to depart the realm within a time limited by the judgment of the court. If the alien be guilty of a second offence of the same nature, or if he return into the kingdom, without leave, after having been ordered to quit it,

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he is liable to be punished severely; but these cases do not apply to the present question.—If the Secretary of State should apprehend that the alien will not obey the proclamation, or order, of his Majesty, he may issue his warrant for putting the alien into the charge of one of the King's messengers, in order to his being conducted out of the kingdom in such manner as shall be suitable to his rank and situation; but, in case any excuse should be alleged by the alien for not complying with the proclamation, &c. he is to have a hearing before the Lords of the Privy Council, who are to determine thereupon.

Such is the law as far as it bears upon the point before us. It will be perceived, that the power, which the Secretary of State possesses, of giving in charge, is to be exercised upon extraordinary emergencies only; and even then the conducting out of the kingdom cannot take place till the alien has had a hearing before the Lords of the Privy Council. At this hearing a Vendean Royalist would find no difficulty in proving, that he had neither done nor meditated any thing dangerous to the *public safety of this kingdom*, and, proving that, we can never believe, that the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council would refuse to set him at liberty. If, on the other hand, the alien be not put in charge of a King's messenger, but be left to depart before the expiration of the time limited by the proclamation, or order, and if, in consequence of his not departing, he be arrested and sent to jail, it does not follow, that he is to remain in jail till the assizes, and then be convicted as a matter of course; for, the act has provided, that, every alien so committed to jail may, upon application, be brought before one of the judges, who, if he sees sufficient cause, is to admit such alien to bail, upon his giving security for his appearance to answer the matters alleged against him. His Majesty may, indeed, "whenever he shall deem it *necessary* "*for the public safety*," order an alien, who is in prison, or upon bail, to be conducted out of the kingdom, without waiting for further trial; but, it is evident, from the very words here made use of, that a measure of this sort could not be taken except in times of great and imminent public danger. So that, to apply what has been said to the question immediately before us, we think it is clear, that no one of the French Royalists can, in any case, during times of public tranquillity, ever be forced to leave the kingdom, till after a hearing before the Lords of the Council, or a trial, in some way or other, in a court of justice; and, supposing such Royalist to have neither done nor meditated any thing against the public safety of this kingdom, he cannot be compelled to quit it, without a shameful violation both of the spirit and letter of the law.

Our 2d position is, *that no one of these Royalists ever can be delivered up for a crime committed in France* BEFORE *the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty.*—Most assuredly this is what we never should have thought of *proving*, had not the contrary been seriously maintained in a long and elaborate article, published, on the 30th ultimo, in the Morning Post, a paper which boasts (and we believe with truth) of having the widest circulation of any daily paper in London. The writer of this paper (who is not always destitute of political sagacity) repeats the statement from the Morning Chronicle, as quoted in our last sheet, p. 281, and then, upon that part of it which relates to persons seized at the request of Mr. Otto, in order to be delivered up to Buonaparté, the writer observes, that, on the some principle General Willot may be demanded and given up. He proceeds to name sveral others, all of whom, it is well known, left France long *before* the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the stipulation of which, relative to the present subject is, that the contracting parties, upon due application made, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bonkruptcy; but, says the treaty, "this article has no sort of re-"ference to crimes of murder, forgery, or "fraudulent bankruptcy, committed *before* "the conclusion of this Definitive Treaty." It is clear, therefore, that, supposing it to be lawful and just to seize, and deliver up, persons who may have committed crimes in France *since* the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, it by no means follows, that the ministers may, upon the demand of Buonaparté, deliver up to him persons who have done nothing in France, and who can even prove that they have not been in France, since the conclusion of that Treaty.

But we maintain, 3. *That, as things now stand, no one of the royalists can be delivered up, even for a crime committed* SINCE *the conclusion of the treaty.* And here we must observe, that, when we speak of *crimes*, as imputed to the gentlemen, whom Buonaparté may wish to persecute, we must always be understood as meaning *alleged* crimes, and not as admitting, that they have, in reality been guilty of crimes. Our object is not to screen the guilty, but to defend the innocent: our

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wish is, not to see England a sanctuary for criminals, but an asylum for the oppressed. The Vendean Royalists have been guilty of no crimes; but we are well aware, that their innocence is by no means sufficient to shelter them from *accusation*; and, whenever it may be thought convenient to accuse them, we are the last persons in the world to doubt that witnesses enough will be found.

The words of the treaty, relative to this part of the subject, are as follow: "It is "agreed, that the contracting parties, upon "requisitions made by them respectively, "or by their ministers, or officers, duly au"thorized for that purpose, shall be bound "to deliver up to justice, persons accused "of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bank"ruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction "of the requiring party; provided, how"ever, that this shall only be done in cases, "in which the evidence of the crime shall "be such, that the laws of the place, in "which the accused person shall be dis"covered, would have authorized the de"taining and bringing him to trial, had the "offence been committed there."* Were Buonaparté, in virtue of this stipulation to demand any one of the Vendean Royalists, or, indeed, any other person, as having committed a murder, for instance, in France, since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, and if we were the advocates for the person so demanded, we should, as things now stand, object to the delivering him, upon the clear and simple ground of there being, in this country, *no law* authorizing such delivery. The treaty of Amiens, indeed, says that certain persons shall be delivered up for crimes committed in France, but that treaty is no law of this land, nor can a secretary of state, or magistrate, in virtue of that treaty, hold any person in confinement one single hour. We will suppose for instance, that the ministry were to be weak or wicked enough to order a man to be seized, in consequence of an application to them made on behalf of Buonaparté, evidence of the alleged crime must be given before a magistrate, which magistrate would instantly perceive, that he had no authority to imprison or detain; that the alleged crime was not committed against the law of this country, and that, as to the treaty, the pleading of it would not shelter him from the effects of an information in the court of King's Bench.

Our treaty with the United States of America contains an article, from which the XXth article of the treaty of Amiens seems to have been copied verbatim, with the addition of the words, "or fraudulent bank"ruptcy;" but, in order to give *effect* to the article of the American treaty, an *act of parliament* was necessary, and one was, accordingly passed, (37. Geo. III. c. 97.) as soon as it was convenient, after the ratifications were exchanged. There has no act of parliament yet been passed for giving effect to the stipulation in the treaty of Amiens, and, therefore, as things now stand, no person can, for any crime, of whatever nature or whenever committed in France, be delivered up by any power in this kingdom, without a daring violation of the law; without, indeed, an open and forcible resistance of the officers of justice.

But, after all, should these violations of the law take place; should the ministers pervert the intention of the alien law, should they act upon the treaty without the authority of parliament, should they send away, or deliver up, every French royalist in the kingdom, should they become the vile runners of Fouché, the valets of his hangmen, the caterers for his voracious prisons and places of execution; suppose them capable of baseness and tyranny like this, where would be the *remedy*? Who would call them to account? What would be their punishment? The remedy would be found in the laws. Every one concerned in an unlawful act, to the injury of any of the persons in question, would be liable to an action for such injury, or to an indictment, which might be preferred by any man who had the zeal and the ability to demand justice in behalf of an oppressed foreigner. Were a person, for instance, coming just warm from the embraces of Buonaparté, to be appointed secretary of state, and were he to issue his warrant for appprehending a royalist and delivering him up to his friend, any one might prefer a bill of indictment against him for a misdemeanour, and he might be sentenced to several years imprisonment in Newgate, or to serve on board the hulks, or to be transported to Botany Bay. If, in reply to this, we were asked, what would be the consequence, if the courts and juries participated in the feelings of such a ministry as we have, for arguments sake, been supposing to exist; our answer would be, "Why, then, chaos is come again." There is an end to all law and government, and

* See the treaty, Register, vol. i. p. 321.—The stipulations, here quoted, is contained in art. xx. which will be found in Register. vol. i. p. 326.

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each man has a right to seek justice in his own way; all our lives are in jeopardy, and it is much better to lose them in battle than on the gallows. Thank God, however, such is not the case, and, fearful as is the prospect before us, we trust it never will. Yet, from the language of the London news-writers, a stranger would imagine that this horrid state of things already existed. They talk of apprehending, and imprisoning, and sending out of the country, and delivering up, &c. &c. as measures of *expedience* merely. From a perusal of their at once flippant and pompous trash, one would really believe, that foreigners were not, in this country, under the safeguard of the courts of justice; and, in fact, that they were totally unknown to the law of the land. These diurnal politicians are brim full of the milk of human kindness: so great is their philanthrophy, that they would much rather see their country subjugated than go to war; yet they can, with the most perfect *sang froid* imaginable, applaud the ministers for having, as they supposed, given up to certain ruin and death a considerable number of persons whose only imputed crime was, too great an attachment to this country! And these are the writers, who would fain persuade us, that the "liberty and happiness of nations" depend upon the free and unshackled use of *their* pens! They would fain persuade us, that it is reserved for them to save the world from the tyranny of Buonaparté, while, in the very same column, they applaud, in our ministers, an act (which they believe them to have committed) much more tyrannical and perfidious than any thing of which Buonaparté has ever been, or can, with truth, be accused. It cannot be forgotten how vociferous these generous and public spirited writers were against the treason and sedition bills, and against the suspension of the habeas corpus act: what affecting strains they poured out at the hard fate of the Stones, the Jacksons, and the O'Connors; but now, behold! when the lives of the French Royalists are, as they suppose, about to be sacrificed, they seem to forget that there is any law of habeas corpus, or any other law. No clamour! They are as quiet and submissive as if they had, from their infancy, sucked in the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.

We shall now, for the present, take leave of this subject, not without some hope, that what we have said will tend to remove the anxiety, which may yet be entertained for the safety and tranquillity of those aliens, against whom Buonaparté may possibly have a grudge, and who have the happiness to reside in this country. It will be observed, however, that our remarks, respecting such persons as may be accused of crimes committed *since* the signature of the treaty, will not hold good, *after* an act of parliament shall have been passed for giving effect to the XXth article; but, that act will not, we trust, be found to endanger the safety of any of the persons, in whose fate we take an interest. We possess some information on this head, which we shall take an early opportunity of submitting to the consideration of our readers.

From the gallant and faithful Vendeans we would now turn the attention of our readers to a person of a very different description, Mr. Fox; but we have not room enough left to observe, at any length, on the accounts which have been given of his visit to, and reception at, Paris. We cannot, however, forbear to notice the ridiculous embarrassment to which this "wise and "prudent statesman" has reduced his friends in England, particularly those knights of the quill, who have constantly been honoured with a seat by his side, at the Whig Club, and who, in return, have always kept a corner of their papers at his command.—Unfortunately for these gentlemen, at the moment, that they are insinuating (for they are, on this subject; reduced to insinuations) that Buonaparté is the greatest tyrant in the universe, that he rules France with a rod of iron, and that he has even extended his oppressive rod to that most precious of all enjoyments, the liberty of the British press; just at this very moment, their leader, their idol, the champion of freedom, the man of the people, goes and voluntarily does homage to the great object of their execration and their dread, to the man whom they represent as the enemy and destroyer of liberty in every form and degree! The manner in which they attempt to reconcile this step of Mr. Fox with their own opinions and declarations respecting the two characters shall be noticed in our next, probably in the form of a letter to Mr. Fox himself; we shall only further remark at present, that, if any thing were wanted to heighten the ridicule, excited by the embarrassment above-mentioned, a lover of fun would certainly have chosen precisely what these sagacious writers have furnished him with, in their comparison between the *greatness* of Mr. Fox's character, and the *littleness* of that of Buonaparté, together with their remarks as to the *pride* which the Consul must feel at

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being visited by Mr. Fox, and the *consequence* it must give him in the eyes of mankind! This was one way, which these mortified writers had of avenging themselves on the Consul for having abridged their precious right of printing; a right which they have constantly employed to the injury and disgrace of their country. Their dislike to Buonaparté, and their abuse of him, arose, not from his being the enemy of England, but from his having taken effectual measures for killing Jacobinism in France.—They hate him, as we have frequently observed, for his good, and not for his evil deeds. It is impossible for any candid man to deny, that, in proportion as Buonaparté has increased in power, the tranquillity and happiness of France has been restored. Where then is the reason for inveighing against the increase of his power, as far as relates to France? To hate Buonaparté as the greatest and most formidable enemy of England, indeed, is a legitimate feeling; but the men, of whom we are speaking, hate him much more for his amnesty to the emigrants and his restoration of the Christian religion, than they would were he to land on the coast of Sussex with a hundred thousand men. We live, however, in hopes of seeing them all reconciled to him. They have fulfilled our prediction: after a week's bluster, they are become as tame and as harmless as Buonaparté himself could wish; and they not only submit in silence to the castigation of the French papers, but translate and publish the articles written against themselves; which is an act of penitence equal, at least, to the kissing of the rod.—Mr. Fox *will do the rest!*

The definitive treaty between France and the Porte, the Aulic Rescript, the imprisonment of Touissaint, as well as several other important subjects must, for want of room, remain unnoticed till the next sheet.

JAMAICA.

Message from his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, sent over to the House of Assembly on the 17th Day of June last.—(Published by Authority.)

Mr. Speaker,—I am commanded by his honour the lieutenant-governor to lay before the House of Assembly of Jamaica extracts of two letters, and a third letter, from the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, which under the present circumstances of the mother country and the colony, so intimately concern their mutual interests, that his honour earnestly hopes the House will take them into their most mature consideration.

The necessity which his honour feels of making a most explicit communication of his sentiments to the Assembly on the subject of their present meeting, has strongly induced him to submit for their consideration his reasons for urging the adoption of the important measure proposed by his Majesty's ministers upon this occasion, viz.

The immense debt which the mother country has incurred in the prosecution of the war, and for the security of the British possessions, and the absolute necessity of her resorting to some extraordinary means for enabling her to support the increased naval and military establishments, so imperiously required in all parts of the empire, but more particularly in her West-India colonies, from the melancholy and alarming state of some of the neighbouring islands; the mutual harmony and thorough confidence between the British government and the island of Jamaica, which would naturally follow so liberal and just a proceeding on the part of the assembly:

The minds of the proprietors and inhabitants of the island, being set at rest upon the question of the employment of black troops as a part of their defence, by the immediate removal of the 2d West-India regiment, and the consent of his Majesty to the wishes of the assembly, that in future no corps of that description should be sent hither, without the concurrence of the house.

The colonies being relieved from the expense of maintaining the 20th regiment of dragoons as a permanent part of its establishment, which may be more than equal to the pay of 1,000 infantry.

The assembly having pledged itself to pay 2,000 white troops at a much less critical period than the present, which, for very obvious reasons, requires full 5,000 regular infantry, together with the whole militia of the island placed upon an improved footing, to render her secure against invasion and insurrection:

The spirit of the present proposals, that the island is only required to maintain the effective numbers upon the returns of the several corps upon this establishment, not exceeding 5000 men, and that those numbers will probably be reduced at a future period, by the restoration of good order and subordination in the French islands:

The opening and the rapid improvement of the interior country, by constructing barracks therein, and the consequent increased

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means of maintaining the expense of 5,000 infantry, or such a part of that number as it may be requisite hereafter to station in Jamaica—the great prospect of a much more ready and extensive sale for the produce of the colony, from new markets being opened to its commerce by the blessings of peace—the advantages attending the placing of the barrack department under the direction and controul of the Commander in Chief, and the formation of a corps of black artificers, with white master artificers and foremen at their head, under the immediate direction of the island engineer, which would diminish in a great degree the expense of that branch of the public service, and do away altogether the present difficulties attending contracts for the necessary works, so improvident and ineffectual a system for the objects in view:

These reasons have impressed themselves so forcibly, and with such thorough conviction, upon his honour's mind, that he relies with confidence upon their having their due weight with the members of the assembly, and he has accordingly given directions for the embarkation of the 20th regiment of dragoons, and the 2d West-India regiment.

His honour hopes and trusts that it is unnecessary for him to make many professions, but he most solemnly assures the house, that as long as he may have the honour to remain in his present situation, he will devote his utmost attention and abilities to the prosperity and security of the island of Jamaica, by studying the greatest economy in the expenditure for the barrack department, if entrusted to his management, and by introducing such an improved system of discipline, and such regulations into the militia service, as must tend to render that body much more efficient for the defence of the island, without drawing them unnecessarily from their other useful occupations.

(To be continued.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

TYRO's *continuation and close of the Remarks on Belsham shall appear in our next if possible.*

JUNIUS *must know, that we* DARE *not publish his remarks, as they now stand; and, if we dared, we certainly would not do it.*

The article from the EAST-INDIES *shall appear in our next. We had not time to insert it in a suitable manner.*

TO READERS.

THE SUPPLEMENT *to the first Volume of this Work is published. It contains more matter than two common octavo volumes, and concludes with an* INDEX, *which we think to be as complete a thing of its kind as ever was published. All the sets of the first Volume having, long ago, been sold, the whole volume is reprinted, and may be had of any of the newsmen, or booksellers. The price of the Supplement alone is* 8*s.* 9*d. Gentlemen who take the Work weekly will be supplied by their newsmen. If the newsmen should neglect to do it, application may be made to the Editor, or to Mr. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Whitehall, Sept. 4.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland unto Archibald Dickson, of Hardingham-Hall, in the county of Norfolk, Esq. Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, with remainder to his nephew Archibald Collingwood Dickson, Esq. Captain in the Royal Navy (eldest son of William Dickson, Esq. also Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's fleet,) and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten: Provided such his Majesty's Concession and Declaration be registered in his College of Arms, otherwise to be void and of non effect.

Downing-Street, Sept. 8. — The King has been pleased to appoint John Hookham Frere, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid.

The King has also been pleased to appoint the Right Honourable Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Lisbon.

Ordnance-Office, Sept. 2.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—Second Lieutenant Cyprian Bridge to be First Lieut. vice W. Scott, deceased. Dated Aug. 8.

Corps of Royal Engineers.—Second Lieut. Thomas Colby to be First Lieut. vice the Hon. Robert Lawrence Dundas. Dated Aug. 6.

War-Office, Sept. 4.

Royal Reg. of Horse Guards, Alexander Manners Leslie, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Taylor. Adjutant John Taylor to be Adjut. with the rank of Cornet.

3d Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Lieutenant George Tito Brice, from the half-pay of the 3d Drag. Guards, to be Lieut. vice Lascelles, who exchanges.

3d Reg. of Dragoons, Capt. Godfrey Basil Mundy to be Major, by purchase, vice Arden, who retires. Lieut. Edward D. Sitwell to be Capt. vice Mundy. Cornet Charlton Tucker to be Lieutenant, vice Sitwell.

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11th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Quarter-master George Secker to be Adjut. with the rank of Cornet, vice Horsey, who resigns.

12th Ditto, Lieut. James White to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, vice Martin, who retires.

22d Ditto, R. J. Dobree, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Watson, who retires

23d Ditto, Lieut. Robert Carruthnot to be Captain, by purchase, vice Bradshaw, who retires.

24th Ditto, Cornet the Hon. George Blaquiere to be Lieut. by purchase vice Bodkin, promoted. Henry John Atkinson, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Blaquiere. Richard James Shaw, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Jones promoted.

1st Battal. of the 1st Reg. of Foot, John D. Gumbes, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Edie, promoted.

8th Reg. of Foot, Henry Bennett, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Marsh, who retires.

7th Ditto, Lieut. Henry Nooth to be Captain, by purchase, vice Hardyman, promoted in the 1st Battal. Royals.

8th Reg. of Foot, Lieut. John Graham Douglas, from half-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Bannatyne, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

9th Ditto, Ensign George Marlay to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Culloden, who retires.

10th Ditto, John Sharland Harris, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Newport, promoted in the 4th Foot.

15th Ditto, Captain Edmund Rolfe Boggis, from the 18th Light Dragoons, to be Major, by purchase, vice Robinson, promoted. Oliver Smithwick, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Warrington, who retires.

16th Ditto, Lieut. Neptune Lynch, from half-pay of the 16th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Cooke, who exchanges receiving the difference. Nicholas Doolin, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice West, who retires.

21st Ditto, Felix Brady, Gent. to be Adjutant, with the rank of Second Lieut. vice Paterson, who resigns.—Angus Mackay, Gent. to be Second Lieut. by purchase, vice Stephens, promoted.

22d Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Cresswell, from the 35th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Hurlstone, promoted.

24th Ditto, Ensign Arthur Blake to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Forster, promoted.

35th Ditto, Peter Tripp, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Scoulding, who retires. Robert Seymour, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Smith, promoted.

39th Ditto, Lieut. Thomas Wilson, from Half-pay of the 28th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Hearn, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

38th Ditto. Lieut. John Russel to be Captain of a Company, by purchase, vice Montgomery, who retires.

31st Ditto, Ensign Charles Ashe à Court, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice M'Kenna, who retires. Edward Fleming, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Hawkshaw, promoted.

32d Ditto, Ensign Thomas Jones, from Half-pay of the 32d Foot, to be Ensign, vice Fozard, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Ensign Thomas Ramsay, from Half-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Horne, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

35th Ditto, Ensign Alexander John Saltoun, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Armett, promoted.

36th Ditto, Major Lord Charles Bentinck, from the 3d West-India Reg. to be Lieut.-Colonel, by purchase, vice Pringle, who retires.

40th Ditto, Lieut. William Dunbar to be Capt. of a Compa. by purchase, vice O'Donnel, who retires. Ensign Tho. Rogers, from the 8th Foot, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Buchan, who retires.

41st Ditto, Ensign Ormsby Claude Smith to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Crawford, who retires. Surgeon John Meade, from Half-pay of the 40th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Pack, who exchanges.

44th Ditto. Ensign John Berwick to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Legge, who retires. Harvey Welman, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Berwick.

48th Reg. of Foot, Capt. Hastings Fraser, from the 12th Foot, to be Major, by purchase, vice Clarke, who retires.

54th Ditto, Malcolm Macgregor, Gent to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Featherstone, promoted.

55th Ditto, Lieut. Joseph Paterson, from Half-pay of the 28th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Martin, who exchanges.

59th Ditto, Lieutenant Alexander M'Geachy to be Captain, by purchase, vice Forster, promoted in the 60th Foot.

60th Ditto, Cornet James Hughes, from the 16th Light Drag. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Smith, promoted.

62d Ditto, Lieut. C. W. Kerr, from Half-pay of the 62d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Nadould, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Lieut. William Johnstone, from Half-pay of the 62d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Creighton, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

65th Ditto. John Orrok, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Watson, promoted.

67th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. John O'Bryen to be Capt. by purchase, vice Grierson, who retires.

71st Ditto, James Clarke, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Perkins, who retires.

72d Ditto, Ensign Edward B. Collis, from Half pay of the 40th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Cameron, who exchanges. Ensign Henry Peard, from Half-pay of the 72d Foot, to be Ensign, vice Maclachlan, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

85th Ditto, Lieut. J. Bent, from the 92d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Smith, promoted.

1st West India-Reg. John Gordon, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted in the 35th Foot.

2d Ditto, Quarter-Master-Serjeant —— Macpherson, from the 83d Foot, to be Adjutant, with the rank of Ensign, vice Campbell, who resigns.

Royal Waggon Train, Lieut. John Purvis, from half-pay of the Waggon Train, to be Adjutant, with the rank of Cornet, vice Walford, who exchanges.

Thomas Stanroyd, Esq. from half-pay of Lieut. of the 17th Foot, to be Paymaster of a Recruiting District.

Garrison-Surgeon Chas. Williamson to be Surgeon to the Forces, vice Huddlestone, who retires on half-pay.

Boston Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

Richard Lang, Gent. to be Lieut. vice Heathfield, promoted.

Western Troop of Roxburghshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

William Oliver, Gent. to be First Lieutenant.

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Erratum in the Gazette of the 26th of September, 1801.

92d Regiment of Foot.

For Ensign Chas. Dundingstone to be Lieut. vice Bent, deceased,
Read Ensign Chas. Dundingstone to be Lieut, without purchase.

War-Office, Sept. 7.

32d Reg. of Foot, Lieut. Gen. James Ogilvie, from the 89th Foot, to be Colonel, vice General the Earl of Ross, deceased.
89th Ditto, Major-Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. from the 17th Foot, to be Colonel, vice Ogilvie, appointed to the command of the 32d Foot.

BANKRUPTS.

Arthy, Elliot, late of Liverpool, master and mariner.
Bernard, James, Bolingbroke and Mary Ann Bolingbroke, of Norwich, woollen-drapers.
Keetley, Thomas, of Sandiacre, Derbyshire, timber-merchant.
Knight, Joseph, the younger, now or late of Cannock, Staffordshire, mercer.
Potter, Wm. of Bath, upholder.

BIRTHS.

On Sunday, in Harley-street, the Lady of John Denison, Esq. M.P. of a daughter.

The Hereditary Princess of Hesse Cassel, sister to the King of Prussia, was safely delivered of a Prince on the 20th ult.

MARRIAGES.

On Tuesday, at Lyme, William Beadon, Esq. of Taunton, nephew of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Miss Hammet, daughter of the late John Hammet, Esq.

Sunday, at Bishopsbourn, in Kent, by the Rev. Edward Northey, Canon of Windsor, Edward Taylor, Esq. of Bifrons, to Miss Beckingham, daughter of the Rev. J. C. Beckingham, of Bourn-place, in the same County.

On Wednesday, Thomas Tooke, Esq. of Northend, Hampstead, to Miss Combe, daughter of Dr. Combe, of Bloomsbury-square.

On Tuesday last, at Litchfield, Robert John Harper, Esq. of the Duchy of Lancaster, Somerset-place, to Miss Hinckley, eldest daughter of Thomas Hinckley, Esq. of Litchfield.

DEATHS.

On the 24th ult. at Hilden, near Belfast, Colonel Hugh Dickson, late of his Majesty's 29th regiment, in which he served 40 years.

On Friday night, the 19th ult. at Worthing, where he went for the recovery of his health, the Honourable Augustus Philip Monckton, third son of Viscount Galway.

On Saturday, aged 74, the Rev. Francis Best, Rector of South Dalton, Yorkshire.

At Castle-Connell, after a lingering illness, Mrs. Osborne, wife of Henry Osborne, of Peechwood, county of Tipperary, Esq. and niece to the Right Hon. Lo d Norbury.

At Hilden, near Belfast, Colonel Hugh Dickson, late of his Majesty's 29th regiment, in which he served 40 years.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr. C. R. An.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per C. Con.	68¼	68⅝	68⅛	68⅛	68⅛	68½
4 pr C. Cons.	86⅜	—	—	—	—	—
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100¼	100⅛	100⅛	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	20 1/16	—	—	20⅛	—	20⅛
D° S. 1778 & 9	5	—	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	68½	86⅛	—	—	67⅛
D° Ann.	12 1/16	—	12⅛	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	—	—	—	102	—	—
Omnium	9¼ dis	8¼ dis	8¼ di	9 dis	9 dis	9 d
India Stock.	203¼	—	—	—	—	—
D° Bonds.	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct.	101	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 30 c.
American eight per cents. 111¼.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 19	2 us.	LEGHORN	51½
D°, at sight	10 16½		NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	11	2 us.	GENOA	47½
HAMBURGH	33 3	2½us.	VENICE, 58 livres picc. effective per £. ster.	
ALTONA	33 4	2½us.	LISBON	67
PARIS 1 day	23 10		OPORTO	67½
PARIS	23 18	2us.	DUBLIN	12
BOURDEAUX,	28 19		BILBOA	36¼ D
CADIZ	in paper		PALERMO	
DITTO	36¼	eff.	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
MADRID	in paper			
DITTO	36¼	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	
Eng. Wheat per q.	45	to 68	Hops per cwt.	120	to 29
Foreign	00	.. 00	Hay per load	80	.. 15
Rye	30	.. 34	Beef, per stone	4s. 0d. to 5s. 0d.	
Barley	31	.. 36			
Malt	46	.. 52	Mutton	5s. 0d.	to 6s 0
Oats	14	.. 23	Veal	4s. 6d.	to 6s. 4
Pease (white)	39	.. 42	Pork	5s. 6d.	to 7s. 0
Beans (horse)	35	.. 38	Tallow	3s. 9	
Flour per sack	50	.. 52	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	45	.. 50	per cwt.	32s. 6	
Coals per chal.	36	.. 41	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10	

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of Sept. 180

Days.	M'nage	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
2		Fine.	SE	SW	29,8	29,7	65	75
3		Fine.	W	W	29,6	29,6	69	70
4		Rain.	SW	SW	29,4	29,4	68	69
5	☾	Fair.	SW	SW	29,58	29,6	65	70
6		Th. S. Fa.	SW	SW	29,68	29,68	62	64
7		Fair.	N	NNW	29,88	29,85	58	61
8		Fine.	SE	SE	29,98	29,80	54	60

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 11.] *London, Saturday, 18th September,* 1802. [Price 10D

CONTENTS.—*Cobbett's Ann. Register,* 321. *Jamaica Assembly,* 328. *Aulic Rescript,* 333. *Note of the Bohemian Min. to the Diet,* 335. *Note of the Min. of Fr. and Rus.* 336. *Turkish Note,* 337. *America and Morocco,* 338. *Mr. Cobbett's Let. to Mr. Fox,* 338. *Toussaint,* 346. *Fox at Paris,* 346. *Black Sea,* 348.

COBBETT'S ANNUAL REGISTER.

VOL. I.

From January to June, 1802.

This work is composed, partly of an exact reprint of the Weekly Register, for the same period, and partly of a Supplement, which has been published separately for the convenience of those gentlemen who have taken and preserved the weekly Numbers.

When I first undertook the Register, I was fully persuaded, that the plan, which, indeed, I had long thought of, was well calculated to insure a wide circulation, and to produce an extensive as well as a *lasting* effect. It appeared to me, that such a work, conducted with great diligence and with common ability, would, with relation to politics, at once embrace every rational object of a news-paper, a magazine, and a review. Here my prospect terminated; but, when I came to see a dozen or fifteen numbers collected together in the form of a book, when I perceived the convenience and great utility of this book, and particularly when I came to compare its contents with those of the Annual Registers, I felt myself urged, by every motive which can actuate a writer, to extend my plan, so as to make it include the purpose of that sort of work, in the shape and under the title of which I now present the first volume to the public.

The book may be considered as divided into two parts, the first consisting of a reprint of the weekly numbers for the half year, and the second, of the Supplement.

The reprint of the numbers contains a collection of all authentic Documents, relating to State Affairs, or matters of political economy, whether they immediately relate to this country or not; and, in making this collection, care has been taken to recur to such compacts and transactions of past times, as do, or may, affect the circumstances of the present time. During the session of Parliament, each number contains, of course, an account of its proceedings and debates. As occasion requires, and as the time and room affords opportunity, brief notices are given of such new books as relate to history, politics, or political economy, or that bear upon subjects connected therewith; and, in some instances, the principles and statements of works, so noticed, are examined and controverted. The preceding important heads are followed, in each sheet, by a selection of such Foreign Intelligence and Domestic Occurrences as are of some public importance; to which are added, a weekly account of Promotions, Appointments, Preferments, Dispensations, Bankrupts, Births, Marriages, Deaths; Price of Stocks, of Corn, Meat, Bread, &c. &c. also of the Course of Exchange, and of the Changes of the Weather.

Each sheet contains a Summary View of Politics, or more correctly speaking, a portion of a series of statements and observations applicable to the most important current events and transactions. Besides this series, which, upon a perusal, will be found to leave very few topics of consequence entirely untouched, the weekly sheets (and the reprint of them, of course) contain detached discussions of all the principal measures of our own government and of the governments of other countries; so that, these sheets, when collected and perused together, will form a Chronicle, not only of events and transactions, but of the opinions, feelings, and motives connected therewith.

The compilers of Annual Registers have adopted a different, and, in my opinion, a far less perfect mode of arranging their materials, which it is their custom to divide into classes, instead of placing them in the order in which they were first communicated to the public. According to their method, all the State Papers are so inserted as to follow each other without the intervention of other matter; and so of the Proceedings in Parliament, the Historical Remarks, &c. &c. But it is, I think, evident, that this classification can be attended with no one advantage, while it has many very great disadvantages. Considering the Register merely as a book of *reference*, it is of little import how the materials are ar-

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ranged, so that they are all included in the book, and are pointed to by the Index in such a manner as to be found with perfect facility; but, as a book for *perusal*, the chronological order is certainly the most favourable to a clear, an easy, and satisfactory comprehension of the divers matters contained in it. At first sight, it may appear, that the chronological order, followed without reference to the difference in the kind of the materials, produces, in one and the same sheet, a heterogeneous mass of Treaties with Foreign Powers, Debates in the Parliament, Intelligence from abroad, Occurrences at home, Fluctuations in the Stocks, Price of Bread, Political Reflections, &c. &c. Yet, upon closer observation, it will be found, that there is a very intimate connection between all these; that they explain and elucidate each other, and that, though widely different in their nature, the reader must see them all, and all together too, in order to have a full and fair view of the political picture, of which they are the component parts. An article, on the contrary, contained in a Register where the classifying order is pursued, has seldom any connection with those which immediately precede or come after it; and, in the studying of it, the reader very rarely indeed derives any aid from the situation in which it is found. Where, for instance, is the connection between two State Papers? What help, in general, does the one afford towards the just appreciation of the other? To know what was thought and said of the treaty of Amiens, to obtain any knowledge respecting it, other than that which is to be drawn from the instrument itself, recourse must be had to those other sources of information, which here accompany the treaty, but which in a work otherwise constructed must be sought for elsewhere, not always with a certainty of success, and never without considerable pains.

The twenty-six sheets, which form the Chronicle for the half year, did not, however, appear to me to be quite sufficient to render the work complete. Several articles presented themselves, which, though too long to be inserted in the Weekly Numbers, were absolutely necessary to the completion of my plan. These, I therefore, resolved to publish in a half yearly Supplement, to be supplied, at a moderate price, to the purchasers of the Weekly Numbers. The Supplement to Vol. I. is now published, and, on this occasion, I think it right to give some account of its contents, which are as follows:

1. Report made to the American Congress, by Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State, in 1793, concerning the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with foreign Nations.—The principal object of this report was to procure from the Congress, an act to give the trade of France a preference before that of Great-Britain. The lower house passed an act to this effect, but it was thrown out in the Senate. Our commercial treaty with America expires in a year's time, and it is therefore highly interesting to know what were, on this subject, the sentiments and views of a man, who is now at the head of the American government.
2. Report made to the National Convention of France, by Roberjot, relative to the countries conquered by the armies of the North, and of the Sambre and the Meuse.—This report, which is a statement of the motives for making the Rhine the boundary of France, contains a vast deal of information relative to the population, the soil, the natural productions, the manufacturing, the commercial, the maritime and military advantages of the countries, of which, unfortunately, France has now got the sole and safe possession.
3. Extracts on the Subject of Commerce from Sir Frederick Morton Eden's Letters on the Peace, and from my own Letters to Mr. Addington.
4. Account of the Society of Ship Owners, formed in June, 1802.
5. An account of the Proceedings of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in 1802.
6. A topographical and statistical Account of the Island of Trinidad.
7. An Account of the rise, progress, and present situation of the Colony of Sierra Leone.
8. A Letter to the Bishop of Rochester (now of St. Asaph) on the Slave Trade. By a West-India Planter.—Republished.
9. An Essay on Neutral Rights, by Alex. Hamilton, Esq. formerly Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.—This essay was written in defence of those articles of the treaty of 1794, which relate to the rights of neutrals at sea. It is a most able performance, and is, I believe, nowhere to be found in England. It is of importance from intrinsic merit, and highly so from its origin, as every person at all acquainted with the subject will easily perceive.
10. An Essay on the Balance of Power in Europe. Written in April, 1802.
11. Naval Projects of France, translated from a French work, published at Paris in May, 1802.
12. Character of Buo. Aparte as drawn by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham.
13. Character of Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States, as drawn by William Smith, Esq. of South Carolina, late American Minister at the Court of Lisbon.
14. Character of Mr. Burr, Vice President of the United States, as displayed in a very curious transaction, lately brought to light, respecting the suppression of a work entitled "A History of the Administration of Mr. Adams.
15. United States of America. Sketch of the state of parties.—Extract from Mr. Hamilton's Examination of the President's Message to the

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Congress.—List of Public Acts passed during the last Session of Congress.—A Review of the last Session of Congress.—Extract from an Address to the People of the United States on the Policy of maintaining a permanent Navy.—A statistical Account of the United States for a succession of years, compiled from official Documents.

16. An Essay on the means of recruiting the British Army, and of keeping up the establishment, without degrading the character of the soldier and of the service.

17. Charter for founding and improving King's College at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia, dated May 12, 1802.

18. Form of Prayer, &c. used in the Churches, &c. on Tuesday, June 1, 1802, being the day appointed for Thanksgiving for the Peace, &c.

19. Substance of Sir William Scott's Speech, on the Bill relative to the Non-residence of the Clergy, and other Affairs of the Church.

20. Copy of the Bill (as amended on re-commitment), respecting the Non-residence of the Clergy and other Affairs of the Church.

21. AFFAIRS OF INDIA.—1. Letter from Mr. Dundas to the Chairman of the East-India Company, April 2, 1800, respecting the Trade between India and Europe.—2. First Report of the Special Committee, appointed to consider of the proposals contained in Mr. Dundas's Letter.—3. A complete List of the Papers necessary to be read on India Affairs, particularly on the subject of the Private Trade.—4. Minutes of the Court of Directors of the 4th of Feb. 1801, containing the Resolutions of the Special Committee, which were adopted by the Court.—5. Letter from Mr. Dundas to the Chairman, dated March 21, 1801, containing remarks on the Resolutions of the Special Committee, and referring to the Dispatches, just then received, from the Marquis of Wellesly.—6. Dispatches of the Marquis of Wellesly relative to the Private Trade, dated Sept. 30, 1800.—7. Second Report of the Special Committee, by way of reply to the Letters of Mr. Dundas and the Marquis of Wellesly.—8. Letter from Mr. Dundas to the Chairman, &c. on the India Debt, dated June 30, 1801.—9. Third Report of the Special Committee.—10. Extracts from a Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, being a defence of Mr. Dundas against the Special Committee, dated June 8, 1802.—These papers seem to me to be quite sufficient to enable any one to form a correct judgment as to the subjects treated of in them. In my next volume I shall take care to insert all the other papers, particularly those lately laid before Parliament, relative to this most important part of our dominions. It will be necessary to analyse, or abridge, some of them; but they will not, perhaps, be thereby rendered less convenient or useful.

22. List of the Public Acts, passed during the last Session of Parliament.

23. A List of the Titles of all the New Books, which have been published, in the United Kingdom, or in the Continent of Europe, and in America, during the last six months.—When I speak of the "last six months," I am to be understood as meaning, the six month ending June 30 for this kingdom, 31st of May for the Continent of Europe, and 31st of March for America. In my next list I shall go back to these several epochs.—The books are divided into thirty-two classes, and are upwards of *fifteen hundred* in number. The titles are all translated into English, but care has been taken to mention the language in which the work is published, and the place where published. This is, I am led to hope, the completest thing of the kind that ever has been attempted. It has cost no small pains, and I trust it will be found to be of great and extensive utility.

24. Juridicial Proceedings during the six months.—Under this head I have selected and analysed, or abridged, the accounts, given of all such cases, in the several courts, as appear to me to contain any thing novel, or peculiarly interesting or important, whether from their nature, their consequences, or from the rank, &c. of the parties. That the student in law will derive much advantage from this species of report I can hardly flatter myself; but, if it be continued on, year after year, with a tolerable degree of correctness, I am persuaded it will be found very useful to the generality of my readers.

25. Complete List of all the Military and Naval Promotions during the six months.

26. Ecclesiastical Preferments and Dispensations during the six months.

27. Complete List of Bankrupts for the six months, alphabetically arranged.

28. General View of the Variations in the Price of Bread—in the Value of the Funds—and in the Bills of Mortality, during the six months, ending on June 30, 1802.

29. INDEX to the whole Volume.—This Index occupies thirty pages, small print, has been made with great care, and will, I trust, be found extremely useful. To a work containing so great a number and variety of articles, it was impossible to make a useful table of Contents; but, it was the more necessary to provide an Index, which should make up for the want of such table. This has been attempted, at least; and there is, I believe, no passage, of any consequence, in the whole book, to which there is not a reference under two, or more, letters of the Index.

The contents of every work of this sort may be considered under three principal heads: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, COLONIAL AFFAIRS, and FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The *first* includes, Proclamations, Orders of Council, Proceeding in and Acts of Parliament; statements and observations respecting the Legislature, the Courts of Justice, the Church, the Army, the Navy, Finance, Shipping, Manufactures, Agriculture; Lists of Appointments, Promotions, Preferments, Dispensations, Bankruptcies; Rates and Prices of Stocks, and of the principal articles of Food. The *second* head includes every thing that transpires relative to our distant possessions, their Population, Soil, Exports and Imports, system of Slavery, Means of Defence, Military and other Establishments and Resources. The *third* includes all Treaties, Conventions, Declarations, and, in short, all Papers of whatever description, made or

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issued by any Government or Governments, and which treat of matters, in which more than one nation has a concern. Nor must Laws, Proclamations, Decrees, &c. &c which relate to the internal concerns of foreign nations be altogether omitted: some of them may; but others are very necessary to enable the politician to form an opinion, not only as to the interior situation, but also as to the exterior views of other countries: and, for the same purpose he should have correct information respecting the pecuniary, the military, and other resources of the principal nations, particularly of such as are, by their situation, power, and disposition, in any degree formidable to ourselves.

Such ought to be the contents of an Annual Register, and such are the contents of this volume, which does, in my opinion, include all the matter and information, which the politician can wish to possess, belonging to the period, for which it professes to be a record.

The size of the volume is large, but not so large as to be inconvenient, and it is bound in such a way as effectually to obviate all the difficulty, which the reader might naturally enough apprehend from the broadness of the page. To those gentlemen, who may send their own sets to be bound, it may be necessary to observe, that the bookbinder should be directed to bind with what is called a *hollow-back*.

The price of the *Supplement alone* is 6*s*. 9*d*. and of the *complete volume*, reprinted and bound, £1 : 11 : 6.—The Supplement, from my desire to render the work as reasonable as possible to those who take the weekly numbers, is sold for precisely what it cost me; and the volume complete, is sold for no more than the amount of the numbers it contains, with the addition of the Supplement and the binding. At first sight it may appear dear; but when the quantity of print is considered, it will be found to be proportionably *cheaper than any other book published in London*. It contains more matter than four common octavo volumes; and of this matter an unusual proportion is of that kind which is the most expensive to print. Gentlemen, who take the weekly numbers, must perceive the economy arising from it. They have a Weekly Paper containing all that a gentleman can desire to find in such a vehicle, and also an Annual Register, more minute and satisfactory than any hitherto published, at the very moderate rate of *three guineas a year*.

Eleven Numbers of Vol. II, have been published. Gentlemen, who may now choose to begin the work, may be supplied with those eleven numbers. The preceding numbers, as well as the succeeding ones, can be sent *post-free*, like common newspapers, to any part of the United Kingdom. One number is published every Saturday, and it leaves town by the post of that day.

Applications may be made to the Editor, to the Publisher, or to any of the Newsmen of London or Westminster.—The gentlemen who have not received the Supplement from the Newsmen who supply them with the Weekly Numbers, will please to apply to the Editor; or to the Publisher, Mr. Richard Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden.

(Continued from page 315.)

House of Assembly, Monday, June 21, 1802.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the House to send a message to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor, in answer to his message of the 17th instant, accompanied by communications from his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and containing his Honour's sentiments respecting the measures proposed in that minister's letters, to inform his Honour that the House, after minutely investigating every antecedent circumstance connected with the subject, has given the most mature consideration.

That the House think it their duty, in the most respectful manner, to represent to his Honour, that his Majesty's subjects in this island, in the full confidence of their having an equal right to protection, for defence and security, as his Majesty's subjects resident in Great-Britain, having at all times progressively contributed their full proportion for defraying the expenses of the Empire at large, have uniformly resisted applications made by his Majesty's ministers, tending to burthen this country with the British pay of such troops as have been sent here for its protection; and although from existing circumstances the Assembly did on some occasions, depart from a principle which they consider to be an inherent right the House did, on such occasions, strongly remonstrate against the conditions insisted on by his Majesty's ministers when they conceded to the wishes of the country, as being equally unconstitutional as unjust:

That, from the first establishment of a military force in this island, the representatives of the people did, with a liberality becoming loyal and faithful subjects, provide an additional island subsistence for the troops, with convenient barracks, hospital allowances, with various accommodation

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and comforts; and so early as the year 1773, the Council and Assembly, in a joint address to his Majesty, did solemnly pledge the faith of the country to continue such subsistence, and other incidents mentioned, to any number of troops his Majesty might be graciously pleased to send for their protection to the extent of 3000 men. This salutary provision has been faithfully continued at the sole charge of the island, and some additions have recently been made for the comfort of the troops, a provision which the House takes leave to observe, is made by this island alone of all his Majesty's territories in the West-Indies:

That when his Majesty was solicited to add a regiment of cavalry to the force then stationed in the island, and the 20th regiment of light dragoons was raised and sent out, it was not at that time, nor at any subsequent period, considered as a permanent establishment, and that it was not so will clearly appear by a reference to the votes and proceedings of the House respecting that measure; that the application made to his Majesty in that respect was an experiment resorted to, when the situation of the neighbouring French colony of St. Domingo caused the greatest alarm and terror for the safety of this country; and although the conditions on which this force was sent were acceded to by the House, the strongest representations were made against them as being novel and unconstitutional, and the consent given to submit to such terms could only proceed from imperious necessity:

That when the Assembly agreed to give British pay to 2000 men, the measure was held out as a substitute to avert the evils and imminent danger at that time apprehended by the inhabitants at large, from having black troops raised or sent here, or in other language, armed slaves to defend and protect the rights, the liberties, and properties, not only of free men, but of British subjects,—a measure not only considered to proceed from ignorance of our local circumstances, of our laws, and of our constitution, but viewed with that abhorrence and indignation which it could not fail to excite. Recent occurrences in some of his Majesty's windward islands, and certain instances which have actually occurred of desertion of some of the black troops quartered in this country, fully justify the apprehensions of the people from having a force of this description stationed in their garrisons, the more especially when the dangerous consequences which must follow upon desertion of the black troops are adverted to. This measure was adopted by his Majesty's ministers, regardless of repeated and urgent representations made by the Assembly against it, which appear on the journals of the House; that whenever such or any other military establishment is found to be inexpedient or dangerous, it is conceived that the subject has an undoubted right to relief; and the House is well assured that his Majesty's paternal goodness will always induce him to gratify the wishes of his faithful subjects in that respect:

That in the substitute offered by the Assembly to pay and subsist 2000 white troops at the sole expense of the country, it was expressly stipulated that no black military establishment should be raised in or sent to this island. An additional inducement for consenting to burthen the people with so heavy an expense, and to depart from what they consider to be their inherent right, was the full confidence that most important benefits would be obtained from our white population being augmented by the future colonization of these men, and their families in the island; a plan, and the means for affecting which formed a part of the proposition.—That, notwithstanding the royal approbation expressed of the liberal conduct of the Assembly, and that the general sentiments of his Majesty's servants appeared to be most favourable to the measure, his Majesty's late war minister, in a letter to our agent, and the Duke of Portland in a dispatch to the late commander in chief, declared, in the strongest terms, their intention of resuming the establishment of the black troops, and did actually send the 2d West-India regiment to this island, in direct violation of the condition agreed to by themselves in respect to that measure, and the contract entered into by the Assembly for the British pay and subsistence of 2000 men was thereby made void to all intents and purposes:

That from the various considerations already stated the House consider it to be their duty not to comply with the requisition signified in Lord Hobart's dispatches, of paying and subsisting 5000 troops at the sole expense of this colony, and their resistance is founded on constitutional right and justice; but if they could be induced to depart from their duty by an inclination to comply with the ministers requisition, the circumstances in which this country is at this time involved, from the great depression in the prices of its various staples and

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articles of commerce—the exorbitant rise in all articles of British and Irish merchandize and provisions imported—the advanced price of every article necessary for cultivation and subsistence—the injurious regulations and restrictions on its produce in the British markets—the ruinous and oppressive duties existing, and likely to be increased, on its imports from and exports to Great-Britain—the difficulties attending its commercial intercourse with the American States, from whence many most essential articles necessary for carrying on the cultivation of our properties, and for the subsistence of the inhabitants of all descriptions, can alone be obtained, arising from the prohibition to export any article of our staple productions except rum and molasses in American bottoms—and the pressure of a very heavy existing debt, for which a high rate of interest is paid—render it altogether totally impossible for the people to pay such an enormous amount of additional taxes as would be necessarily required to support such an expensive establishment:

That the House places the fullest confidence in the assurances given by his Honour, that he will devote his utmost attention and abilities to the prosperity and security of the island; by studying the greatest economy in the public expenditure, and by introducing such an improved system of discipline, and such regulations into the militia service, as must tend to render that body much more efficient for the defence of the island, without drawing them unnecessarily from their other useful occupations:

That they rest assured the sum voted for the interior barrack department, will be laid out with all possible economy, and with that judgment which his Honour's experience cannot fail to manifest:

That whenever his Honour shall be pleased, upon any future occasion, to lay before the House any specific propositions, either respecting the barrack department, or the formation of a corps of artificers, the same shall be taken into most serious consideration.

And a motion being made to amend the said report, by adding after the words "expensive establishment," the following clause:

"That notwithstanding the distress which has ensued from the various causes now stated, and the difficulty of supporting any additional burthens, the House being impressed with a sense of the expediency of [illegible] establishment to [illegible] by his Honour, will, to evince their zeal, loyalty, and patriotism, in the support of the British empire, consent to make the usual provision of subsistence and accommodation for the intended augmented force of 2000 effective men from year to year, so long as circumstances may render such a number, or any part thereof, necessary for protection and defence, in addition to the 3000 for which the island is already pledged to provide."

And the question being put upon the said amendment, the House divided:

The ayes went forth,

Ayes 6—Mr. Murphy, Mr. Geant, Mr. Minot, Mr. Ross, Mr. Shand, Mr. L. Cuthbert.

Noes 24—Mr. Sharp, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. Stewart (St. Eliz.), Mr. Herring, Mr. Telfer, Mr. C. Mitchell, Mr. Ogilvie, Mr. Christie, Mr. Edwardes, Mr. Kerr, Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr. Israell, Mr. W. Mitchell, Mr. Redwood, Mr. Taylor, Mr. P. Smith, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Shaw (Kingston), Mr. Kaylet, Mr. Sheriff, Mr. Schaw (Vere), Mr. Mowatt, Mr. G. Cuthbert, and Mr. Jaques.

So it passed in the negative.

Resolved, that the House do agree to the report.

Message from his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, sent over to the House of Assembly on the 21st day of June last.

(Published by authority).

Mr. Speaker,—I am commanded by the Lieutenant-Governor to lay before the House, a rough estimate of the expense of forming a corps of black artificers, together with a statement of the white master artificers, &c. required, and the probable annual expense of maintaining them, exclusive of the usual subsistence to the corps.

His Honour hopes that, as he finds it impossible to station the troops or to carry on the necessary works, with any advantage to the public, or the service in general without having the direction and control of the barrack department, the House of Assembly will sacrifice their private convenience to the public exigency of this very material object, entrust the management thereof to him, and pass an act accordingly for that purpose.

His Honour trusts that he has only to refer the Assembly to the proposals made to the Board of Works, for the construction of the new barrack at Stoney-hill, sent to the House in a former message, to prove to the

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members the impracticability of his Honour's undertaking to expend the £20,000 voted by the Assembly for interior barracks without the assistance of a corps of artificers; and that any delay of that measure would defeat the object for which that sum was granted.

House of Assembly, Tuesday, June 22, 1802.

Resolved, 5th, That a message be sent to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, acquainting him that, as his Honour's message to the House this day respecting the formation of a corps of artificers, and placing the barrack department under his Honour's management and controul, and to pass a bill accordingly, embraces objects of very considerable importance, and leads to investigations and discussions which, by occasioning a further duration of the present session at this season of the year, would prove highly inconvenient; the House request that his Honour will permit them to postpone the consideration of his message until the usual period of meeting for the dispatch of public business, when they will take the subject into their most mature deliberation.

And a motion being made, that the House do come to the following resolution instead thereof:

That a committee be appointed to take into consideration his Honour's sixth message of this day, respecting the appointment of a corps of artificers, and the establishment of a barrack department, to be placed under his Honour's particular direction,

The House divided:—The ayes went forth,

Ayes 11—Mr. Edwardes, Mr. Shand, Mr. Mowatt, Mr. Herring, Mr. Schaw (Vere), Mr. Murphy, Mr. Grant, Mr. Kayser, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Minot, and Mr. P. Smith.

Noes 15—Mr. Sheriff, Mr. Tharp, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Christie, Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr. W. Mitchell, Mr. L. Cuthbert, Mr. Stewart (St. Eliz), Mr. G. Cuthbert, Mr. Telfer, Mr. Ogilvie, Mr. Israell, Mr Ross, Mr. Kerr, and Mr. M. Smith.

So it passed in the negative.

Resolved, That the House do agree to the report.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Article Rescript received by the Electoral Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, 20th August, and delivered to the Diet on the 26th.

His Royal and Imperial Majesty has been but just informed by the Imperial Court of Russia of the contents of the subjoined declaration which that court and the French government intend to lay before the extraordinary deputation, convened for the purpose of regulating the points which have not been settled in the treaty of peace of the empire. His Majesty does not lose a moment to give to the sub-delegate of Bohemia the instructions which, in this unforeseen case, he judges most fit, in conformity with his solicitude and cares constantly directed to the good of the empire. No reproach can be made against his Majesty or the Germanic empire, founded upon the delay of the meeting of the extraordinary deputation of the empire. More than nine months have passed since the nomination of that deputation has been notified on the part of his Imperial Majesty and the empire to the French government, and since that government has been invited to appoint plenipotentiaries to co-operate in its name, and declare its opinion upon the fittest time for the meeting. So far from the convening of the deputation being urged upon the part of France, a satisfactory answer never has been given upon the subject. Neither has the ambassador of his Imperial and Royal Majesty been able to obtain from the French government to engage in a preparatory negotiation with the Imperial court, as had been promised by that government before and after the nomination of the extraordinary deputation of the empire. Very far from it, it has always answered in an evasive and dilatory manner to the reiterated request made to it, verbal and written, on the part of the Imperial and Royal Court. As to the new negotiation proposed, at the end of last year, by his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, to take place in concert at Paris, his Majesty has adhered, in the most friendly manner, to that proposition; but, notwithstanding that, his ambassador has neither been called to that negotiation, nor been in any way informed of its progress and result. After such proceedings his Majesty thinks that the meeting of the deputation of the empire, whether more or less tardy, cannot be a founded motive to restrain the right which the emperor and the empire as principal contracting parties in the treaty of peace of Luneville possess, and have formally reserved to themselves to immediately treat upon and regulate the business of indemnities, as also all the other points which go to the completion of the said treaty of peace. His Majesty, on the contrary, is perfectly assured, that the two powers above-mentioned, entertaining a just respect for the inviolable rights of an independent state, such as is the Germanic body, will not disavow in practice this first and principal attribution of independence. That it may be seen how well his Majesty is founded in reckoning upon the justice of the two powers, he will give to the empire a consoling explanation, by communicating to it the official assurance which was given to his ambassador at Paris, by M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs. The following is word for word that assurance as the ambassador has reported it: —'You may be assured that we have only agreed with Russia what propositions to make to you. We cannot even call this a plan. It is but a simple projet which we submit to the deliberation of the Diet, as the means which appeared to us as the best calculated to satisfy all parties as much

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as that is possible. That will be proposed as a counsel, and by no means with a tone of authority, or with an air of a disposition to force the thing."

He is confirmed, therefore, by this, that when even these powers may deem their counsels and friendly interference necessary for the arrangement of such a complicated business, they do not, therefore, in any wise intend to dispute the power and right of the Germanic empire to regulate by itself the claims to indemnities, as well as so many other points which nearly concern its constitution, and on which depends its welfare or its decline.

In this assurance his Majesty charges his electoral sub-delegate of Bohemia to intertere, as far as he is competent, in order that the extraordinary deputation already assembled, open without delay, its sittings in the constitutional form; that it enter into a negotiation conformable to treaties with the French plenipotentiary, and with the intervention and co-operation of the minister of Russia; and that it declare to these two plenipotentiaries, in the name of the empire, the confidence which the Germanic body has in the equitable views of the two powers, adding thereunto the assurance that the deputation will take their friendly propositions into serious consideration. The electoral sub-delegate of Bohemia is also charged to communicate those sentiments of his Majesty to the plenipotentiaries of France and Russia, adding that though according to the law of nations, and also according to the laws of the empire, the deputation cannot be restrained even by the head of the empire within a peremptory term, yet that his Majesty, in his quality of King and Elector of Bohemia, will accelerate, as much as possible, the termination of the points which are to constitute the completion of the peace.

Note of the Bohemian Minister, Mr. Scharnt, delivered to the Diet at Ratisbon on the 26th of August, on the Convention and Declaration of France and Russia, which were delivered on the 24th.

"When his Imperial Majesty proceeded to the opening of the deputation of the Empire, he hoped, by means of that measure, to preserve the Germanic Empire from the extremity equally prejudicial to its constitution as to its independence, of seeing the important changes in its territorial and constitutional relations executed by unilateral military occupations without the participation of the Emperor and of the Empire, a participation competent to them however, according to the treaty of Luneville and the law of nations. But his Imperial Majesty had not the happiness to attain his paternal and patriotic object. Within the time when the projects concerning these changes were still mysteriously concealed from the Emperor, and from the Germanic body, military operations were executed in the Northern circles. The dispositions made at the same instant, with the greatest publicity in another country, in the centre of Germany, were relative to so great a mass of states, that not only a great part of the countries, assured by anterior negotiations to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were comprised in them, but to replace them by other states, was rendered impossible by other arrangements. His Majesty learned at the same time, that considerable assemblages of Palatine troops had take place along the Inn, and upon the frontiers the territory of Passau. The Prince Bishop Passau apprised him of the urgent danger which he saw himself exposed, and of the approaching invasion of his residence and posse sions with which he was threatened. He invoke the protection of his Majesty, the Emperor an King. His Majesty resolved, in consequenc to prevent these enterprises, contrary to the authority and the interest of the Imperial Court, b sending his co-commissioner to the Diet, an Plenipotentiary to the Deputation of the Empi at Munich, with the most preventive instruction

"He was ordered to make the most friendly representations against these measures, which gav the signal of general confusion, and example violence, and which obliged the Imperial Cou to take energetic measures of precaution to se cure for his Royal Highness the Grand Duk the indemnities which had been solemnly promise to him by France and the Empire. M. De Hug was, in consequence, authorised to propose a con vention by which the two Courts were to abstai from all the occupations until the Deputation o the Empire had entirely terminated its deliber tions. He was at the same time authorised t open negotiations with the Palatine Electora Court, or arrange and combine the respectiv claims of indemnity, promising, on the part o the Imperial Court, the most sincere and greates respect for the interest of his Electoral Highness But all these representations and propositions were thrown aside. The Palatine Electoral Court refused to conclude an arrangement of non occupation even for three weeks. At the same moment the Palatine troops attempted, by passing the Austrian territory, to take the city of Passau by surprise. The Court of Munich did not even chuse to bind itself to desist in future from such measures. All these events confirmed and augmented the fears of his Imperial Majesty, and as he learned at the same time, that the entry of the Palatine troops in the city and bishopric of Passau was to take place immediately, his Majesty could no longer abstain to take the necessary precautions to occupy the city and principality of Passau, and to extend these measures to the neighbouring territories of Saltzburg and of Berchtolsgaden.

"His Majesty hastens to make known these events to his co-estates assembled at the Diet, and principally to those which make part of the deputation of the Empire; adding at the same time, that the most strict orders have been given to the Imperial troops in the three principalities, not to interfere in the smallest degree, in the internal government of these States, or in the collection of their revenues; his Majesty conceiving himself justified by the above events to protect the indemnities of his Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, yet, without conceiving himself authorised to take possession of them before the entire completion of the business of the indemnities, in a manner conformable to treaties, and the Germanic Constitution."

Note delivered into the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 28th of August, by the Ministers of France and Russia.

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"The undersigned Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic, to the Diet of the Empire, has just received from M. the Sub-delegate of Bohemia, in the official form, the manuscript extract of a rescript from his Court, dated the 20th of August, which was read in the extraordinary sitting of the Deputation, of the 24th of the same month, and appeared in print yesterday morning. This rescript contains the order to M. the Sub-delegate, to make known the contents to the undersigned.

"The undersigned is under the necessity of observing upon this subject, that the government of the French Republic, since the exchange of the treaty of the peace of Luneville, has had it much at heart to arrive at the accomplishment of all the dispositions conformable to that treaty, that the justice due to the Princes who are to be indemnified, has required that so many and various interests should be viewed collectively; and that finally the declarations communicated on the one part, in the name of the First Consul of the French Republic; and on the other, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and signed on both sides, in consequence of their formal order, have a character, and contain observations, which are a proof of their constant solicitude for the welfare of the German Empire.

"The undersigned does not think that it is necessary to make detailed remarks upon the state of things which are so generally known. He refers, with full confidence, to the declaration of his Government, and adds to it the demand, that this Note be read, and inserted in the protocol in the next sitting of the deputation.

(Signed) "*Laforet.*"

"*Ratisbon, Augt. 26th.*"

Downing-Street, September 14, 1802.

A dispatch has been received from Alexander Straton, Esq. his Majesty's Chargé d'Affairs at the Ottoman Porte, transmitting an official note delivered to him by the Reis Effendi, on the 29th of July last, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, of which the following is a copy:

TRANSLATION.

Official Note delivered by the Reis Effendi to Alexander Straton, Esq. at a Conference in his Excellency's house on the Canal, the 29th July, 1802.

It behoves the character of true friendship and sincere regard to promote with cheerfulness all such affairs and objects as may be reciprocally useful, and may have a rank among the salutary fruits of those steady bonds of alliance and perfect good harmony which happily subsist between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Great Britain; and as permission has heretofore been granted for the English merchant ships to navigate in the Black Sea for the purposes of trade, the same having been a voluntary trait of his Imperial Majesty's own gracious heart, as more amply appears by an official note presented to our friend the English minister residing at the Sublime Porte, dated 5 Gemaziel Ahir 1214—This present "Takrir" (official note) is issued; the Imperial Ottoman Court, hereby engaging that the same treatment shall be observed towards the English merchant ships coming to that Sea, as is offered to ships of powers most favoured by the Sublime Porte, on the score of that navigation.

The 23 Rebiul Evvel 1217 (23d July, 1802.)

AMERICAN CONSULATE.

London, Sept. 9, 1802.

The Consul of the United States has the satisfaction of announcing to his fellow citizens resident in Great Britain, that by official dispatches just received from Tangier, he is informed of the re-establishment of peace between the United States and his Highness the Emperor of Morroco; and that there is no longer any danger to be apprehended from the Moorish cruizers.

(Signed) *George Wm. Erving.*

TO THE HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

Sir,—I have never 'till now thought you a person of any political importance. I have from my infancy, heard you talked of; I have seen you nominally at the head of a party; I have read the accounts of the celebration of your election-day, your birth-day, &c. I have also read your speeches in the Parliament House, in Covent Garden, at the taverns, and your testimony at the assizes at Maidstone; I have regarded you, of course, as the cause of much noise and strife, but, some how or other, I have never, 'till now, been able to pursuade myself, that it was possible for you ever to have any considerable weight in the councils of this nation. *Now* I do think it possible; now, that Buonaparté has decidedly and openly signified his approbation of you, I think it not only possible, but likely, that you may, after a life of defeats, be crowned with victory.

But, before I speak of the *motives* and probable *consequences* of your journey to Paris, I cannot refrain from making some remarks on what has been said here respecting your visit to Buonaparté.

The Jacobin, or republican, (for they are only different degrees of the same quality) newspapers of London, which, for reasons too obvious to mention, are all deeply interested in preserving the apparent consistency of your political character, have found themselves strangely embarrassed by your visit to the "capital of the world." Perceiving that Buonaparté was endeavouring to restore the Christian religion in France, that he had somewhat slackened in his persecution of the royalists, and that he had not only formed a resolution, but taken effectual means, to crush, for ever, the spirit of republicanism in that country, the newswriters above-mentioned began to attack him with almost as much rancour and falsehood as if he had really been lawful sove-

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reign. You yourself, Sir, never poured out upon the family of Stuart or of Brunswick, a fouler collection of terms and epithets, than these your enraged friends bestowed on the First Consul of France. They did not, indeed, in so many words, propose to "*cashier*" him; but, in every other respect, their paragraphs bore a perfect resemblance to your seditious harangues at the Shakespeare Tavern.

The Consul, who had been a witness of the consequences resulting from despising the press, resolved to disarm betimes an enemy, which, if suffered to continue its attacks, might become more formidable than any he had overcome. He, therefore, as far as related to himself and his government, put an end to the liberty of the English press. To enter into a detailed description of the means and the manner of doing this would be useless. The thing was done; and the news-writers of this country are now, with respect to the Consul and government of France, obliged most strictly to practise that virtue, which I hope you, though late in your life, will learn during your residence in that all-regenerating country: I mean *la science de se taire*, or, in plain English, *the art of keeping your tongue within your teeth*. That these men must hate the Consul is evident. They do hate him most cordially, and they wish all mankind to make common cause with them. What, then, must be their disappointment, their mortification, their shame, and their rage, at seeing you, just at this time, amongst the foremost of the crowd, who are cringing at the feet of Buonaparté! At seeing you, "the champion of freedom"—"the man of the people"—"the patron and protector of the press," publicly receiving the commendations of Buonaparté for having *assisted his endeavours*, the endeavours of him, to whom they have imputed every quality and crime that can designate a tyrant!

During the first impulse of their resentment, honest nature seems to have seized the opportunity for making a last effort to overcome their inveterate and unnatural hatred of their country; and, for a day or two, I really was in hopes, that they were about to give you up. They *regretted* that Mr. Fox could not find better company than Talleyrand—they were *sorry* that Mr. Fox should have gone to Paris just at this time—they could not perceive the *necessity* of Mr. Fox's waiting on *such a person* as Buonaparté. But, having taken a few days to cool, to consider, and to calculate, and having, perhaps, received, in the mean time, explanations from your more confidential friends here, or from yourself, they began to change their tone; and, on the third or fourth day gave a quite different turn to the thing itself as well as to their sentiments respecting it. The visit was now become very proper. "So *high* a character as Mr. Fox could not avoid it, living in the metropolis of the Chief Consul, and indebted for favours in his literary researches, without giving an *affront*, which it is *not in the nature of Mr. Fox to give to any one*;" and, on *this account*, they excused you for having, by your attendance at the Consular levee, given Buonaparté *consequence* in the eyes of the world. That Buonaparté, to whom princes make a pilgrimage for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of their fate, who is the sole and absolute disposer of titles and of dominions; that such a man should derive *consequence* in the world, because he has been visited by Charles Fox, by the poor forlorn and fallen patriot, who has been supplanted by Sir Francis Burdett, and who actually blubbered, at the desertion of the Covent Garden mob, who thought that to chair him after his last election was an office too vile even for them, the vilest of mankind to submit to; to suppose, that the homage of such a man could give *consequence* to Buonaparté is, indeed, to be most brutally stupid; but this was the turn which these expert politicians chose to give to the affair, and the good-natured public are now left to believe, that your visit to Paris has no other object than that of searching manuscripts, and that it will be attended with no other consequence than that of exalting Buonaparté in the opinions of mankind.

That man, however, who does really believe this, must be blessed with an uncommon portion of credulity. For my own part, I am fully pursuaded, that far other motives led to this visit, and that consequences widely different will probably result therefrom. I am not apt to be suspicious, but, when, to use the language of the French official paper, "the *first man* in England meets, tête-à-tête, the *First Consul* of France," I cannot so soon forget the late meeting at Memel, which was, at first attributed to mere whim, but the consequences of which have proved, that the parties did not meet merely to compliment each other, though that was given out as their only object.

It is impossible to state positively and precisely what was the real object of your

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visit to Buonaparté; but a tolerably correct opinion, with respect to it, may, perhaps, be formed from a review of your conduct since the signature of the preliminary treaty.

When the disgraceful terms of that treaty were first made known, there were persons sanguine enough to believe, that you would not give it your approbation; that, in spite of the long workings of faction, you still loved your country, and never would voluntarily sanction the deed by which she was dishonoured. Others were of a different opinion. Though, on one hand, they could not but perceive a fair opportunity for retrieving your character, and of obtaining the forgiveness, at least, of all genuine Englishmen, they could, on the other, see nothing to hope for in the friend and advocate of Fitzgerald and O'Connor. This opinion, which I, for one, entertained from the beginning, you took a very early opportunity to verify. In the speech, delivered at the Shakespeare, on the 10th of October last, which was at once the anniversary of your triumph over loyalty in Westminster, and the day of the arrival of that treaty, by which the triumph of France over England was acknowledged, and proclaimed to the world; in that speech, you, even at the time of its delivery, appeared to me to be paving the way for the very steps, which you have now taken. You congratulated the factious dupes, who were spending their time and money upon you, on the return of peace, and repeatedly declared, that the *terms* of it you considered as of no consequence. "The peace," said you, "is glo-"rious to France and to the First Consul, "and *I rejoice at it*. We have not gained "the object of the war, and I like the "peace so much the better."—"France "has set *an example*, which will be highly "useful to all the nations of the earth, and "above all *to Great Britain*."—"I fear, that, "from the nature of the contest, in which "you have been engaged, you may have "contracted principles of admiration for "unlimited monarchy, but the peace, *fol-"lowed up by a good understanding between "the two countries*, will do them away. I "hope we shall *return to the temper* which "we were in, when we reckoned the time "of the expulsion of James II. a glorious "æra, when we, *cashiered one King, and "elected another*".—It was suspected, that the "remarkable coincidence of events," noticed by Mr. Erskine, was not quite accidental, and that the ratification of the treaty was retarded for no other purpose than that it might arrive in London on the anniversary of that day, which you and your partizans have chosen for offering an annual insult to your Sovereign and to the sense and loyalty of the country. This suspicion was strongly corroborated by the words of a song, which was "*written for the occasion*," and which, that all might be of a piece, issued from the lips of a hired singer:

"Blest be *the man* by Heav'n design'd
"To *set the world from slavery free*;
"In every age, in every clime,
"His matchless fame eternal be."
"Hail! *lovely peace*, with olive crown'd,
"O, come, and spread thy blessings round!"

What "*man*" was meant here, as the person designed *by Heaven* to deliver the world from slavery, one might have doubted, had it not been for a little piece of printed paper, which was handed round to the convives, and which had on it a *red liberty cap* between the letters N.B. the initials of NEAPOLEONE BUONAPARTÉ, with the following device beneath: "*to the man whose "glorious victories have given peace to the "world.*"

After reading this, who will wonder, that you are now in Paris? Who will wonder at the pompous eulogium bestowed on you by the Moniteur, at the gracious reception given you by Buonaparté, at the compliments paid you by "the man by heaven designed "to set the world from slavery free," or at the *long conversations* which you have had with that man? And who will not easily guess at the *subject* of those conversations?

Buonaparté, we are told by the Moniteur, informed you of a fact extremely interesting, and, to most people, somewhat new. "There "are, Mr. Fox," said he, "but *two nations* "*in the world*, one of which occupy the "East, and the other the West. The "*English*, the *French*, the *Germans*, the *Ita-"lians*, &c. living under *the same civil code*, "having the same manners, the same cus-"toms, and almost the same religion, are "all members of one family; and those "men who wish to re-kindle war among "them, are advocates for *civil war*. These "principles, Sir, *you have maintained in your "speeches*, with an energy which does equal "honour to your head and your heart."—Really! I did not know this before. I have read falshood and nonsense enough under the title of speeches of Mr. Fox; but never did I know, 'till informed of it by the First Consul, that you had maintained, in those speeches, that the *English*, *French*, *Germans*, *Italians*, &c. (mind the *et cetera*) made but one family, and all lived under *the same civil*

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cade. If this be so, however, it is pretty evident, that Buonaparté is at the *head* of all this family; France is the home of it, and England, like Italy, is no more than a branch, or colony, which may be governed by *a Vice President*. I do not say, that *you* view the matter in this light; but, the First Consul, "the man by heaven designed to set "the world from slavery free," certainly does view it in this light, or else his words amount to nothing more than mere gibberish. The Moniteur does not inform us whether the Chief Consul discoursed with you about the English revolution, that "glorious time when we *cashiered one King* "*and elected another in his stead*." This topic, so delicious to all those, who, like the Consul and you, are such ardent and sincere friends of liberty, was, probably, reserved for a *tête-à-tête*. I do not know, that I have to accuse myself of being over curious, but I should really like to have heard what passed between you on this head.

Accuse me not of dealing in dark and cowardly inuendos: to convince you that I do not, I will now tell you plainly, that I am sincerely persuaded, that the only object of your journey to Paris and of your visits to Buonaparté, was *to make yourself minister of this country by his means*. You have long despaired, and not without good reason, of any efficient support *here*. The respectable part of your friends have dropped away from you by degrees; and other demagogues of more nerve and activity than yourself have supplanted you in the hearts of the rabble: so that, as to interest, of any kind, in this country, you have none worth speaking of; not so much, at any rate, as could possibly procure you even a subaltern situation amongst the servants of the king. Thus circumstanced, you had, I believe, previous to the peace, fallen into a state of indifference with respect to politics. That event seems to have roused your dormant ambition. During the long season of the prosperity, the honour, the glory of England, you were perfectly insensible; but her shame, her disgrace, the prospect of her speedy ruin and destruction, awakened you from your torpor, excited your exultation, and animated your hopes. You knew the treaty to be disgraceful and pregnant with mischief; you did, I dare say, perceive the opportunity which offered for retrieving your character and consequence by an honourable and honest display of those anti-gallican sentiments, which you formerly affected to entertain; but this road to the summit of your wishes was too long, presented too many obstacles, required more patience, more fortitude, more courage, and infinitely more *real* patriotism than you ever had at your command. The friendship of Buonaparté might well be regarded as more efficacious than all these virtues put together. You might readily, and, indeed, not unreasonably, hope, that the man, who had been able to impose such a peace upon the country, would also be able to impose a minister upon the king; and, as to the choice of that minister, you might be very certain, that he who had demanded and obtained the release of Napper Tandy, could have no objection either to the principle or the person of the friend of O'Connor.

There will be little need of *force* to effect this object. The *recommendations* of superiors are tantamount to commands; and it would be perfectly natural for Buonaparté to recommend, as prime minister of England, the only man in it, who understands and who has supported the principles, according to which "the English, the French "the Germans, the Italians, *et cetera*, are all "but *one nation*;" the man who has repeatedly declared, that *England is enslaved*, and who has publicly given his sanction to the sentiment, that Buonaparté is designed by heaven *to free the world from slavery*. That the Chief Consul and the honest Talleyrand would interfere in the internal affairs of this country nobody can believe, who has heard the speeches of Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, or who has attended to that most excellent illustration of them—the current transactions in Germany; but, Buonaparté may, without incurring the charge of interference, make a tender of his *advice*, especially as the French and English are now "*one nation*:" he may, at any rate, just venture to hint (through the channel of the Moniteur, at least), that Mr. Fox is the only English statesman who possesses his esteem, and who has influence enough with him to preserve to this country "*the blessings of peace*." This is the spell by which we are bound. Only let the people (in their present degraded temper) be thoroughly convinced, that your exaltation is absolutely necessary to the *preservation of peace*, and the Hawkesburies will be summoned to surrender their places, upon precisely the same principle, as that on which they surrendered Malta and the Cape.

Exactly *how* you will proceed, I cannot, of course, pretend to say. Nor will I lengthen out a letter, which is already too long, with an anticipation of the joy, which

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the republican prints in London will soon begin to express at the good understanding existing between you and the Chief Consul; and as to a serious exposure of your *pretended* motives for visiting Paris, to wit, the examination of the manuscripts of the Scotch College, you will certainly not be so unreasonable as to require it at any hands. I cannot, however, conclude without asking, on this subject, a few questions, which will not, I hope, be deemed impertinent, and to which I think the public have a right to expect an answer.—What need had you to *see* the manuscripts, which it is pretended you went to examine? If you hoped to find in them something wherewith to add to your cowardly libels against the House of Stuart (*libels* for which you ought to have been called to account long enough ago) could you not have deputed some one to make the examination, especially as, from the well-known state of your eye-sight, it is absolutely impossible for you to read a single line of the manuscripts? But, suppose, for a moment, that you were really obliged to go to Paris on this affair, was Arthur O'Connor obliged to meet you at Calais, and to pass the evening with you *tête-à-tête*? Was he, soon after your arrival at Paris, obliged to follow you thither, in the company and in the carriage of Lord Oxford; and was Mr. Erskine obliged to break off from the enchantments of a jubilee, in order to meet you, in the capital of the world? Did all these, together with Mr. Adair, and many other persons of the same description; did *they* want to read the manuscripts too? —Again: to what are we to attribute the military *honours*, paid you at Calais, at St. Omers, at Lisle, &c. &c.? Soldiers, and particularly the soldiers of Buonaparté, do not move *without orders*: the garrisons of these towns knew nothing of Charles Fox; they had, I dare say, never heard your name: must not your reception, then, be ascribed to directions which they had received from their superiors? And does not this prove that Buonaparté was not only apprized of your intended visit, but minutely informed of all the circumstances of the time and manner of it? I have already spoken of the personal notice which Buonaparté has taken of you; but, how came Buonaparté's wife to break through the rules of her court, in favour of Mrs. Fox, who is the only English woman (not before presented to the queen) whom Mrs. Buonaparté has condescended to receive? Why this marked exception? And here let me ask too, by way of conclusion, how your marriage, which had been a secret for eight years, should have been divulged just at this time? The motives, whether good or bad, from which that secret had been kept, must have been very powerful indeed, by what still more powerful motives, then, were they, at last, overcome? —"I pause for a reply," and am, in the mean time,

Your humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

London, Sept. 12, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

American States.—The only intelligence which we have from America is of a melancholy nature: the yellow fever appears to have revisited Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Paris, Sept. 5.—They write from Dijon, that Toussaint Louverture has been lodged in the Château de Joux, near Pontarlier, in the department of Doubs. His escort returned through Dijon on the 30th ult.

The audience given on the 3d to the Corps Diplomatique by the First Consul, was more brilliant and more numerous than any that preceded it. It is, indeed, a grand, solemn, and affecting sight, to see this assemblage of all the ambassadors of Europe restored to peace. What added to the interest of this audience was, the presence of a man who had defended with so much ability that peace which had been conquered by so much glory. It was at this audience that Fox was presented.—Among the English who surrounded the ambassador, we remarked great Lords and Peers of the United Kingdom; but national pride imposed silence upon all other pride, and Fox, the patriot Fox, was placed in the front rank even by the Peers; it was not only Mr. Merry, it was the whole English deputation, that presented the first man of England to the First Consul of France.—It must have been to Mr. Fox one of the sweetest moments of his life; and the distinguished reception from the Chief of the Nation must have been the best recompence for the contests which that friend to peace maintained in Parliament, against the miserables, who had the tremendous courage to call for war.—Twice did the First Consul accost him, and among many flattering things said, "that there were in the world but two nations; the one inhabits the east and the other the west. The English, French, Germans, Italians, &c. under the same civil code, having the same manners,

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the same habits, and almost the same religion, are all members of the same family, and the men who wish to light up again the flame of war among them, wish for civil war. These principles, Sir, were developed in your speeches with an energy that does as much honour to your heart as to your head."—Alderman Combe, the late Lord Mayor of London, was presented at the same audience; and the Consul said to him, that the firm and paternal conduct he had adopted, during the scarcity in London, ensured him the esteem and gratitude of all governments, and of all statesmen.—Mr. Fox dined the same day with the First Consul, who had a very long conversation with him in presence of a numerous company.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His Royal Highness, MONSIEUR, and suite, lately paid a visit to Huntley Lodge. As soon as it was known that these illustrious travellers were on their way to the Lodge, the farmers on the Duke's estates in Rhynie, Gairtly, Cairny, and the Aughtanfourty-daugh, assembled on horseback, and together with the inhabitants of Huntley, and an immense concourse of people on foot, went as far as the Binn-hill to meet them, and conveyed them to Huntley Lodge. His Royal Highness seemed much gratified with the attention paid to him on this occasion.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

So many and so important are the events and transactions, which, during the last ten or fifteen days, have pressed themselves upon our notice, that we must, in the present sheet, content ourselves with a bare enumeration of them.

The *Aulic Rescript*, (vide p. 333) together with the note of the Bohemian minister, (p. 335) relative to the occupation of Passau and other places, have, as may well be supposed, had a sensible effect at the Diet. A counter note (336) has been delivered in by the French and Russian ministers. The papers must, we think, be regarded as mere *protests*; but, it is of some importance, that the Emperor has had the courage to protest. He has, in some small degree at least, already pursued the line of conduct marked out by our intelligent correspondent, *Agricola*, (p. 299), and we are not without some hopes, that he will continue to be actuated by the same principle. Austria is yet a great power. Her population is immense, her people brave and faithful, her warlike resources of every kind are abundant, and were she once completely emancipated from the thraldom, in which she is held by the "philosophic and phi- "lanthropic" politics of Prince Charles, she might yet resist and overcome, the combination, which is forming against her.—Russia is, thanks to the peace-making ministers of England, totally given up to the views of France. Lord Grenville, in his famous speech upon the Convention with Russia, dwelt, with great emphasis and pleasure, on the *warm friendship* which existed between this country and Russia. How sudden and how fearful has been the change! Lord St. Helens is now returning home: it is time: the effect of his mission does equal honour to himself and to those by whom he was recommended to his Majesty:—the treaty of peace with America—the Convention of St. Petersburgh—the partition of Germany—such are the transactions which will ever connect themselves with the name of Lord St. Helens.—In our next sheet we shall take a view, still more extensive than we have hitherto done, of the consequences of the late convention between France and Russia. It is a subject which has attracted great public attention. Those very persons, who, at the time of making the peace, were loudest against "*continental* "*connexions*," now begin to be alarmed. Mr. Windham, in the Appendix to his Speech on the Preliminaries, has given an excellent description of these *wise-acres*, who, after a century of defeat and contempt, had, at last, triumphed over the wisdom and honour of the nation.

To the treaty between France and the Porte, which will be found in our last sheet (page 289), we now add (page 337) a note from the Reis Effendi, addressed to our minister at that court, dated on the 20th July last, by which we also, are permitted to navigate, and trade in, the Black Sea, a privilege obtained by France in the treaty above-mentioned. That we, who have been the saviours of Turkey, should obtain from her favours *equal* to those obtained by a power which, in the midst of profound peace, invaded her territory and endeavoured to subvert her government, is certainly no very great proof of the vigilance, the skill, or the consequence, of our diplomatic persons in that country; but, what shall be said of Lord Elgin, when it is known that, had it not been for his neglect, what has *now* been granted to put us upon a *level* with the French, we should have been

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in full enjoyment of more than two years ago. It was the subject of an application from our ambassador in 1799, and the grant was communicated, in nearly the same manner that it is now, on the 30th of October, of that year. All that was wanted was to settle the mode of execution; to determine the custom-house rates, &c. &c. This Lord Elgin never did: the right remained unenjoyed, and we have now had to beg it as a new favour, which, by hazard, we have obtained.

The manner, in which Buonaparté has settled his dispute with the Dey of Algiers, and particularly certain passages of the report, which honest Talleyrand has made on the subject, will demand our attention, when we shall find room to insert the documents themselves.

The Americans have, as appears from a notice of their Consul (page 338) come to an accommodation with the Emperor of Morocco, whether by another tribute, or not, we are not informed. On this subject see Vol. I. p. 1190.

Toussaint, the negro hero, is, at last, safe lodged in a French prison for life. Leclerc has plucked him up from the mountains of St. Domingo (where our wise ministers thought he would maintain an everlasting war) and has planted him in the mountains of the Jura! We cannot join in the censure, which the philanthropists are bestowing on Buonaparté for his conduct towards this slave. It is, in our opinion, impossible to have taken a more humane method of preventing him from doing mischief. Men talk about Toussaint's *property*. What property has he? All he ever possessed he stole from the white inhabitants of St. Domingo. The fair way would be, however, to send him back to Africa; and we sincerely wish he were delivered up to the Company of Sierra Leone.

The Consul and government of France seem to give great attention to the affairs of *commerce*. The reports from St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Martinico (which latter has been taken possession of by their governor) are very favourable. They must, in a very short time, supplant us in the European market for West-India produce. To injure us in our manufactures will be a work of more time; but the time will come, if the dominion and influence of France continue to be what they are now. The custom-house account, for the two last quarters, which we shall insert in our next, will by no means bear the conclusion, which has been attempted to be drawn from it; and this must be clearly perceived by those who have brought it forward; but their object is to put off the evil day, which they well know must come, but which they hope will not come *in their time*.

The funds have taken a sudden rise. It is *Buonaparté's interest* that they should. They will fall again, whenever that interest requires that they should fall. He has the "capital, credit, and confidence" of this nation in his hand.

General ANDREOSSI is, it seems, to make his *public entry* into London on the first day of the *French year*. The General brings with him *commercial* agents, one of whom is to be placed at each of our *sea-ports*. We doubt not that the General will receive considerable information, respecting the state of things in this country, from Mr. Fox, who, by the bye, would not make a bad Mentor to this diplomatic Telemachus.

Much interest has been excited in the public mind respecting *an application from Buonaparté to expell the French Princes*. All we think it right to say, at present, on this subject is, that we hope and trust, that the last drop of English blood would be shed sooner than we should agree to that proposition; for, after such an act of infamy, life would be a curse.

The war between the small Cantons of Switzerland and the government, which the French have invented for that country, still continues. If left to themselves, it is possible, that the *rebels*, as they are called, would prevail; but, there can be no doubt, that, whenever the French find things ripe for interference, they will interfere. It is, to say the truth, of little consequence how much the Swiss suffer. They have ever been a most wicked and mischievous nation. A nest of little republics in the heart of Europe could have been suffered to exist so long only by the fatal jealousy of kings. People may repeat the cant of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the other philosophers, respecting the wisdom and virtues of the Swiss, they may tell us of the independent spirit, the patriotism, the innate love of liberty, of this "brave and inoffensive race;" but, for our parts, we shall never forget that they hired themselves out to fight for any power that would pay them, no matter against whom, or for what cause. *Point d'argent, point de Suisse*, is a well known proverb in a country where the character of the Swiss was best understood. In short, we do not and cannot like them: they have been, and are yet, the troublers of Europe;

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their country has always been a receptacle for the libellers of monarchs and monarchies. From those little miserable worthless Cantons have issued no small portion of all the miscreants, whose projects of liberty have finally enslaved the world. We hope, that Switzerland will not, at last, go to augment the power of our enemy; but we would prefer even that to its remaining an independent republic, under which name and form it will ever be to Europe what a band of United Irishmen is to a kingdom.

A letter from St. Petersburgh is said to state, that the Emperor Alexander has *refused to accede to the request of this country, to guarantee Malta.* This may be unfounded, but it agrees with what was thought, and even predicted, by many persons, at the time of concluding the treaty of Amiens, and it is, in some sort, corroborated by an article of intelligence from Gibraltar, which states, that the British troops were not about to evacuate Malta, so soon, at least, as was expected, and that, the paymaster-general of the army there, who had arrived at Gibraltar, on his way to England, had been remanded, and had actually returned to Malta. The report, therefore, is by no means incredible. The Emperor Alexander's hostility to England is very great; and, there is no good reason why he should guarantee Malta, the only object of which guarantee must be to prevent the island from being seized on by the French, to the prejudice of England. In his present disposition towards us, and with his present engagements to France, his guarantee could, indeed, be regarded as no very great security; but he, doubtless, feels no inclination to commit an act of perfidy, especially when he has no motive for so doing.

POSTSCRIPT.

On the 15th ult. Lord St. Helens had his audience of leave at St. Petersburgh. MR. GARLIKE, hitherto Secretary of Legation, was, at the same time, introduced as Chargé d'Affaires, till the arrival of Sir J. B. Warren.—Prince William of Gloucester, on the 16th ult. arrived at St. Petersburgh, and had dined several times with the Emperor.—The Swedish Ambassador, Baron Stedingk, had returned to St. Peterburgh. —The Russian Ambossador Extraordinary, M. Alopœus had, on the 28th ult. arrived at Berlin.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

St. James's, Sept. 8.—This day the Right Ho nourable Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. was, by his Majesty's command, sworn of h Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, an took his place at the board accordingly.

St. James's, Sept. 8. Count St. Martin de Fro having received new letters of credence from h Majesty Victoire Emanuel King of Sardinia, givin him the same character of Envoy Extraordinar and Minister Plenipotentiary from Sardinia, ha this day a private audience of his Majesty, to de iver his said new credentialsr

Downing-Street, Sept. 11.—The King has bee pleased to appoint Francis James Jackson, Esq. t be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minis ter Plenipotentiary to the Court of Berlin.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr. C. R. An.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per C. Con.	68⅛	68⅛	68⅛	68⅛	69½	69⅛
4 pr C. Cons.	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100⅜	100⅜	100⅛	101¼	101¼	102½
Bank L. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	68	68	68	68¾	—	69¼
D° Ann.....	12 1/16	12 1/16	12¼	—	12 1/16	20 1/16
5 per Ct. 1797	—	—	—	—	—	—
Omnium ...	9¼ dis	9 dis	9 di	8 dis	7½ dis	7½ d

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 10½	2 us.	LEGHORN 51⅛
D°, at sight	10 17		NAPLES..... 44
ROTTERDAM	11½	2 us.	GENOA 47¾
HAMBURGH	33 3	2½us.	VENICE, 59 livres piccol
ALTONA....	33 4	2½us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day	23 11		LISBON..... 67½
PARIS.....	23 19	2us.	OPORTO 67½
BOURDEAUX,	24		DUBLIN..... 12
CADIZ	36½	eff.	BILBOA..... 36½ D
MADRID ..	36½	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	45s to 70s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 230
Rye.....	30 .. 34	Hay per load....	80 .. 13
Barley.....	31 .. 38	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5
Malt.....	46 .. 52	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d
Oats.....	14 .. 23	Veal	4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d
Pease (white)....	39 .. 42	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 7s. 0d
Beans (horse)....	35 .. 38	Tallow	3s. 9d
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 52	Av. of Sugar pr cwt	31s.9
Seconds.....	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d
Coals per chal....	36 .. 41	Bread 10d the Quar. Lo	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of Sept. 180

Days.	M's age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. D. M.
9		Fair.	sw	sw	29,63	29,61	60
10		Sho. Win.	sw	sw	29,4	29,4	56
11	○	Windy.	sw	sw	29,7	29,69	54
12		Fair.	nw	nw	29,85	29,87	50
13		Fair.	nw	nw	29,92	29,93	53
14		Fair.	w	w	30	30	58
15		Fine.	w	w	31	31	66

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Report on the Tr. bet. Fr. & Turk.* 353. *Turkish Grant*, 354. *Let. from Stock.* 355. *Let. to Ld. Hawkes.* 361. *Marti.* 367. *Swiss Insur.* 368. *Amer.* 369. *Germ.* 370. *Ame. Claims*, 372. *The Valais*, 374. *Egypt*, 375. *Mar. Lea. bet. Fr. & Rus.* 375. *State of Tra.* 376. *Mr. Fox, &c.* 378. *Cap. D'Auvergne*, 379.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Report made to the First Consul of France (in Senate), Sept. 7, 1802, relative to the Treaty with Turkey, (See the Treaty, p. 289.)

The distinguishing characteristic of that period in the policy of nations which has ended in the general peace, was a striking opposition of their sentiments and conduct to their true interests. States and kingdoms were betrayed into wars and alliances by a sort of blind fatality. Some made common cause with one another without suppressing their mutual hatred; others, amid mutual hostilities, still continued to wish one another well. In that dissolution of the mutual relations of the states and kingdoms of Europe, which had been long approaching, the accustomed diplomatic law lost all force and truth. Its traditions, its maxims, its local regulations, became vain; and, amidst the confusion of the change, more than one government quite lost sight of the dearest interests, and are themselves menaced with danger, from those habits of policy which they had been accustomed to think the safest, and abandoned itself in this distitution of just counsels, to the vainest terrors, and the most imprudent projects. Such, in particular, were the condition and conduct of the Sublime Porte, at that period of the war when Europe, with astonishment, saw this government take part with the enemies of France. The sublime Porte soon saw its error; indeed, both at home and abroad, it could discern nothing but what was adapted to make it regret the part it had taken. It saw the conqueror, faithful to his declarations, when he occupied a province of the Ottoman Empire, rule over it with wisdom, make provision for its future prosperity, and even when, from an unprovoked declaration of war, it became a lawful conquest, still to evince by his respect for the manners and the religion of the vanquished, that his primary intentions were unchanged. France, instead of desiring to hurt the prosperity or diminish the strength of Turkey, *had, at that time, no view but to render it happier and more powerful*, by introducing into it new elements of civilization, and by opening through its provinces *a free channel* for the commerce of the world. But the Ottoman government had entered into engagements of which it could not clearly foresee the effects: it was the last to enter into a war by which it had nothing to gain; and was, of course, the last to renounce hostilities. It was till after peace had been concluded among the powers of Europe, that the Ottoman government found itself perfectly free to negotiate. But from the first moment of its being at liberty to treat with France, the two Empires have been mutually at peace. By the treaty of the 25th of June, that peace is complete. That treaty entirely restores the relations which formerly subsists between the two powers. *It makes full provision* for the interests and wants of the Ottoman Empire, for the interests and the glory of France. The public joy at Constantinople, when this treaty was proclaimed, was such as to prove how highly the friendship of France was there valued. Great errors, great dangers had distinguished the conduct and condition of the Ottoman government, while it was at war with France. *That government now trusts to find the difficulties of its situation constantly alleviated by the friendly counsels of a power that takes a sincere concern in its welfare.* By the treaty, due provision is happily made for the interest *of French commerce.* French citizens engaged in the Turkish trade will now recover their sequestered property, their wonted privileges, and their *wonted ascendency among* the other merchants of Europe trading to the same countries. The compensations due to them are secured by an express stipulation. The *honour of France, and the dignity of its government*, demanded an abolition of certain restrictions, to which its navigation had been hitherto subject. They are abolished, and the navigation of the Black Sea, now free to France, opens to us a communication with the Southern provinces of Russia. The Sovereign of that country, more enlightened than to stoop to the prejudices of vulgar jealousy, knows that whatever opens new channels to the industry of any one nation, is in fact useful to the industry of all. The Sublime Porte wanted only the friendship of France. By the peace which has been concluded, it acquires of that all the benefits. Before it opens a new æra of quiet and security. It can resume its antient maxims. And in the multiplied communications of our trade, with its dominions in Europe, Africa, and Asia: and in the return of mutual confidence between the two governments; i will find all that it wants, to enable it long to maintain the safe and honourable condition to which it has been restored. (Signed) *C. M. Talleyrand.*

The following is a Copy of the Original Grant which is recognised and renewed in the Rescript (See p. 337) *presented to Mr. Straton, and recorded in the public Register of the Chancery of the British Factory at Constantinople.*

"The friendship and good intelligence which subsist since the most remote times, between the Sublime Port of Solid Glory, and the Court of England, being now crowned by an alliance, founded on principles of the most inviolable sincerity and cordiality; and these new bands thus strengthened between the two courts, having hitherto produced a series of reciprocal advantages, it is not presumptuous to suppose that their salutary fruits will be reaped still more abundantly in time to come. Now, after mature reflection on the representations that the English Minister Plenipotentiary residing at the Sublime

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Porte, our very esteemed friend Spencer Smith, has made relative to the privilege of navigation in the Black Sea, for the merchant vessels of his nation; representations that he has reiterated, both in writing and verbally, in conformity to his instructions, and with a just confidence in the lively attachment of the Porte towards his court. Therefore, to give a new proof of these sentiments, as well as of the hopes entertained by the Sublime Porte, of seeing henceforward a multiplicity of new fruits spring from the connexion that has been renewed between the two courts, the assent granted to the before-named Minister's solicitations, is hereby sanctioned as a sovereign concession and gratuitous act on the part of his Imperial Majesty, and to take full and entire effect as soon as farther amicable conferences shall have taken place, with the minister our friend, for the purpose of determining the burthen of the English vessels, the mode of transmit by the Canal of Constantinople, and such other regulations and conventions as appertain to the object, and which shall be as exactly maintained and observed with regard to the English navigation, as towards any other the most favoured nation. And in order that the minister, our friend, do inform his court of this valuable grant, the present rescript has been drawn up and delivered to him.—*Constantinople, 1. Jemazi-ul-Evvell, A. H. 1214, 30th October, A. D 1799.*

TO THE EDITOR.*

Stockholm, Augt. 20, 1802.

Sir,—We observe that it is your opinion (see Register, p. 152), that the remarks contained in our Letter of the 5th of July, (see Register, p. 129) will be considered by the leading politicians of your country as ridiculous projects. Pray, Sir, as a well-wisher of your native land, will you be pleased to inform its rulers, that at this time there are to be procured charts, with descriptions of four very remarkable modern military expeditions, to wit,—One conducted by a *Nadir-Chah* from Ispahan to Deli and back by the Caspian Sea—One by a General *Saworow* from the Nieper in Russia to the Var on the Italian frontiers of France—One by *Buonaparté* from Toulon to Cairo and St. Jean d'Acre—And one by General *Leclerc* from Brest to St. Domingo.—Were these charts and descriptions put into English, and properly explained by a person of talents and prophetic sagacity, such a person per example, as he who translated, and wrote the *notes* on, Buonaparté's intercepted letters, we are persuaded they would be to John Bull as good as a pinch of Scots snuff, they would clear his eyes and make him see further beyond the end of his nose than he appears to do. These said charts, if you Sir, lay along-side of them a fair draught of your treaty of Amiens with Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Merry's remarks, and a sketch of the Prime Consul's diplomacy since that treaty was ratified,* will, we presume, make all the extravagance of our before-mentioned letter disappear; and will shew you to woeful demonstration the easy possibility of carrying the sublime plan of the august Buonaparté into execution. You will see, Sir, what never ought to have been seen: you will see Russia and France hand-in-hand, with—not a paper map (that's your share) but with the real material globe under their joint command, and at their immediate disposal.

Out of the junction of France and Russia you will see come forth a Consulta, containing: 1st. A chart, whereon is marked and definitively settled the frontiers of the several *arrondisments* into which Europe is to be divided: the ranks and titles of the respective prefects, princes, electors, kings and consuls, are marked on the margin with a *lead pencil* †. 2d. A charter, wherein the liberty of the sea, an universal *reciprocity* in trade and intercourse, and *free ships, free goods*, are allowed to the contracting parties at least, for a time, or until the British trident shall lose its teeth.‡ This charter shall be signed and sworn to by the several prefects, princes, electors, kings, and consuls as they enter into office; and Mr. President Jefferson shall be invited to be a principal party. In case some British ambassador, more *adroit* than ordinary, should find out, in a foreign newspaper, by his hair-dresser, or through a *chère amie*, that the other articles in this Consulta are not exactly correspondent with the repeated declarations of your peace-makers, to justify

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* *Note of the Editor.*—This letter comes from the same gentleman, who favoured us with the letter, from the same place, dated 5th July, which will be found in page 129 of this volume.—That letter conveyed to the British public, and even to *the British Ministry*, the first intimation that either of them received of the *new division of Germany*.

* The Consul's negotiations cannot be unknown to Lord Hawkesbury, who has the *admired* Mr. Merry at Paris. Pray, Mr. Editor, did that minister say, in his dispatch, what the Consul admired him and his countrymen for—whether for the loyal phrase of the patriotic colonel, or for the brilliant wit and dignity of the ambassador on that occasion.

† *Note of the Editor.*—When our correspondent wrote his letter, he did not know that the hon. Talleyrand would so soon oblige us with this chart which has lately been presented to the Diet at Ratisbon.

‡ This alludes to a second convention, not yet published, between France and Russia, and which some intimation has leaked out, in several parts of the Continent. It was mentioned in the Hamburgh papers three weeks ago.

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the prostration of Lord Hawkesbury, and not to set the meek Addington in a rage before the time, the publication of several points, such as those respecting the organization of Persia and Turkey, the *emancipation* of Hindostan, and the *appropriation* of Brasil, with other matters, will be postponed until the contracting parties have so disposed their respective forces as to insure the complete realization of their plan: for example—until the French have in America and the West-Indies a force sufficient to secure Brazil (your islands will fall of themselves); until her depôts at the Cape and the Isle de France be properly seconded with a naval depôt and station at the Comoro Islands. These matters will now soon be accomplished; and in the mean time the Russian army will have procured (sneer who pleases) a free passage through the tracks explored by Tahmas-Kouly-Khan.—Now, Sir, 60,000 French European troops in the West-Indies and America, a Russian General *Maskofskai Goubernater* in Persia, with a proper suit, and every port between Archangel and Bombay in a state to bar out the British flag, will Buonaparté's project of confining the British empire to its European islands appear still extravagant and ridiculous? Or is it the attempt to send such armies to Persia and America that appears extravagant to your modest men? In that case pray be so good as to inform them that the difficulties are already, or by the time you will receive this, surmounted. And as to the extravagance of shutting the ports of Europe and Africa against John Bull's horns, a glimpse of the treaty whereon his lordship signed away Malta and the Cape, will perfectly satisfy those who have ordinary eyes.—We foreigners are forced to look upon John Bull as being a quiet kind of a man! We recollect his ministers asserted lately, and it went down like laudadum, "that although the peace of Amiens "should not be of long duration, yet it was "a good one, as it gave government time "to recruit its resources by a saving eco-"nomy!" Should John attempt another war, pray, Sir, will these promised savings reinstate him in the possessions he held at the peace? No: nor will they, with the whole property he has remaining, enable him to preserve the possessions he yet retains. Pray, Sir, which are most culpable in the eyes of the rational part of mankind, those persons who upset the throne of the Bourbons, and extended the dominion of France over half the world, or those, who, whether from ignorance or pusillanimity, or whatever other quality or motive, have surrendered not only the out-works, but also the bulwarks of their country, into the hands of its most powerful and implacable enemy? *

Sir, if John Bull would like to read the preface of Buonaparté's Consulta with Russia and Prussia, we think the Regency of Hanover would procure you a copy from Ratisbon: it is not ill worth reading to those who *understand* what they read.† Some family affairs, such as the birth-day of the Empress Dowager of Russia, a *dejeuné* given at Charlottenburg to Ambassador Alopeus by the Queen of Prussia, and the ——— of Madame Buonaparté, have hitherto prevented these respective courts from answering the repeated memorials of H. B. M. on the subject of indemnification; but they will be taken into consideration, as soon as the other parties are in settled possession of their several allotments. The dictatorial ministers say, this mode of proceeding is perfectly agreeable to Mr. Addington and Co.—Christian children, after giving away John's cloak, are resigned to give the coat and breeches also!

You would have nothing in the Mediterranean; well, Buonaparté and his ally Alexander are not so scrupulous; nor are theyso ungrateful to their friends as you are: they have got *Candia*, *Cyprus*, the *Grecian Islands* in the Archipelago, *Negrepont*, the *Morea*, &c. disposed of—but you will

* Terms, which, in consideration of the delicate ears (we are not afraid of the eyes) of Mr. Addington, we have substituted for the unmannerly phrases, *rogue* and *partition*.

* Madam Buonaparté says, that the French have long been deceived with respect to the national character of the English. "Meanly running after the meanest of things; sheepish and cringing to the bold and powerful, bold and insolent to the timid and the weak; cowards in the field, brutes at the table, and men only amongst horses and w———."‡

‡ *Note of the Editor.*—It must be confessed, that the peace of Amiens, so mean, so dishonourable, so base an act, justifies almost any thing that the foes of this country can say, or conceive, of its inhabitants; but, though we may yield to Madam Buonaparté's superior judgment on some of the qualities she attributes to our countrymen, we cannot do the same as to the others; and, we are persuaded, that her husband, unless he has forgotten the deeds of Sir Sidney Smith as completely as the British government seems to have done, will acknowledge, that there is one Englishman, at least, who is not *a coward in the field*.

† *Note of the Editor.*—The writer here alludes to the convention and declaration of France and Russia, which was not published on the 20th of August, the date of his letter.

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have the particulars ere this time from Lord Elgin, a most active, and penetrating minister, whose mission has been useful to himself, and, no doubt, to his country also.

Mr. Editor, as it is a well known fact that, by the bulls and bores of John's cabinet, he lost America, and has added that now formidable power to his other enemies; and as it is equally well known that John's present bulls have no horns, (we mean, political, *not* domestic horns) we would have you request of him to send out the experienced negotiators of Amiens to wind up his affairs with the native sovereigns of India: for you may assure him, upon the authority of the combined world with Buonaparté and Alexander at its head, that that oriental star will as certainly be plucked out of his cap, as it is certain that a Mr. Addington and a Lord Hawkesbury are his conductors or states pilot; should they themselves *weather the storm*, then pray to the clement Consul to have mercy upon the crew! if your peace-makers have prepared for themselves a reward in the kingdom of heaven, and are not disposed soon to take possession, you should beseech them to provide a birth *there* for their countrymen also; for a year or two more in peace will bring your earthly kingdom nearly to a close.

August 24.

A few days ago we inclosed a few remarks upon the political occurrences of the day—if you will give any part or paragraph of them a place in your interesting Register you will oblige one of its readers.

Perhaps, Sir, you may think us Swedes and Danes inimical to the British government—believe us, we are not. We are, and have dire cause to be, angry with those men who have driven us under the iron *knudt* of a sovereign foe; and who have brought their own country to the brink of, shall we say, *inevitable* ruin. The political influence of Great-Britain annihilated, our bondage is consolidated.

Sir, with the independent friendship of Sweden and Denmark, little as you think of us, you had the Baltic open to your trade, and your navy with ours could have regulated the affairs of Germany, Turkey, Persia, &c. at the gates of Petersburgh. With Malta or other invulnerable ports in that quarter, you prevented the junction of France and Russia at Constantinople or in the Black Sea; and you controled their operations. We repeatedly offered your ministers not only our friendship but our co-operation, without subsidy or other consideration, our own independency was motive enough to us; but they spurned at our advances, and treated our sovereigns with contempt; and although the power of Austria be *broken down and set out of the question*, you have given up the Mediterranean and its coasts on both sides, to be possessed and appropriated by the Consul and his friends!

If you think we cannot shut the Baltic, you will be undeceived when too late: then says John Bull, "the fools lose more than "we do!!"—Sir, we lesser powers will lose, we know, and therefore we courted your friendship; but that you will interrupt the operations of our mistress Russia by blocking in her maritime trade—you may as well pretend to arrest the currents in the pacific ocean: and whatever she undertakes we must second. When Buonaparté is ready, or before he provokes a quarrel with men like yours, the British fleet nor a British ship will have neither port nor point where to fill a cask of fresh water between the Lands-end to Botany Bay. Let your ministers laugh if they please: of those who laugh at every thing, and blush at nothing, little can be expected.

But, Mr. Editor, let us not give up all hope—it is yet possible, perhaps, to save something. Request of John Bull, Sir, to employ a calculator or two, who know the criterion whereby to measure the powers and stability of a state, whose sources and vital springs are detached from one another and lie at certain distances, and who can compare the result with the powers of a state whose force issues from its centre; let him then personally review his troops, and compose his etat-major of such officers and men as have seen service, and as hold a certain rank personally as well as in the opinion of the public. The throne is an old chair, if you will keep it on its legs you must not make it a play thing for boys. A French scribbler reproached Frederick II once, that, his Majesty preferred birth to talents—the king said, "flowering shrubs "are pretty enough, and may have their "use in the window seats of my cabinet "but *old oaks* shade my dwelling." Should you find John disposed to take any notice of these hints, then, Sir, beg of him to look at, and speak with, his diplomatic agents before he sends them abroad. We are sure he had no acquaintance of those *lately* kept amongst us, or he would not have so far compromised his own reputation as to suffer his representatives to dispense with all the characterestics of gentlemen, to brave the rules of public morality, and to set common

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decency at defiance. The Jacobin agents of France have now changed their *grossièreté* into an appearance of decorum—do advise yours to do so likewise. When foreigners see, at the helm of the British empire, *Britons* in whom Britons can confide, and find, in the representatives of the most revered monarch upon earth, men of knowledge and of talents; then all the legitimate sovereigns in Europe will again rally round your ancient oak, and usurpation and blasphemy will hide their polluted heads in the rubbish from whence they crawled forth. But that the men, who have thrown down that bulwark which streams of blood and heaps of treasure had raised around the British empire, should ever again acquire the confidence of Europe, or be able to persuade your countrymen to open their purse or their veins to fight *for* enemies is impossible. O! ye shades of British heroes how your valour is rewarded! *Swenska.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY, *His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.*

My Lord,—Having, in my last letter to your lordship (page 271), endeavoured to direct your attention to those points, respecting the dictatorial convention of France and Russia, which appeared to me most likely to engage the mind of an Englishman of honest intentions, but of little experience and of circumscribed views; having pointed out, the contempt shewn towards this country, the insults heaped on our sovereign and his government, the injuries which Hanover is to sustain for the sake of Great-Britain, and which the electorate is to be made the instrument of inflicting on the crown of this kingdom, I now propose to take up the general question of policy, arising out of this new partition of Germany.

But, my lord, before I enter on a train of reflections, the chief tendency of which must inevitably be to shew the evil consequences to be apprehended, to Europe in general, and to England in particular, from the *insulating* system, openly avowed and acted upon, by you and your colleagues, in making and defending the fatal peace of Amiens, it behoves me, to acknowledge, that such an exposition has, in some measure, been anticipated by the natural sense and involuntary expression of the public. Your lordship must recollect, that the newspapers, which, from first to last, opposed and reprobated the war, reprobated, no less severely, all that part of our political system, which has been denominated *continental connexions.* These prints spoke the sentiments of their readers, and it is by no means uninteresting to observe how completely those sentiments have, on this topic, been hanged by the publication of the convention between Russia and France.—"The present "ministers may affect to depreciate the im- "portance of all continental connexions. "Between the use and the abuse there is "infinite difference. We ought neither to be "the slaves of the continental powers, nor "altogether indifferent to their concerns. "*We have an interest wherever it is practicable* "*to oppose the extension and aggrandisement of* "*France.* This can *only* be done by a judi- "cious *alliance with those continental powers* "which have the same interest to pursue. "For England to withdraw wholly from the "Continent, or feebly to exert her influ- "ence, *is a dishonourable abdication of a great* "*dignity and of a great power conferred by* "*Providence for the general happiness of man-* "*kind.*"—Your lordship will scarcely believe, that this passage is extracted from the *Morning Chronicle* (of the 21st Sept.) from the paper which took the lead in the clamour that was, for ten years, incessantly kept up against all continental connexions; from the paper, which, under the direction of Mr. Fox and his partizans, demanded peace on any terms, and which has abused and vilified all those, who expressed their disapprobation of that very peace by which England committed this act of "dishonour- "able abdication;" yet, it is very true, that these are the words of that paper, and they may teach your lordship how little reliance ought to be placed on the opinions and affections of what is called the people. Whether the Beekes, the Edens, and the rest of the inland navigation politicians, whether Mr. Wilberforce and the strong corps of wise-acres, will immediately follow the example of the Morning Chronicle, is more than I can say; but I venture to assure your lordship, that, before this day twelvemonth, even the most selfish and most stupid part of the nation will have changed their way of thinking and speaking of continental connexions.

The declaration of France and Russia, proceeds, according to the report of the honest Talleyrand, upon a supposition, that the present state of Germany amounts to nothing less than a *dissolution* of its political body; that the whole empire has undergone a revolution, that all its federative laws and usages have been effaced, that, as to the boundaries of dominion, the map is become a perfect blank, and that France and Russia have, merely out of philanthro-

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py and a love of justice, interfered to make a new and equitable distribution of property, of power, and of honour. Whether this supposition be admitted, or not, it has been acted upon, and, therefore, the effect is the same: the balance of Germany, internal and external, is destroyed.

Germany, my lord, in that old system of balanced power, which it has, for some time past, been the fashion to ridicule, was the weight, which, more than any other, kept the scale steady on the Continent. The empire, on one side, touched the states that formerly composed the *balance of the north*; and, by means of the Houses of Austria, Brandenburgh, and Saxony, was connected with that balance. On the other side it touches France, and 'till now much more immediately, without any naturally defensible line of separation; and thus, it affected and influenced, most importantly for this country, what was called the *middle balance*, consisting of Great-Britain, France, and Spain. Again, extending round the Alps, it came into contact with the balance of Italy, and was more closely connected with that country by means of the hereditary possessions of the imperial house.

Such was the operation of the *external* balance of Germany on the other parts of the European system; and of this Mr. Burke says, in the first of his three profound and prophetic memorials, addressed to the ministers: "If Europe does not conceive "the *independence* and the equilibrium of "the empire to be in the very essence of "the system of balanced power in Europe, "and if the scheme of public law, or mass "of laws, upon which that independence "and equilibrium are founded, be of no "leading consequence as they are preserved "or destroyed, *all the politics of Europe, for "more than two centuries, have been miserably "erroneous.*"—And so, doubtless, your lordship will say they have been. This was, at any rate, the language of those who defended the treaty of Amiens, as may yet, perhaps, be seen in the profound and sprightly productions of Sir Frederick Eden and Mr. Chalmers.

With regard to our own interests, the great advantage which we derived from the former state of Germany, was, that the principal military power, the imperial house of Austria, having possessions bordering upon those of France, there was a perpetual [illegible] those powers, [illegible] formidable enemy [illegible] vast army for the purpose of defence, and not, as at present, with a view to overawe, to disturb, or to subjugate, the dominions of her neighbours. Her efforts were then divided, and her operations by sea crippled. On our side, we were, in a similar manner, if not in the same degree, useful to Austria. Hence a close connexion arose; and, as the maritime power of Great-Britain was, in some measure, the Emperor's, the Emperor favoured that navigation and that commerce, which are at once the foundation of our external power and the great source of our internal prosperity and happiness. But, my lord, these politics now are become fables and tales of other days: the Burleighs and Cecils, the Temples, the Godolphins, the Walpoles, the Pelhams, and the Pitts, the founder of our foreign glory as well as the asserter of our domestic freedom, William III, and Marlborough, not less illustrious in the cabinet than in the field, are all become drivellers and idiots when compared to the "*safe* politicians" of the present day, to the Addingtons, the Hawkesburies, the Wilberforces, to any of that innumerable crowd of prudent men, of parliamentary wise-acres, of calculating statesmen, who, upon the first exaltation of the late minister, rushed forth from the college, the inns of court, the counting-house, and the counter, and who, at the end of eighteen years intense application, have discovered, that the commerce between Manchester and London is more profitable than that with foreign parts, that the navigation on the stormy seas is less lucrative and more hazardous than that on the grand junction canal, that military and naval glory is a mere phantom of a disordered brain, and that money is the only legitimate and effectual means of national defence.

As to the internal balance of the Germanic empire, my lord, it was necessarily connected with religious differences of opinion, and principally consisted in this, that there was an ascendency in behalf of those of the known Roman Catholic persuasion, which was the ancient religion of the empire, and always, hitherto, that of the Emperor, while, at the same time, there was such a counterpoise in favour of the established forms of Protestant worship, as effectually secured to the members of the latter communions liberty of conscience, and a just share in the honours and dignities of the empire. The number of ecclesiastical electorates gave Austria a sure preponderance in that college, and, together with the other great Catholic prelacies, also a

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forded the means for providing for the younger branches of the imperial family. Those electorates were essential to the internal balance of Germany; and, by securing the imperial throne to the House of Austria, they were essential also to that system of English policy, which depended on our alliance with the House of Austria against the encroaching and overspreading ambition of France.

All these component parts are (as I shall endeavour more fully to show, by and bye) now completely torn to pieces. The Germanic body is dissolved. It is now to assume some other form. However, it is not to regenerate itself. France has kindly undertaken to restore it to life. The surgeons of the Humane Society at the Thuilleries have happily succeeded in this charitable experiment for the benefit of all Europe. A Russian practitioner has been called in, but this was evidently done more to wonder at the skill and dexterity of the French operator than to assist in the operation. There is, in the report of the honest Talleyrand, a studied ostentation of the superiority of France in the negotiation; and, the result was first communicated, not to the Diet of the Empire, but to the Conservative Senate of France, a body, which certainly had nothing to do in the execution of the project, and which, neither by the first nor second of Buonaparté's constitutions, appears to have any concern with the foreign affairs of the republic, but to which, perhaps, it was, in this instance at least, intended to give some shadowy likeness to that senate, which antiently bestowed kingdoms at its discretion. Observe, too, my lord, that the communication was made to the Diet of Ratisbon in the French language only, and not accompanied, as had hitherto been the invariable custom, with a translation into Latin, the constitutional language of the empire. This has been justly remarked in a late Jacobin paper to be *an indication of a disposition to universal empire*; but, my lord, that which startles even those who so recently saw no danger in the aggrandizement of France, who wept over our victories, because they tended to a prolongation of our struggle against that aggrandizement, who, day after day, were clamouring and hallooing to drive their country into the toils of her pursuer, who rejoiced when she was caught by the peace of Amiens, and who liked that peace the better for having severed us from the Continent of Europe; that which startles and astounds even these men, makes no impression on his Majesty's ministers, on those "*safe* politicians," those cool and calculating statesmen, who, with the utmost composure, publish the receipts of their custom-house as more than a balance against all the insults and injuries which they have brought upon their country and their sovereign.

The pretext for the Consul's interference is by no means less novel than the manner of it, nor less material to be weighed and considered in this discussion. It was this: *a preponderating mediation of two powers, perfectly disinterested* (that is, in other words, having no right to interfere) *was necessary to effect, in the internal affairs of Germany, what would in vain have been expected from the internal deliberations of the Germanic body!* What extent would such a principle of interference, as this, go to; or rather, how perfectly illimitable is it? It puts the internal constitution of every country, governed by balanced powers and deliberative assemblies, totally at the mercy of the strongest. On such a pretext, France, if at peace with us, might have presented a plan for the Union of Ireland, when the measure was voted here and rejected there: she may now interfere between his Majesty's cabinet in England and the house of assembly of Jamaica; and, if her present conduct be winked at and passed over in silence, who shall say that she has not a right to interfere in any of the hundreds of disputes, which are continually arising between the federal and state governments of the American union? In short, to set up, and act upon, a pretext like this, required nothing less than the perfection of impudence and insolence, together with the consciousness of controulable power. And here, my lord, I cannot help reminding your lordship, that, if ever this subject should be discussed in Parliament, you and your colleagues must certainly lay your account with the loss of the support, on this particular point, of all those patriots, who approved of the treaty of Amiens, and who were formerly so loud in their cries *against all interference in the internal affairs of France*, even though that country was at the time in a state of commotion; though the rebellious people had imprisoned, and afterwards murdered, their lawful sovereign, and though they openly avowed their intention to extend, by fraud or by force, their principles and their example to every nation in the world, and particularly to Great-Britain. Yet, my lord, be not alarmed: the men, who maintained that principle; the men who, even in the days of Robespierre and Buonaparté, conti-

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nued to declaim against the war as a crusade against *liberty*; the men who could, with such wonderful facility, transfer their affections from one set of despots to another; the men who could follow, with unimpaired zeal and admiration (I might almost say allegiance) the French Republic through all the follies and all the horrors of her revolution; those men, be you assured, my lord, will not be ashamed to justify the present interference of the domineering Consul; and, therefore, your lordship may confidently anticipate, the entire, the undisturbed, and unenvied enjoyment of all the honour to be derived from their support.

From this digression I should now return to the subject of the electorates, but want of time compels me to defer it to my next. In the mean time, I am, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant, WM. COBBETT.

London, Sept. 24, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, Sept. 7.—The Moniteur of this date contains a letter from BERTIN, the colonial Prefect of Martinico, giving an account of his taking possession of that colony, and of the great joy of the inhabitants, on the occasion.—N.B. This letter will be inserted at length in the Supplement to the present volume —It has in it nothing immediately interesting.

The Moniteur also contains the following arrêté.—

"*Sept.* 1, 1802 —The Consuls of the republic, on the report of the minister of finance, and with the advice of the Council of State, decree:—Art. I. New cordage of French manufacture, tarred or untarred, may be exported, on paying a simple countervailing duty. II. Pitch raw or prepared, tars and rosins of French production, may be exported on paying the following duties: 1. When exported on board French vessels, 25 cents. per myriagram. 2. When exported in foreign vessels, 50 cents. III. Undressed hides, imported from foreign parts, shall be subject, at their entry, to a duty of 25 cents. only, in the same manner as those imported from the French colonies. IV. Comfits, entered inwards from foreign parts, shall be subject to a duty on importation of 35 fr. 5 myriagrams. V. The importation of molasses, being the production of foreign colonies, is prohibited." *Signed, &c. in the usual manner.*

Sept. 14.—The First Consul, in virtue of 63d Article of the organic Senatus Consultum, has appointed to the rank of Senators the following Citizens:—Abrial, Minister of Justice. Fouché, Minister of Police. Dubelloy, Archbishop of Paris. Rœderer, President of the Section of the Interior of the Council of State. And Aboville, First Inspector General of the Artillery. On the same day Citizen Regnier, President of the Section of Legislation, and Counsellor of State, was appointed High Judge and Minister of Justice. Citizen Boulay, Counsellor of State, and President of the Section of Legislation, is appointed to adjudge the claims respecting the National Domains, in the room of Citizen Regnier. Citizen Fourcroy, Counsellor of State, replaces Citizen Rœderer, and in the direction and superintendance of public instruction. Citizen Bigot de Preameneu, Counsellor of State, is appointed President of the Section of Legislation, in the room of Citizen Boulay. Citizen Regnaud (de Saint Jean d'Angely), is appointed President of the Section of the Interior, in the room of Citizen Rœderer. Citizen Lacuée, Counsellor of State, is named President of the Section of the War Office, in the room of General Brune, appointed Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. The following Citizens have been appointed Counsellors of State, viz —Treilard, President of the Tribunal of Appeal for Paris. Collen, Director-General of the Customs, L. Haumont, Prefect of the Lower Rhine. Petit, Prefect of the department of Vaucluse. Dauchy, Prefect of the department of L'Aisne.

Basle, Sept. 12.—All the Eastern part of the Helvetic republic, with the exception of Turgovia, and a part of the Grisons, is in a state of open rebellion against the constitutional authorities.—Besides the three small cantons, those of Glarus, Appenzel, Rheinthal, Zug, and Baden, have declared themselves to be in a state of insurrection.—In Zug, the presence even of a battalion of infantry could not prevent the insurrection from breaking out. The other cantons abound with emissaries from the small cantons, who hold out promises of the abolition of all taxes, of the re-establishment of the Landsgemeinde, and sometimes of the plunder of all persons of property.—These perfidious suggestions have had this singular effect, that the partizans both of oligarchy and of democracy unite together to destroy that constitution which was a few months ago adopted by a large majority. If they succeed in their designs (which may fortunately be prevented by the interposition of France), there will be a civil war between those parties who have now formed a tem-

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porary union for the purpose of destroying the government.—The canton of Baden is at this moment occupied in forming its landsgemein The municipalities have been invited to send deputies to the chief town to concert measures upon this subject. Reding's brother, who has resided for some time at Baden, is at the head of the insurgents. The Argovian district of Bruck has also been invited to join with the male contents of Baden. The central government has sent select persons belonging to Zurich and Friburg into these districts to put an end to the disturbances Illegal assemblies having been held at Zurich, a detachment of Helvetic troops was sent thither from those stationed in the middle district of the *Pays de Vaud*. The burgesses of Zurich shut the gates against them, and proposed terms which military honour obliged them to reject. Hostilities were commenced, and we this moment learn, that the city of Zurich has been bombarded by the Helvetic troops. The commissary of government, Muy, has received orders to expedite his departure.

Paris 22d. Sep —We learn by the way of Nantes, that at the departure of *La Brune* from the cape at St. Domingo, on the 1st of August, the two frigates sent to the isle of Tortue had arrived there. The Negroes had been reduced, the most mutinous punished, and tranquillity re-established. Some habitations have been burnt, and about a dozen of whites, women and children, have fallen victims to the insurrection.—The frigate *La Valeureuse*, returned to Brest from St Domingo, announces the approaching return of the three ships *Le Pesaiole*, *Tourville*, and *La Zele*.—Citizen Perignon, senator, is appointed extraordinary commissioner to regulate, conformably to the basis of the 7th article of the treaty of peace between France and Spain, every thing relative to the rectification of the limits of the two states on the side of the Pyrennees.

American States.—New York papers have been received of the 11th of August, from which it would appear that some degree of alarm respecting the contagious fever still prevailed both in New York and Philadelphia. The following articles are copied from the New York Daily Advertiser:—"The "favourable state of the health of this city "is apparent from the list of deaths for last "week, which falls short of the week pre-"ceding.—The greatest mortality prevails, "as is usual through the summer months, "among children—the proportion between "them and adults being as three to one.—"By private accounts yesterday from Phi-"ladelphia, we learn, that the alarm re-"specting the fever was still very great, and "that the inhabitants were very generally "removing from the city, as the most ef-"fectual means of preventing the ravages of "this dreadful distemper.—A French fri-"gate of 54 guns and 400 men, Capt Tail-"leur, three months from Brest, on a cruize, "has put in at this port for water and pro-"visions. She had anchored at the qua-"rantine ground. Three other frigates, it "is said, may be expected."

Stuttgard, Sept. 12 —The assembly of the deputies of the imperial cities of Suabia, which met about a month since, has separated without coming to any resolution. Six of the cities, amongst whom Augsburg is one, took no part in the deliberations.—The latest courier from Munich, brings the intelligence of the Austrians having occupied the county of Neuburg, which extends from the Inn to the banks of the Danube. It appears that they also proposed to interrupt the communication between the Bavarian troops posted at Vilshoffen, and at Saint Nicholas. General Deroi immediately placed troops along the Danube, to maintain those communications, and proceeded on the 5th to Passau, to confer upon the subject with the Austrian general Shanch. The result of the conference is not known.—A report has prevailed for some days at Munich, that the Austrians were disposed to evacuate Passau, but it has been contradicted by late events. We learn, on the contrary, that there is an intention of forming a second camp at Wels, on the frontier of High Austria. M. de Buol, the Austrian envoy at Munich proposed that the elector should evacuate all the countries which he had occupied, on which condition, it was added, the emperor would withdraw his troops from Salzburg, Passau, Berchtolsgaden, &c. but this proposition was not agreed to at Munich.—The Bavarian troops have delayed until now, the taking possession of the different imperial cities of Suabia allotted to the elector. The occupation of those cities has at length taken place within these few days. On the 8th, a detachment entered Noerdlingen, and another Bopfingen.—On the next day Demhulspul was occupied, and also Kauffbenem, Buchhorn, Wangen, and Ravinspurg. In many of these cities, the arrival of foreign troops caused some discontent, but the magistrates themselves addressed proclamations to their fellow-citizens, inviting them to submit to necessity, and promising that they would do every thing in their power to preserve to the cities a part

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of their privileges.—The count de Lerchenfeld, a commissary of the Bavarian government, charged with the particular confidence of the elector, is arrived at Augsburg. He notified on the 10th to the imperial officers of the *Prévoté Saint Ulrich*, that a detachment of Bavarian troops would enter the city of Augsburg to take possession of that Prévoté. It is asserted that the magistrates of Augsburg have protested against the entry of a foreign force into that city.—The Bavarian troops stationed in the bishopric of Augsburg, have drawn nearer to the frontiers of the Tyrol, and have occupied the different dependencies of the bishopric of Freysengen inclosed in the Tyrol, and have quietly taken possession of Paterskirch and Mittenwald. Their advanced posts are placed near the important passage of Schavinz, occupied by the Austrian troops.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

In pursuance of the first article of the Convention, made on the 8th of January last (See Register p. 97) with the American States, the following notice has been issued.

"WHEREAS by the first article of the Convention concluded at London, on the 8th day of January last, between his Majesty and the United States of America, the said United States, in satisfaction and discharge of the money which they might have been liable to pay in pursuance of the provisions of the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London, on the 4th day of November, 1794, between his Majesty and the said United States (which sixth article, was, by the said Convention declared to be cancelled and annulled, except so far as the same might relate to the execution of the seventh article of the said treaty), engaged to pay; and his Majesty engaged to accept, for the use of the persons described in the said sixth article, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable at the City of Washington, in three annual instalments of two hundred thousand pounds each, and to such person and persons as should be authorised by his Majesty to receive the same; the first of the said instalments to be paid at the expiration of one year, the second at the expiration of two years, and the third and last instalment at the expiration of three years, next following the exchange of the ratification of the said Convention: and by the second article of the said Convention, the fourth article of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the 3d day of September, 1783, between his Majesty and the said United States, was so far as respected its future operation, recognised and confirmed, so as that the creditors therein described should thereafter meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money of their *bona fide* debts. All persons claiming the benefit of the said first article of the said Convention, are hereby required to lodge, without delay, their several claims in writing, duly subscribed by the respective claimants, or their agents, with James William Hay, Esq. at the Office, No. 7, Great Marlborough-street; and that they therein specially set forth, 1st. Their national character entitling them to claim as his Majesty's subjects: 2dly, The nature and origin of their several debts and demands, and the total amount thereof, principal and interest, reduced to sterling money (the interest being separately stated and distinguished from the principal) with a reference to schedules annexed; the said schedules to contain lists or accounts of the particular debts, the names of the debtors, and their situations and circumstances, so far as the same can be stated, at and subsequent to the conclusion of the peace between his Majesty and the said United States; 3dly, Whether the claimants have at any time proceeded, or are now proceeding at law, in America, for recovering payment of the said debts; and if not, why they have not so proceeded, or are not so proceeding at law? And lastly, the evidence, written or parole, which they are ready or undertake to bring forward in support of their several statements and demands. And all claimants who do not reside in London, or the immediate neighbourhood thereof, are required to appoint agents there residing; and at the time of lodging their claims, to give notice of the names and places of abode of their said agents at the said office. Further it is hereby required, that all relative or incidental representations, statements, and applications shall be made in writing, duly signed by the claimants or their agents, and lodged at the office, where all necessary inquiries respecting the above matter, and the proceedings therein, may be made, and there only.—Office, No. 7, Great Marlborough-street, Sept. 11, 1802."

On the 22d inst. their Majesties came from Windsor to Kew Palace, from whence the King proceeded to town, and held a Levee at St. James's: it being the anniversary of the Coronation, it was observed with the usual demonstrations, and the No-

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blenen, who were Knights of the different orders, appeared in their several insignia.—The presentations to the King were: His Excellency Baron Jacobi, the Prussian Ambassador, on his arrival from his own Court, having been absent on important business three six months.—Lord Keith, on his arrival from abroad.—Baron Herbert, from Germany, was introduced by Mr. Spencer Smith; he is quite a young man, and attracted the notice of the company by the peculiarity of his dress, being attired in a vest of white sattin.—Sir J. Douglas kissed hands on being appointed Equerry to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.—Mr. Serjeant, Secretary to the new appointed Lords of his Majesty's Treasury.—John Smith, Esq. kissed his Majesty's hand on being appointed Master of the Mint, and was sworn a Member of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council.—A relation to the late General Sloper had an audience of the King, and delivered up the red ribbon worn by that worthy Officer as Knight of the Bath.—Singer Burton, Esq. being appointed Gentleman Usher, and Quarterly Waiter, in the room of Mr. Osmer, attended, and received the usual mark of royal respect.—Lord R. Fitzgerald took leave on setting off on his journey to Lisbon.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

According to intelligence received from Martinico, the French General BERTIN has taken possession of that island, amidst, as he says, the joyous acclamations of the inhabitants. No doubt. Those who felt no joy would certainly feign it. Dispatches from the Isle of France contain, like all other dispatches from the French colonies, high eulogiums on the paternal care of the First Consul. Were Buonaparté, by some mishap, to lose his power of bestowing rewards and punishments, his power of life and death, these eulogiums would, doubtless, as in the case of poor Robespierre, be turned into reproaches and execrations; but, in the mean time, they show that all his subjects, whether near him or far from him, live and move in perfect obedience to his will.—An *arrêté* appears in the *Moniteur* of the 19th, by which all proprietors of estates in St. Domingo, with the exception of those who are disabled by age, infirmity, or sickness, or who are actually employed in the French service, are required to repair thither under the penalty of sequestration of their property. According to intelligence from the Cape, an insurrection in the Isle of Tortue has been suppressed, and several of the negroes punished, after some habitations had been *burnt*, and a few Whites, women and children, had fallen victims to the fury of the Blacks.

The *Valais* has been formed into an *independant* republic, and the formation has been announced to the world, through the Moniteur, by a proclamation, signed by the envoys of the *French*, the *Italian*, and the *Helvetic* Republics. A constitution is to be formed, by France undoubtedly. Buonaparté is styled the *Restorer* of the liberty of the Valais, under which title he will, perhaps, exercise a controul rather more immediate, than that which he exercises over Holland and Spain. Being upon this topic, we cannot forbear to notice, how completely the Italian Republic is identified, in all political concerns, with that of France. The French ambassadors stipulate for it with Algiers and with Denmark, in exactly the same manner as if it were called a *colony*, which it really is, of the French Republic. It is, as to all purposes of war, whether defensive or offensive, much more efficiently united with France than Ireland is with England; and, be it remembered, that it now maintains an army more numerous than this kingdom does. It has no commerce, no manufactures, no bank no lord-mayor's coach, but it has sixty thousand soldiers, each of whom has sixty rounds of ball-cartridges in his pouch.

The situation of Germany cannot well be described: mortified as the Emperor must be, it is hardly possible for him to show any efficient resentment. It is stated in the foreign journals (see p. 370), that he still opposes some resistance; but it is hardly necessary to repeat the melancholy truth, that he must finally submit. The *wise-acres* tell us, that, *by-and-by*, he will *recruit his strength*, and then he will avenge himself! France and Russia have taken care that his strength shall never be recruited; they have annihilated the means of his recovery, they have cut off "the source from which his "current flows or else dries up;" and we have stood by, unconcerned spectators of the deed.

In Switzerland (see p. 365) the blessings of revolution seem to have arrived nearly to a state of perfection. In addition to the five cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaurus and Appenzel, those of Rheinthal, Zuy, and Baden, have now declared themselves in a state of insurrection, and, it appears very evident, that the new Helvetic government will be compelled to call in the *assistance of France*. This is what has been

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long expected. Why Buonaparté should seek for a pretext of this sort, or of any sort, it would be difficult to conjecture; but there are, doubtless, circumstances which render it prudent. The selfish policy, which Switzerland, in common with Genoa, Modena, Tuscany, and, indeed, almost all the powers of Europe, adopted with respect to the early stages of the French revolution, it is now, in common with other states and princes, expiating under the well-merited lash of the French Republic.

The honest Talleyrand's avowal with respect to the object of the Egyptian expedition (see p. 353) has been thrown out for the same purpose that the French have always proclaimed, before hand, their hostile intentions towards other countries. But, how secure must Buonaparté feel with respect to our Ministry; how little must he care about the opinions of people in this country; how conscious must he be that we dare not, now or hereafter, attempt to resist him! There are persons who think that he will re-possess Egypt in less than a twelvemonth. It is possible, and, indeed, by no means improbable. The government of Turkey is completely at his command; and, should he obtain Egypt by *cession*, what can we urge against it? His corps of Mamelukes are not maintained with such splendor, and enjoying such singular marks of his favour, merely for the sake of their being brother Mussulmans: it is not piety but politics to which they owe their establishment.

The letter from our correspondent at Stockholm, which will be found in this sheet, page 355, is well worthy of attention; and we beg leave to point out particularly, that part of it, which (rather in an exaggerating way, indeed) speaks of a *second part* of the Convention between France and Russia, treating of maritime affairs, more especially of *neutral navigation and trade*. "Mr. President Jefferson is to be a party," and a party he will gladly be, with the hearty approbation of his country too, if he can thereby procure, not an abandonment, but a *delay* only, of the colonization of Louisiana. With this boon in her hands, France can obtain the accession of America to whatever league she thinks proper to form against this country.—It will soon be seen whether our connexions on the Continent had no influence on our maritime affairs, whether they in no wise tended to strengthen our defence. Mr. Wilberforce will soon see whether England can live without the Continent, and Mr. Pitt will soon see the effect of listening to the advice of such politicians.—The public are already indignant at the loss of the Emperor of Russia's friendship; what, then, will be their feelings when they come to be acquainted with the way in which it was lost! That powerful prince would, doubtless, have come forward, in conjunction with us, for the settlement of Europe; but, our ministers chose to buy a peace for themselves, and to have no communication with him on the subject. He was, of course, thrown into the hands of France. He was obliged, in order to prevent more mischief as well as he could, to concert some arrangement with France, and as we are told by our correspondent (p. 129), it was probably done through the mediation of Prussia. The Emperor Alexander was *then* (at least there is every reason to suppose so) willing to have supported a plan for the more effectual independance of Malta. Such a plan is said to have been agreed on. But Buonaparté, who, perhaps, knew this, forced another plan upon us. Russia, in consequence, has refused to guarantee it; and refused, too, with no small displeasure at our weak or treacherous conduct; and, the chance whether "conciliation" or "firmness" be uppermost in Lord Hawkesbury's policy, is to determine, whether we are now to make a surrender of Malta to Buonaparté, even beyond the treaty of Amiens, or to go to war again for Malta alone, when we have given up possession of all our other restitutions.—There can be no doubt which the cool, the prudent, the "*safe* politicians," will do.

But, if these "*safe* politicians" have lost the friendship of Russia; if they have abandoned the empire with all its princes, and, amongst the rest, their own sovereign; if they have brought disgrace upon disgrace on their country; if they have left her not an ally or a friend in the world; if they have endangered her existence as an independant state; they have, as a balance against all these, clearly shewn, that the receipts of the Custom-house and Excise office have increased since the peace.—They have, with all the vanity and pomposity of a merchant's clerk, who talks of his master's profits as if they were his own, published a comparative statement of the sales in one of their principal shops, taking the two first quarters of the year 1801, and the two first quarters of 1802. Their statement is as follows:

"*Exports of British Produce and Manufactures*

1801.

"Quarter ending 5th of April £4,716,41[illegible]

"Ditto ending 5th of July.... 4,024,41[illegible]

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1802.

" Quarter ending 5th of April 8,343,961
" Ditto ending 5th of July .. 5,678,446

" *Exports of Foreign Merchandize.*

1801.

" Quarter ending 5th of April 1,109,608
" Ditto ending 5th of July.... 1,161,814

1802.

" Quarter ending 5th of April 1,782,067
" Ditto ending 5th of July.... 1,369,756

" The excise," it is added, " has been " productive in a proportionate degree. " During the last two months, it has ave- " raged £220,000 per week, being at the " rate of above fourteen millions a year. " If such is *already* the case, what may we " not expect will be the increase of our " commercial prosperity, as peace conti- " nues to expand her golden pinions."— This is, we are well assured, a very fallacious statement. Advantage has been taken of every circumstance that could be brought to aid in making up a shew. We by no means, however, doubt that the exports of the two first quarters of peace have exceeded those of the two first quarters of 1801. Who ever expected the contrary? How many cargoes were kept in waiting for that diminution in the rates of freight and insurance, which peace must inevitably produce. The negotiations were going on for eight months, during the whole of which time, the shippers were keeping back all the goods which it was not absolutely necessary to send off. Let it be observed, too, (what, indeed, was a hundred times observed during the discussions on the peace) that the shops on the Continent were all empty; that the increased demand for British manufactures, for two or three years even was to be expected, unless France, before the expiration of that time, chose to prohibit them. To the colonies also an extraordinary shipment, for the first year or so of peace, must of course take place; and, therefore, to affect to deduce from the exports of the two last quarters an argument in favour of a regular increase of trade " as peace con- tinues to expand her golden pinions," is a gross attempt at imposition, especially when the fallacy of it is so amply proved by the statement itself; for, if the 1st quarter exported *eight* millions and the 2d quarter only *five* millions, what reason is there to suppose, that trade will *increase* " as peace continues to expand her golden pinions."? Indeed, this sudden decrease clearly proves, that the vast rise of the first quarter (and, doubtless, part of that of the second quarter) over the quarters of 1801, is to be attributed almost entirely to the release of cargoes, locked up by the war.

But, if we were to allow, that the peace had really produced an increase of trade, and that this increase would continue to grow, as long as the peace should last, are the " *safe* politicians" quite sure, that this circumstance is likely to contribute to the *duration* of that " blessing"? Are they quite sure that it may not, on the contrary, be the very thing above all others, which will make Buonaparté hasten the application of his fatal shears to the " golden pinions" of peace; more especially when he recollects that the discreet statesmen, the " *safe* politicians," have openly avowed, that their object is to save up a little money, in order to be able again to enter the field, and to defeat the consummation of his projects? Are they quite sure that it was prudent to indulge, on this occasion, their " proud exultation," and to " hope, " that the statement will not be prohibited " in the French news-papers"? Are they quite sure, that they shall not have cause to repent of their shopkeeper-like wit, their purse-proud exultation? The coward never should cry, roast-meat. The goose with the golden eggs should steal silently from her nest.

Every thing that we have heard, since our last, strengthens, rather than impairs, the opinion expressed in Mr. Cobbett's letter (see p. 338.) as to the motives and probable consequences of the visit, which Mr. Fox and his friends are now paying to Buonaparté. The persons composing this charmingly select party, are, Lords Holland and Oxford, Mr. Adair, Gen. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and the man of the people himself. " Into their as- " sembly come not thou, my soul; unto " their council be not thou united?" We do not know that the others are admitted to any private parties with the Consul, or with the honest Talleyrand; but the man of the people is so admitted almost every day, and, in short, is honoured with the perfect friendship and confidence of Buonaparté, who, in the undisguised, the marked, the ostentatious favour which he shows to the well-known and irreconcileable enemy of Mr. Pitt, fully proves, that he has, with respect to England, some object in view, which no ministry, supported by Mr. Pitt, will ever suffer him to accomplish. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine any thing, to which those who surrendered Nappy Tandy, might not be reasonably expected to consent; but, doubtless,

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the First Consul, who has a most fertile imagination, has, at last, made the discovery.—Mr. Cobbett, in order to shew the fallacy of the pretext for Mr. Fox's visit to Paris, observed, that, from the well-known state of the patriot's eyes, it was fair to presume, that he could not *read* the Stuart manuscripts, in the Scotch college; but, he might have observed, that neither Mr. Fox nor any body else could *read* them, the said manuscripts having been *burnt long enough ago*, a circumstance of which there is every reason to suppose Mr. Fox was well acquainted. This is pretty nearly conclusive as to the *pretext* of the visit.—The *military honours*, too, which were bestowed on him, have been by no means sufficiently dwelt on. The officers commanding at St. Omers, Lisle, &c. &c. might, indeed, have heard of Charles Fox; but, if we can at all suppose it probable, that they would, of their own accord, have drawn out their men for the purpose of honouring him, we must suppose, that they had heard a great deal of him, that they were acquainted with his character, his principles, and his party politics; and, if so, they must have known, that he was the leader of the opposition, the sworn foe of Mr. Pitt, and of the men who have served him as instruments in making the peace with Buonaparté. If they knew enough of Mr. Fox to have contracted for him any great degree of admiration, they must have had great fears of showing that admiration, lest, as being a mark of hostility to the British ministry, it should bring on them the displeasure of Buonaparté, whom they must necessarily suppose to have a desire to live in friendship with that ministry. Whether, therefore, they were acquainted with the character, principles, and party of Mr. Fox, or whether they were not, it is evident, that they would not have paid him military honours, or, indeed, any honours at all, *unless they had received orders to that effect from Paris*, and this necessarily supposes a previous correspondence with Paris on the subject of his journey.

While Mr. Fox, "the patriot Fox," the "man of the people," the "champion of "British freedom," is bowing at the levees, and basking in the favour, of the absolute, the military master of republican France, in a prison, not many paces from the scene of his sycophancy, the object of his adulation has lately immured a British gentleman, who was serving his king and country at the risk of his life, while "the man of the people" was giving evidence at Maidstone, or perchance, reading lectures at the Shakespeare, on the useful science of *cashiering kings*. We allude here to the imprisonment of *Captain D'Auvergne*, who is sometimes called Prince de Boullion, as being the heir at law of the late nobleman of that name, but who is an Englishman by birth, who never has, in any way whatever, forfeited his rights as a British subject, who has been in the British navy from his infancy, and who has served in Jersey, with distinguished honour, during almost the whole of the war which has just ended. This gentleman, Buonaparté has, within these few days, imprisoned in the Temple. Under what pretext is not known. That he has no right to imprison him is certain, and we wait with impatience to see how the "*safe* politicians" will proceed; which of their specifics, "conciliation" or "firmness," they will make use of to defend the honour and the life of a most valuable subject of His Majesty.—That Captain D'Auvergne would soon lose his liberty, and even his life, than owe either of them to the intercession of Charles Fox, we are certain; but, it is not inapplicable to observe here, that, at the very moment this gallant and loyal officer is deprived of his freedom, against all the laws of nations, of honour, and of hospitality, Mr. Fox is receiving public thanks from a deputation of Frenchmen, who were, during the war, prisoners in England, and who affect to have owed all the good treatment they received, not to the justice and humanity of His Majesty's government, but solely and entirely to the pathetic eloquence of Mr. Fox. Our readers must have seen, in most of the London daily papers, a translation from the papers of Paris, giving an account of the scene, to which we have here alluded, and which must have been truly diverting. Some impudent carmagnole was found to make a speech full of falsehood and bombast, reminding Mr. Fox of his *generous* interference in behalf of the French prisoners in England, at the close of which, the Morning Chronicle says, Mr. Fox *pathetically* replied, in a manner and an accent most affecting: "*O, yes, Sir, I remember!*" In what part of this reply the pathos is to be found we are at a loss to say, but we are told that the audience were so moved by it, that they burst into *tears*, in which they were joined by the man of the people! We, too, do remember something about the parliamentary speeches, relative to French prisoners of war; and, we could fill this sheet with more atrocious calumnies, uttered, on that sub-

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ject, by Mr Fox and his friends, against His Majesty's government. We remember, too, that while these patriots were lavishing their care and generosity on the French prisoners in England, not one of them was ever known to discover the least anxiety respecting the English prisoners in France, though it was notorious that they were treated with savage barbarity.

None of the London news-papers have yet attempted to defend Mr. Fox's visit to the Consul. Their silence would be somewhat mysterious, if it were not evident that they know not what to say. The Jacobins will justify all; but, there is a middle race, who are, perhaps, Jacobin in heart, but who, from some motive or other, occasionally discover the semblance, at least, of English feeling, who will not, all at once, publickly approve of the cabals at Paris. No confidence, however, is to be placed in these men. They will endeavour to steer between Fox and the ministry, 'till they perceive that the former really comes backed with the efficient, active support of Buonaparté, and the moment they are well satisfied of that, they will throw themselves at his feet. This is a season of very refined speculation: the destinies of the British government and Bank occupy the thoughts of the patriots day and night. There is amongst them an animation and bustle like those which are perceivable in a flock of crows upon the approaching demise of an unfortunate quadruped.

Tyro will see that it was out of our power to insert the conclusion of his valuable article. It shall appear in our next. We hope frequently to hear from him.

Complete sets of this Work from the beginning of the first Volume, or from the beginning of the second, may be had of Mr. Bagshaw, *Bow Street, Covent Garden, or of any of the Newsmen in London or Westminster. The Work is published at three o'clock on Saturday, at the house of Mr. Bagshaw, and leaves London by the Saturday's post.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

The Gazette of the 18th inst. contains a Proclamation for proroguing the Parliament 'till the 16th of November next, then to meet for dispatch of business.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Downing Street, Sept. 15.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Douglas, of the Royal Marines, to be Equerry to his Royal Highness.

War Office, Sept. 13.—Commission in the Royal Regiment of Devon and Cornwal Miners, signed by the Lord Warden of the Stannaries. Dated July 13, 1802.—John Lemon, Esq. to be Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant and Colonel.

Ordnance Office, Sept. 13, 1802.—*Royal Regiment of Artillery*, Capt.-Lieut. Richard Buckner, to be Captain, vice E. Trelawney, resigned. Dated Sept. 9, 1802.—First Lieut. Thomas J. Forbes, to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Buckner. Dated as above.—Second Lieut. Wm. Johnston, to be First Lieut. vice Forbes. Dated as above.

War Office, Sept. 18, 1802.—2d Reg. of Drag. Assistant-Surgeon Edward Thornhill Luscombe, from Half-pay of the Royal Waggon Train, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Coates, who exchanges.—3d Ditto, James Graham, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Hutchins, promoted.—7th Reg. of Light Drag. Harry Hankey Dobree, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Webbe, promoted.—8th Ditto, Alexander Kennedy Clarke, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Walker, promoted.—14th Reg. of Light Drag. Matthew Kemble, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Richardson, promoted.—19th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Henry Roberts, to be Captain, without purchase, vice Baily, promoted. Lieut. George John Sale to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Roberts. James Allerdice, Gent. to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Colgan, deceased.—20th Ditto, Cornet George Card to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Matthews, who retires.—21st Ditto, Capt. Broad Malkin to be Major, by purchase, vice Mayne, who retires.—28th Ditto, Capt. John Cooke, from the 26th Light Dragoons, to be Major, by purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the 72d Foot.—Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen, Ensign Richard Toulmin North, from the Coldstream Foot Guards, to be Captain, by purchase, vice Druval, who retires.—3d Reg. of Foot Guards, Colonel Daniel Henry Shaw, from the 7th West India Reg. to be Capt. of a Company, vice Maj.-Gen. Grosvenor, who exchanges. George Dashwood, Esq. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Campbell, removed to the 83d Foot.—12th Reg. of Foot, Ensign Edward Postlethwaite Page, to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Starke, deceased. ....Stewart, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Page.—19th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon William Andrews to be Surgeon, vice Clarke, placed on Half-pay.—24th Ditto, Gaspard Erck, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Blake, promoted.—27th Ditto, Ensign Charles James Jones to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Pelly, promoted in the York Hussars.—35th Ditto, Lieut. Gregory Way to be Captain, by purchase, vice Coast, promoted in the 52d Foot. Ensign Edward Wright, from the 68th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Wray.—40th Ditto, Ensign Robert F. M. Browne to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dunbar, promoted.—51st Ditto, Peter Robertson, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Robinson, promoted.—60th Ditto, Ensign James Hughes to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Maclean, promoted.—63d Ditto, Quarter-Master William Smith to be Adjutant,

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with the rank of Ensign, vice Boyd, who resigns. Quarter-Master-Serjeant George Lynn, to be Quarter-Master, vice Smith.—67th Ditto, Assistant Surgeon Charles Quarterly, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Nicholls, who resigns.—74th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Russell Manners to be Capt vice James Campbell, deceased. Lieut. Breon Fletcher to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Manners. Lieut. James Grant to be Adjutant, vice Macleod, who resigns.—75th Ditto, John Williams, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Turner, promoted. Edward Tully, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Gray, promoted in the 77th Foot.—76th Reg. of Foot, ... Fraser, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Watson, promoted.—77th Ditto, Ensign John Gray, from the 75th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Spalding, deceased.—78th Ditto, Montgomery Coane, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Hay, promoted. —84th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Richard Horton to be Capt. by purchase, vice Burgess, who retires. Lieut. Robert Cockburne to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Horton. —85th Ditto, Charles Bellock, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Skoulding, promoted in the 9th Foot.—89th Ditto, Adam Dunscombe, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase.—91st Ditto, Lieut. Robert Oswald, from the 35th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Orde, promoted in the 52d Foot.—92d Ditto, Ensign Thomas Best, from the 30th Foot, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Bent, promoted in the 85th Foot.—3d West India Reg Capt. Lewis Grant, to be Major, by purchase, vice Lord Charles Bentinck, promoted in the 38th Foot.—7th Ditto, Maj.-Gen. Thomas Grosvenor, from the 3d Foot Guards, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Shaw, who exchanges.—Queen's German Reg. Lieut..... Zwicky, from Half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Tshudy, who exchanges. Lieut. Augustus Cappadose, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Souville, who exchanges.

Brevet.—Col. Charles Baron Hompesch, of the Prince of Wales's Hussars, to be Maj.-Gen. in the Army. Commission dated May 3, 1796.

Memorandum.—The appointment of Lieut. John Matchett, from the 28th Light Drag. to be Adjutant in the 1st Reg. of Drag. Guards, with the rank of Lieut. as stated in the Gazette of the 14th of Aug. last, has not taken place.—Assistant-Surgeon George Cross, of the 1st Reg. of Drag. who was superseded in the Gazette of the 28th ultimo, is reinstated in the regiment.—The appointment of Cornet John Matchett to be Lieut. by purchase, in the 28th Reg. of Light Drag. vice Honeyman, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of 7th ult. has not taken place.—The appointment of Lieut. Henry Nooth to be Capt. by purchase, in the 7th Reg. of Foot, vice Hardyman, promoted in the 1st Battalion of the 1st Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 4th instant, has not taken place.—The appointment of John Robson, Gent. to be Ensign in the 11th Reg. of Foot, vice M'Gregor, deceased, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th of January last, has not taken place.—The appointment of Lieut. Thomas Stephens Sorell to be Captain, by purchase, in the 84th Reg. of Foot, vice Burgess, who retires, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th of December last, has not taken place.—Hospital-Mates Gillespie and Dunne are superseded, being absent without leave.

Erratum in the Gazette of the 5th December last.—*84th Reg. of Foot.*—For Ensign William Ruddiman to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sorell, promoted. —Read Ensign William Ruddiman to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cockburne, promoted.

BANKRUPTS.

Ashby, John, late of Hinckley, Leicestershire, baker.—Allen, Joseph, of St. Mary Axe, London, merchant.—Brett, George, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, grocer.—Burman, James, of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, grocer.—Cleasby, Stephen, of Austin Friars, London, merchant.—Fenwick, Thomas the elder and Fenwick, Thomas the younger, of Boston, Lincolnshire, drapers.—Grove, Peter, late of Snaresbrook, Essex, baker.—Gillatt, John, Joseph Hawksworth, and William Gillatt, now or late of Sheffield, common-brewers.—Leaver, Thomas, of Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.—Leaver, Thos. of Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.—Lock, Philip, of Avening, Gloucester, clothier.—Lowe, James, late of Little Bolton, Lancashire, butcher. —Morgan, Francis, of Liverpool, merchant.—Macfarlane, William, of Bethnall-Green, merchant. —Page, John William, now or late of Wood-street, London, merchant.—Prager, Joseph, late of Norfolk-street, Strand, broker.—Palmer, William, of Bristol, victualler.—Powell, James, late of Villers-street, Strand, merchant.—Ribbans, John, of Colchester, wine-merchant.—Tagg, Mary, of Bath, grocer.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
3 per C. Con.	66⅞	69⅛	—	—	69⅛	69
3 pr Ct. Ann.	101⅝	101⅛	—	—	101	101⅛
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	69¼	—	—	68⅞	68¼
D° Ann.....	12¼	—	—	—	12 1/16	12¼
Omnium ...	7 dis	7 dis	—	—	8¼ dis	8¼ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11	1½	2 us.	Leghorn	51½
D°, at sight	10	10½		Naples.....	43½
Rotterdam	11	2¼	2 us.	Genoa	47¼
Hamburgh	33	5	2½us.	Venice,59 livres piccoli effective per £. ster.	
Altona....	33	6	2½us.	Lisbon.....	67½
Paris	1 day	23	12	Oporto.....	67½
Paris.....		23	2us.	Dublin.....	19½
Bourdeaux,	24	1		Bilboa.....	36¼ D
Cadiz		36¼	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol. p.	
Madrid ..		36¼	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	50s to 69s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 230
Rye.....	30..34	Hay per load....	80..1.0
Barley.....	31..38	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s
Malt.....	46..51	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d
Oats	14..23	Veal	4s. 0d. to 6s. 0d
Pease (white)....	39..42	Pork....	5s. 6d. to 7s. 0d
Beans (horse)....	35..38	Tallow	9s. 10d
Flour per sack ..	50..54	Av. of Sugar pr cwt	34s.5d
Seconds.....	45..50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d
Coals per chal....	49..45	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf	

Days.	M's age.	Weather. near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
16		Fine.	NW	NW	31	31	63	69
17		Fine.	SSW	SW	31	30,07	64,5	69
18	)	Fine.	SE	SE	29,97	29,91	63	71
19		Fine.	SE	SE	29,9	29,9	62	70,5
20		Fine.	ESE	SE	29,9	29,89	63	70
21		very Fine.	SE	SE	29,91	29,91	64	72
22		Fine.	SE	SE	29,9	29,9	68,5	69

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—Notes on Belsham, 385. Mr. Cobbett's Let. to L.d. Hawkesbury, 393. Caractacus on the Aff. of Germ. 399. Dip. at Ratisbon, 403. Civil War in Switz. 404. Capit. bet. the Porte and P. Oglou, 405. Voy. of the K. of Etruria, 405. Ship-Owners, 406. Dam. by Fire at Liverpool, 407. Lon. Sheriffs, 407. Sum. of Pol. 411.

NOTES ON MR. BELSHAM'S REMARKS.

(Continued from p. 295, and concluded.)

More trifling trash, under the pretence of political reasoning, was never offered to the public eye, than is gravely set forth in this obvious answer, to which the reply is not less obvious, and (we trust) much more convincing. It is *not* "as much the in-"terest of the King of Naples to keep on "terms of amity with Great-Britain as with "France," because his danger from the one power is not so immediate as from the other. Whenever the French shall perceive the approach of war, their ministers will have only to signify to the King of Naples, that hostilities being about to commence with Great Britain, the possession of Malta is necessary to the military operations of the republic; which will immediately send four thousand troops to relieve the Neapolitan garison during the war; that if his Majesty accedes to this proposal, he shall have the liberty of remaining neuter; otherwise the army of the Italian Republic will immediately proceed to Naples. Can it be expected that the King of Naples will hesitate a moment between this alternative? The *attempt and effect* will be the same thing, and a light squadron from Toulon will have completed the business, before our Mediterranean fleet (if we should have one there) could have orders to make any opposition. It would even be a cruel insult to urge the King of Naples to refuse the neutrality: for although our fleet might perhaps, six months after the evacuation of Malta, find means to destroy the city of Naples; yet we could never prevent the whole kingdom being at the absolute disposal of the French. That we have *no evidence to warrant a supposition that France may take such a step* is assertion against experience; and can only be laughed at by those who recollect, under what professions of peace and proclamations of good will and respect for lives, laws, and property, the French attacked and plundered Venice, Switzerland, Egypt, and the Pope's dominions. France can have no motive to make an attempt on Malta, until she shall be prepared for and most likely shall have provoked a renewal of the war; consequently no fear of *incurring the risk or certainty of a war* will deter her. And as for the disgrace, she will have anticipated a sufficient compensation for it in the advantage of commanding all the coasts of Italy and the Levant.

Page 15. Mr. B. says, that "it has been "insinuated rather than alleged, that Eng-"land ought to have prevented the transfer "of Porto Ferrajo and the Isle of Elba, in "which it is situated, to France." But Mr. B. adds, "in this arrangement England "had no pretence founded either in *policy* "or *justice* to interfere." It has been proved by experience, that Porto Ferrajo is a secure harbour for our ships, and so situated as to enable its possessor effectually to check the communication, and of course the commerce and naval operations of an enemy, on a great length of the Italian coast, viz. from Genoa quite down to Naples and Sicily. It therefore seems clear, that it would have been very good policy in England to have interfered, if her interference could have prevented a place of such importance from being *for ever* secured to France; experience having also shewn, that it is almost impregnable. But this is only one of many instances of Mr. B. making a positive assertion, without offering any proof, and indeed without appearing to have at all considered the subject. With respect to the justice of such interference on the part of England, her right of doing so has already been discussed in the remarks on the cession of Guiana.

Page 19. "It is alleged, that the First "Consul of the French Republic having, "pending the negotiation, and after sign-"ing the preliminaries, *caused himself* to be "elected President of the Italian Republic, "*this was a sufficient ground* for breaking off "the treaty altogether; or at least for in-"sisting upon an equivalent for the advan-"tage thus accruing to France."—"But "(answers Mr. B.) that this equivalent, had "it been demanded, would have been pe-"remptorily refused, *cannot be doubted*. And "we must either have receded from our

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" demand, or have renewed the war in con-
" sequence of such refusal, &c. &c." And Mr. B adds, " Austria, Russia, and Prussia " acquiesced in this nomination." It was more than once said in the House of Commons, that all the different steps of aggrandizement (but not this election alone) taken by Buonaparté subsequent to the signature of the preliminaries, were a sufficient cause for renewing the war, unless England should acquire by the definitive treaty some advantages to counterbalance the increasing power of France; and this election seemed to be the most promising opportunity of urging the demand for an equivalent. Because, notwithstanding Mr. B.'s assertion, that Austria, Russia, and Prussia acquiesced, it is far from certain, that their acquiescence did not in some degree proceed from the apparent supineness or timidity of the English government. It was even confidently reported on the Continent, that Austria had shewn strong marks of jealousy at this newly conferred dignity; and what might be more alarming to the First Consul, there appeared in Paris and other parts of France many symptoms of dissatisfaction at his having thus *caused himself* to be elected to a *foreign* sovereignty, which had certainly an appearance of providing against the worst. Now, had our government made an immediate and spirited demand of some melioration of the preliminaries, it may be *reasonably doubted* if under these circumstances the refusal would have been so peremptory as Mr. B. asserts. And the First Consul might have felt it to be not altogether prudent or safe to force the French, who were at that time more anxious (as indeed they might well be) for a definitive peace than we were—into a renewal of the war, merely to secure to his person the sovereignty of the Italian Republic.

Page 21 " It has been objected, that it is " highly culpable (in the ministry) to have suf-
" fered the cession of Louisiana to France." —" But (adds Mr B.) the question again " occurs—how could we prevent this ces-
" sion?"—By the only way in which one independent power can prevent or resist the injurious conduct of another: by England formally notifying that she would not permit France to have possession of Louisiana; and if France should persist, by declaring war.—What! (would Mr. B. say) go to war to prevent France having Louisiana?—No, not for this or perhaps any other object of the treaty *separately* taken: but to prevent France acquiring collectively Louisiana, Guiana, Elba, and the sovereignty of the Italian Republic, it might have been worth our while to have once more tried the fortune of war, whilst as yet none of the cessions or restitutions had taken place: " As to the danger which the United States " of America are supposed to incur from " the neighbourhood of France, those states " are *unquestionably* well able to defend " themselves."—So far otherwise, that divided as they are in interests, opinions, and situation, few things seem more questionable than their ability of maintaining their independence against the arms and more dangerous artifices of a powerful and intriguing neighbour, situated close upon their frontier, and notoriously possessing a decided influence over the party and persons who at present have the administration of their government.

" The vicinity of France would only tend " to incline them (the Americans) the more " strongly to the alliance of Britain."—Admitting this, America may not have an opportunity or may not dare to pursue this inclination. England too may have her reasons for not entering into the alliance at the time it may be proposed: and without following this speculation further, it cannot be denied that from the present appearance of affairs in that country, France seems to have a much fairer prospect of revolutionizing America, than England has of preventing it.

The omission of the renewal of former treaties, Mr. B.'s only defence is an extract from Lord Hawkesbury's excellent speech on the thirteenth of May: which excellent as it may be, Mr. B. has thought proper to bolster up by adding that—" a commercial " negotiation is on foot, from which the " most happy and beneficial consequences " may be reasonably expected."

As for " the *most happy and beneficial con-*
" *sequences* of the commercial negotiation," —if (as Mr. B. promises) they may be very *reasonably* expected, it is also certain that they have long been and may still be very fruitlessly expected. When Mr. B. tells his readers, that if we had refused to restore the Cape of Good Hope we could have had no peace; if we had demanded any equivalent for the First Consul's causing himself to be elected President of the Italian Republic, it would without doubt have been peremptorily refused; if we had opposed the cessions of Elba or Louisiana we must have renewed the war; he spoke with the authority of a man, who had been admitted into all the secrets of all the cabinets. But Mr. B. seems to have been

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kept quite in the dark as to this commercial negociation; although he has ventured to predict these *most happy and beneficial consequences*. And in truth if the benefit (whenever we get it) should bear a fit proportion to the delay and difficulty in obtaining it, his prediction will be most satisfactorily fulfilled. Meanwhile Mr. B. himself must confess that, as far as this commercial treaty is to correct the inconveniences of the non-renewal of former treaties, those inconveniences do for the present remain uncorrected.—P. 24. "Up- "on the whole it is *evident to demonstration*, "that the nation is under the highest obli- "gation to those ministers who, entering "into a negotiation in the true spirit of con- "ciliation, have with such wisdom, firm- "ness and moderation brought to a felici- "tous conclusion a treaty attended with such "numerous and complicated difficulties."—Having stated the substance of Mr. B's remarks and offered the foregoing observations on them, my readers must judge how far Mr. B. merits this joint compliment which he pays to himself for his *evident demonstration*, and to the ministry for their wisdom, firmness, and moderation. If the case were capable of evident demonstration, most assuredly Mr. B's remarks have rather darkened than illustrated it. Nor could this be otherwise: Mr. B. having forgotten to establish two points on which, as on first principles, all his assertions and arguments rest; namely, the indispensable necessity of an immediate peace, or a very great improbability of obtaining better terms by a continuance of the war. For it cannot have escaped the reader's notice, that whether Mr. B. discusses the several restitutions, cessions, or objections, his most favourite arguments are—"If we "had not restored this place, we could "have had no peace"—"If we had in- "sisted on that demand, we must have "continued the war."—But this mode of reasoning, or rather of asserting, leads to no conclusion, unless we were so completely disabled from accepting these threatened alternatives, that peace was become indispensably necessary. But Mr. B. has not said that the peace was a measure *of necessity*, and Mr. Addington has expressly denied it. If therefore it be "evidently "demonstrated that the nation is under "the highest obligations to the ministers "for the *felicitous* conclusion of the "treaty," (*of* which the nation does not at present seem at all conscious) it must be a *self-evident* demonstration; since Mr. B. so far from producing any thing like *demonstration*, has not even produced the premises from which he principally draws all his conclusions.

The pamphlet is eked out with several more pages, containing threadbare and long refuted arguments against the necessity of the war, violent accusations against the late ministry, and warm panegyrics of Messrs. Fox, Addington, and above all, Mr. B's favourite hero and statesman Buonaparté. These topics, having no connexion with the articles of the definitive treaty, may well be dismissed without further notice.

Mr. B. concludes with a very compendious view of the state of Europe, in which there are two passages which require to be briefly considered.

Page 37. "Notwithstanding the vast ter- "ritorial acquisitions of France, the other "principal powers of Europe have expe- "rienced *no diminution* of their former *great*- "*ness*."

If "greatness" means mere extent of territory, this may possibly be true; but in whatever else constitutes the greatness of a nation, Spain, Prussia, and Austria have experienced a very obvious and dangerous diminution. Spain, notwithstanding that the vices of her government had for many years progressively impaired her efficient strength, was previous to the war still respected as one of the principal powers of Europe; the "*magni nominis umbra*" afforded a becoming shelter to her declining dignity. But the French first conquered and then unfeelingly uncovered all her weakness.—It would be ungenerous to dwell on the particular instances of her humiliation.—The basis of all national greatness is independence, secured by the power of resenting with reasonable probability of success any injury, or of resisting any attack which may be made by any other nation: extent of territory, fertility of soil, the happy cultivation of arts, sciences, and commerce may add a splendid superstructure; but a secure independence must be the foundation. Apply this position to the relative situation of Austria and Prussia with France. Before the war their German dominions were secured by wide intervening tracts of country, presenting against any attack from France a strong frontier, formed by the Alps and the Rhine, over which river all the principal passages were commanded by places of great strength. This whole frontier is now in the hands of France. Piedmont is a

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French department: Switzerland is governed by a French army: the left bank of the Rhine, with all the strong places on that side, annexed to France: on the right bank, all the places, capable of opposing the passage of an army, completely dismantled: thus, in a word, the entrance into any part of the Germanic territory is laid as freely open to the generals, as its constitution has been to the ministers of France. All human affairs are liable to change. The French Colossus may fall by its own weight; or the European Princes may at last feel the necessity of making one hearty attempt to destroy a power, which will naturally (for such is the nature of power) exert itself for its own aggrandizement: but this was the situation of Austria and Prussia at the conclusion of the war; and nothing but this helpless situation could have produced the edict of indemnifications lately issued by France and Russia; which has regulated the German empire with as little ceremony, as Tuscany, Sardinia, Switzerland, and Holland had before been regulated by the First Consul. Yet Mr. Belsham gravely tells us, that "Austria and Prussia have experienced no "diminution of their former greatness." Would that this assertion were correct even with respect to England! But when we see the Austrian Netherlands annexed to France, and the resources of the United Provinces placed at the absolute disposal of the French government; and when we must acknowledge that all our statesmen have ever held the perfect independence and security of the United Provinces against France to be a necessary point of defence to our naval power and commercial operations; it would be wilful presumption to say that our security, that is, the basis of our greatness, is not in a fearful degree impaired. We may, indeed, find some consolation in Mr. B.'s remark (p. 37) that "the naval prepondeerancy of these islands has kept pace with "the military preponderancy of France."—And true it is, that the unparalleled skill and valour of our many gallant commanders had, to their immortal honour, obtained for their country a *decided* superiority over all the maritime powers in Europe, *at the end of the war*. But at the beginning of another war this naval superiority must be again fought for and again decided. And whoever considers that Spain was our ally at the commencement of the late war, and that Holland did not act against us until half of her fleet had declared for the Prince of Orange, both which powers must hereafter fully co-operate with France; that the victory of Aboukir was not less wonderfully fortunate than glorious; and that the Danes may be taught to form a line of defence too strong for even Lord Nelson to force; whoever (I say) gives due attention to these extraordinary circumstances and events, may reasonably doubt if the naval preponderancy of England be nearly *so secure* or likely to be *as permanent* as the military preponderancy of France.

To conclude.—Since it is but too evident that our enemy has made great and formidable additions to his means of attack, and that we have made no addition to our means of defence, not that I mean to undervalue the acquisition of Ceylon, but the danger lies nearer home—it follows that we must engage in any future contest with France under circumstances of disadvantage, very different from what we have ever before experienced: unless we should lessen this alarming difference by an increase of activity, vigilance and public spirit. Our activity must be shewn by maintaining a very strong peace establishment, completely efficient, strictly disciplined, and always fit for immediate service. The expense will be heavy, but we must learn to bear the burden, and let us do it without grudging or grumbling: it is a fine we ought to pay for having preferred an insecure state of equivocal peace to a secure state of successful war; I say, "a secure state"—because, at the very time when the preliminaries were signed, very few thinking men feared anything from a continuance of the war, but a continuance of the expense. Vigilance must be shewn by our ministers in a close attention to the proceedings of the French government, and by opposing at all events any measures of further aggrandizement whether by *voluntary* cession (as it may be called) or by open force and encroachment. Should France take umbrage (as it may possibly happen) at such interference, our answer should be not petulant, but firm; and this firmness of language should receive weight from an immediate addition to our military force. Such should be the conduct and declared disposition of our ministers: if those, who are now at the helm, should shew themselves unequal to the arduous task, let them quit or be forced from their situations. A Fleury or a Pelham could not serve this country in times like these: the intrepid and active genius of Alberoni did indeed ruin Spain; but an English Alberoni would have different materials to work with, more enlightened assistants, an

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more wholesome restraints. Our public spirit must be revived by every honest man exerting his best talents and influence in decrying that baleful and abject opinion—that war is an evil of such inhuman and extensive magnitude, that no sacrifices can be too great to avoid it. But this is the pitiful cant of cowardly luxury, hypocritical selfishness, or democratical disaffection. Between war and peace abstractedly considered there can be no comparison of good and evil: but human affairs cannot be conducted upon abstract principles; war cannot be avoided; it is a temporary evil incident to the state of man in this world, the conflict between injurious violence and justifiable self-defence: and the nation, which is apparently unable or unwilling to meet his enemy in the field, must soon submit to be oppressed and plundered by him as his slave. Above all, let us not be lulled into security by professions of amicable dispositions and a conciliating spirit: for among nations, especially rival nations, there exists no amicable dispositions, but what depend upon interest; no conciliating spirit, but what arises from the fear of attacking or being attacked. Indeed, if one may judge from the present system of port regulations in France, the amicable disposition of that country seems to be in its wane; but that the conciliating spirit remains in full force here in England cannot be denied. Every state has, without doubt, a right to regulate the trade and use of its own ports; and treaties should be religiously observed, as long as the observation of them is strictly and honestly mutual. But if there be any just cause of complaint or reasonable suspicion on our part; any strong marks of captious delay in our negotiations or of designs of further aggrandizement on the part of France; be it remembered by our ministry, that all our conquests are not yet surrendered; and that it would be no breach of faith to retain them until every thing that relates to the letter and spirit of the definitive treaty, every thing that was publicly or privately promised, shall be fully performed.

Tyro.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY, *His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.*

My Lord,—I shall now endeavour to purlue, a little more in detail, the heads of observation, which were touched upon in my last letter, respecting the subversion of the Germanic body.

1. *The breaking to pieces of the established preponderancy of the House of Austria.*—There were *eight* voices in the election of an emperor, out of which number were *three* ecclesiastical electors: there will now be only *one* ecclesiastical elector out of *nine*; and, as your lordship will perceive from the very concise and correct statement of my correspondent Agricola (page 296), there will be a fearful majority of protestants in the electoral college. The Elector of Saxony is, indeed, himself a catholic, and the Elector of Hanover, though a protestant, is bound, by the terms of his creation, to vote for the House of Austria; but, the subjects of the former are protestants, and the territories of both these electors are, by the new division, placed as a pledge in the hands of Prussia. The Elector of Bavaria, who is another of the catholic electors, has long been the enemy of Austria, and must now be so from the combined and powerful motives of interest, of rancour, and of fear. So that, out of nine electors, there will be but two, at most, decidedly in favour of the present reigning house; and, it is by no means improbable, that, at another election, the imperial crown may be transferred from the constant friend and faithful ally of England, to a vassal of France.

I am aware, my lord, that, on this topic, an attempt will be made to disguise our danger and disgrace under the affectation of religious joy; and, that fanaticism, coming to the aid of political poltroonerie, will exult at the aproaching triumph of the *protestant faith*. A notion like this, my lord, might be excused in the saints of New-England, who formerly hanged the quakers for witchcraft, and who lately celebrated Buonaparté's expulsion of the pope, as "the final "extirpation of anti-christ:" nor should I be much surprized or offended, at seeing it openly avowed by the Wilberforces and the Hills; but, I do hope, that no British statesman, that no man who has either talents, wisdom, or spirit, will ever lend his voice to echo such miserable cant.

The constitution of Germany, settled by the treaty of Westphalia, having grown out of disputes that arose at the period of the reformation, when religion and politics, in the empire, naturally borrowed a strong and deep tincture from each other, the names of *Catholics* and *Protestants* are the necessary designations of the opposite interests, though all religious animosity had now happily subsided. Indeed, even while it existed, foreign powers considered them but as political parties. Thus, the kings of France, while they affected extraordinary zeal for the catholic religion, and persecuted their

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own protestant subjects most severely, yet were the great supporters of the protestants in Germany. Nay, the popes themselves, in order to divert the attention of the House of Austria from Italy, threw indirect obstacles in the way of the catholic cause in the German states; while, on the other hand, England, from the moment that the House of Austria was weakened, and France comparatively aggrandized, on the continent, declined taking any leading and active part in favour of the German protestants, though she countenanced them in obtaining full liberty of conscience. Our principal efforts, with respect to Germany, have long been wisely directed to unite the empire (protestants with catholics), under our great ally the House of Austria, into a strong defensive confederacy against France. If any thing can be likely ever again to excite religious troubles in Germany, it is the very subversion of rank, of titles, and of property, which has now taken place; it is the demolition of the different archbishopricks, bishoprics, chapters, abbeys, and convents; it is the abolition of the charters of so many free cities, and the reducing of independent noblemen to be the subjects of those, with whom they have heretofore been constitutionally equal as feudatories of the empire; it is the making of those whom we may call the great and opulent freeholders, no more than copyholders under the local lords, who have the power of doing as they please; and all this done, too, at the dictation of a foreign power;—if, in short, religious animosities should again distract and lacerate the empire, it will not be owing to any natural hostility between either the opinions or the interests of protestants and catholics, but to this shifting of the *internal balance* of the empire from one side to the other, which will, at least, and, in the nature of things, must, give birth to much political intrigue and cabal, so as to keep the several members of the empire much more jealous and irritated against each other than against France, who, on the contrary, will naturally be courted, for their own ends, as well as dreaded for her power, by them all.

2. *The removal of the great military power, Austria, from all contiguity with France.*—On this subject the honest Talleyrand observes, with that candour for which he is so remarkable, that the great object of the interfering powers was "to *diminish the chances of war*;" and, says he (see p. 259), "on *this account*, care has been taken *to* "*avoid all contiguity* of territory between "the two powers, who have most frequently involved Europe in bloodshed by "their quarrels." This sounds well; but, unfortunately for the sincerity of the honest Talleyrand, and still more unfortunately for Europe, the countries between the Emperor and France are evidently intended to serve as a defence to the latter only; and this point is secured so effectually, that even the Brisgaw seemed too considerable to remain in any prince of the imperial family. It is transferred to a prince, who must, from his local situation and weakness, be wholly dependant upon France. Indeed, it has been made an avowed principle of the new arrangements, to fortify the whole Circle of Suabia as a barrier to France against the great German powers, by interposing weaker powers; who, for their own safety, must, if required, adhere to France for offensive purposes, or may, as occasion suits, cover her with the shield of a *pretended neutrality*. This policy, however, in this quarter, is but a part of the same system uniformly put into execution, from one side of the continent to the other: hence the Italian Republic, the Batavian Republic, the Helvetic Republic, the Ligurian Republic, are allowed a sort of nominal independence; and hence the new Republic of the Valais, with the right, reserved to France exclusively, of a military road through it, which will occupy a considerable portion of its territory, and which leads directly to the new Austrian frontier. Austria will thus, in a manner, be shut out from the system of Europe. She will have no direction, in which her ambition can operate this way. She can look for increased power and consequence on the side of Turkey only; and, we must not be surprised, if, as a boon for the total abandonment of England, she should, at no very distant day, receive from the hands of France, a share in the division of that tottering empire.

3. *Prussia also, lest, by any unforseen accident, she should become the open and active enemy of France, is also cut off from all approach towards her.*—"The same principle," says the honest Talleyrand, "adopted, not "in all its rigour, but as far as circum-"stances could admit, has also led to place "the indemnities of Prussia *beyond the reach* "*of contact with France and Batavia.*" If the British ministry were not become mere cyphers in the great transactions of the world; if they were not shut out, with marked and merited contempt, from the cabinets of Europe, your lordship might have puzzled the honest Talleyrand upon this subject. You might have asked him,

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why he was so anxious to interpose a barrier between Prussia and the *Batavian Republic?* and, if such interposition were necessary, why no barrier was plased between that independant republic and France?—The impudent frauds of these people are to be equalled only by the ignorance and cowardice of those, on whom those frauds are practised.

Prussia is, by this new partition of territory, so placed as to be worked upon equally by her hopes and fears. Her fears of Russia, fears long since felt and declared even by the Great Frederick himself; and her hopes of Hanover and Osnaburg, which, shut up as they are in the midst of her territories, she will never cease desiring till she obtains, but which France herself, as an additional surety for the submission of England, will, for some time, at least, withhold from the talons of the Black Eagle. Thus situated, there can never be any real cordiality between the electorate of Hanover and the court of Berlin. The political views, too, of the House of Brandenburgh, which are known to aspire to the imperial crown, will always keep Prussia subservient to France, and, consequently, still farther disconnected from Great Britain, on account of the influence which the former will certainly have in the electoral college, and the restriction imposed on the small remaining influence of the latter, by the conditions annexed to the vote of Hanover.

4. *As to Russia.*—That power is, by the new arrangement, brought forward into the system of Europe, on the continent; but in complete subordination to the ambition of France. She will always be a most powerful friend to the latter against either Austria or Prussia, because she lies at the back of both, and has many causes of natural quarrel with both, but a comparatively weak enemy against France, because, from her local situation, she can never support large armies to act against France for a continuance of repeated campaigns. But, what has certainly not been the weakest motive with Buonaparté for this measure, so flattering to the views of Russia, is the desire to injure the permanent interests of Great Britain; to secure every means of facility to the French, and to take away every means of advantage that has hitherto existed to the English commerce; and, above all, to revive the spirit, at least, of the hostile northern confederacy, thereby laying the foundation for a rupture between England and Russia, or providing the certain means of rendering the naval superiority of the former perfectly useless, if she should ever make another effort to resist the hostility of France.

5. *The exaltation of the family of Baden.*—That the favours bestowed on this house and on that of Wirtemberg are, in some measure, to be regarded as a sop to Russia is evident; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that the electoral dignity which has been conferred on the house of Baden, and the grant of territories to that house, confessedly beyond any measure of compensation for losses, have been declaredly bestowed as *a reward for good will towards the Republic of France!* What a splendid example to catch all the inferior princes of Germany, to insure their non-resistance and even their active assistance, in case of another war? Those princes will not fail to compare this liberality towards the Margrave of Baden with the tardy and grudged compensation to the head of the house of Orange, mixed up, as I have before noticed, with every species of insult to this country, and, after all, in real value, not worth a tithe, no nor *a twentieth*, of the loss which he suffered for the attachment to the ancient politics of his ancestors and the alliance of Great Britain, and for which loss your lordship boasted of having obtained *compensation* by the treaty of Amiens.* To estimate the future effects of this contrast on the political character of Great Britain and France is a task by no means difficult, and the result, though it would, doubtless, produce little effect on the heart of a king-killing representative, or on the linsey-woolsey minds of his constituents, must inevitably

* At the very moment that I was finishing this sentence, the TRUE BRITON of this very day, containing a continuation of a something called a "*View of Public Affairs*," was put into my hands. The first words (for they are the first in the paper) which I cast my eyes on were the following:—"The opponents of the peace had complained that "the preliminaries contained nothing relative to "the Prince of Orange; and, *determined to find "fault*, are dissatisfied with what the definitive "treaty stipulates on that point. It is, however, "evident that the article which guarantees the "compensations to the house of Nassau, imports "that they shall be *perfectly equivalent to what it "had lost*."—One may easily perceive how this has happened: Sir Frederick Morton Eden, or Mr. Chalmers, or whoever else has been engaged to supply that miscellany of dulness, the True Briton, with this defence of the present ministers, having gone out of town before the declaration of France and Russia was announced to the public, and having left the manuscript with poor HARIOT, he has committed a blunder something like that of Sir Martin Mar-all, who kept wagging his lips after the song was at an end.

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excite, in every loyal and enlightened Briton, reflections the most humiliating, and apprehensions the most fearful. The cause of monarchy has suffered infinitely more from the folly and pusillanimity of monarchical ministers, than from the cunning and violence of its open enemies; and amongst all the political sins, of which the former have been guilty, the most odious as well as the most dangerous, is the abandoning, the basely sacrificing, of their most zealous and most faithful adherents; while the republicains, in the midst of all their robberies, their murders, their treasons and their blasphemies, have invariably, cost what it would, yielded to their partizans, in every quarter of the world, an honourable and efficient protection.—The Margrave of Baden, my lord, will be, to the princes of Germany, an example not less memorable or less powerful than that which Napper Tandy presents to the patriots of Ireland. Both will look to France as the only protecting and remunerating power; both will pay their court to her, and, whenever she chooses to accept of them, both will range themselves under her banners.

Having thus endeavoured to explain the nature and the general tendency of the new division of the Empire, I shall conclude by an attempt to shew, more fully than I have hitherto done, in what manner, and to what degree, England in particular is concerned in the question. This interesting topic must, however, be deferred 'till my next.—In the mean time, I am, my lord, yours, &c. &c.

London, Sept. 29, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR.

Without pretending, Sir, to be as well acquainted with the affairs of Germany as Agricola, your "intelligent correspondent," as you call him, and as I also acknowledge him to be, permit me to present you with a few observations on his letter. (See p. 295). The situation of Germany a short time previous to the present æra, and that to which it has lately been reduced, are, certainly, well pourtrayed by your correspondent; but it appears to me, at first sight, that his hypothesis "it would be necessary to know, "&c." and afterwards his "plan of con-"duct for Austria," naturally gives rise to two reflections.

Are we not, Sir, sufficiently acquainted with the state of Austria, by what has happened during the last three years, by the engagements she has entered into in the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, and by what she has published relative to them herself, to discover the line of conduct she will pursue? And how, upon these principles, and others of which I shall presently speak, could your correspondent, for a moment, think it possible, that she should adopt the plan he has laid down; which would otherwise not only be a noble line of conduct, but, at the same time, wise for the present moment, and advantageous in future? It is easy to discover that he is one of our own countrymen; such an idea would never have entered into the mind of a German; so great a degree of disinterestedness is no longer to be found on the Continent. *We* have given up all our conquests for *peace*, and renounced our influence in the affairs of Europe for—*that abundance* of which our funds are the barometer; but cross the channel, and you will not persuade any one, that we ought not to seize what is in our power, or, at least, that we ought to refuse accepting something in exchange for what we have lost, however small a proportion it might be of that loss. You will tell me, with Agricola, that even were the Grand Duke of Tuscany fully indemnified in Germany, which he certainly never will be, Austria, considering the portions of her adversaries, not to mention all the other considerations of prudence, of influence, of security, of dignity, of fidelity, &c. &c. would lose more by it, than by following the plan of your correspondent. But the politicians of the present day have no idea of this, it is Greek to them, they enter not into these refinements; it might do very well for our ancestors, but now, every thing is simplified, and we have only, as you well expressed it, *to learn what is the will of Buonaparté*, and you have very justly added, *that that is not always very easy to learn*; for according to the declaration of Austria at Ratisbon, Talleyrand himself, if he is to be believed, did not know it, or, at least, did not well understand it, when he assured Count Cobenzel, *that it was by no means intended to impose a plan upon the empire. Imposed upon* it, he certainly has in one sense or other. To this science of divination, which will, in future, constitute a necessary requisite, and the maximum of the talents of *our* ministers, we must add for *those* of the continent, that thirst after those petty ephemeral advantages, which we find among petty jew merchants; and we may also establish it as a fact, that they share with our ministers, that improvidence, which so happily lulls them asleep from day to day.

I must myself confess, that purely and simply contemplating the progress of the

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troops, the declarations of Austria, and the insolent provocations of Bavaria and her adherents, and further, the manner in which Austria has more than once extricated herself from situations which were almost desperate, and, lastly, what is passing under her eye in Switzerland, and which might collect like a snow-ball, I have myself been tempted to believe the *possibility* of a resistance to the will *of the man from whom every thing emanates*; but Lauriston, still proud of the triumph he gained in London, will, no doubt, by his appearance, have calmed the fury of the rising storm.

I will not pretend, Sir, to set myself up for a defender of the philosophical and philanthropical *ideas* with which you reproach the Archduke Charles, with paralyzing the resentments of the House of Austria; notwithstanding my respect for the laurels he has gained, I could not congratulate him much on the olive branches he has added to them, by the part he may have taken in the convention of Leoben, upon which the treaty of Campo Formio has been grafted, nor for the influence it has had on the treaty of Luneville; but whatever our opinion, Sir, may be on this subject, would you venture to advise this prince to involve his country in a war in which it would have to struggle alone, and without the co-operation of England, against the whole of Europe? for, excepting this country and European Turkey, do not Buonaparté himself and his new allies, absolutely give law to that part of the globe? We do not yet know to what generals the Archduke would wish to see the Austrian armies entrusted, should his own health prevent him from taking the command, although we cannot doubt but an army of 300,000 men must contain several; but as before a gun is fired it must be pointed, even supposing this prince should appear at the head of the army, is it from the present minister, or is it from the same hand that signed the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, that we can expect such a measure? And being unable to rely on our active co-operation in the war, how will Austria avert the storm which is ready to burst over her? Would the Hawkesburies, the Addingtons, the Cobenzels, the St. Helens, protect her from its fury? It is true there is a remedy for every thing, and that a great genius often produces great effects with small means; that Maria Theresa and Frederick the Second have successively astonished the world by their superior courage under still greater reverses, and which was crowned with merited success; but now it cannot be concealed, that it is only at the Thuilleries we must seek, or expect to find, grandeur of conception, boldness, foresight in forming plans, unshaken constancy in pursuing the object in view, and that alone, wisdom and prudence in the choice of means, and firmness, activity, and perseverence in its execution. My hatred towards our enemies is in proportion to the superiority of their talents over those which direct the steps of us and our allies; it is equalled only by my admiration for their address, and my indignation at our want of it.

Believe me, Sir, it is not to you that I address this language; but let our *safe politicians* keep their eyes open to what is about to befal us. Since the conclusion of peace, the Corsican has not lost a single day in the great work of effecting our destruction, and he is preparing, not with any mighty effort, but with unwearied assiduity, the completion of this work. We shall console ourselves, indeed, for we console ourselves for every thing—for the navigation of the Black Sea being granted to the French, because we are to participate in the same favor with the invaders of Egypt, the evacuation of which the Turks no longer think they owe to us, from the day when we made it an article of the treaty of peace. But let us not forget that France is henceforward far more exclusively than ever nearer to the Black Sea than ourselves; that she is mistress of Italy, and will be so of Malta; that by this concession of the Porte she gains a new opportunity of attacking from behind; that if she is on terms of amity with Russia, she may now assist her in partitioning the Ottoman Empire, or even without this, in threatening our East-India possessions and our commerce; that if Russia, who till now had nothing to fear from France, and who has so blindly concurred in her aggrandizement, should ever conceive an idea of separating from her, she will herself henceforward be exposed to attacks in a very vulnerable part, a part that is very weak against any enemy whatever, except the Turks—I mean the Crimea; and that what Buonaparté could hitherto obain from the Emperor, only by the illusive advantages offered to the relations on the female side, he will henceforward extort by menaces and terror. And yet what have been called the ravings of Mr. Windham, and which it has been attempted to turn into ridicule, contained nothing of this kind! The events that have taken place since his speech, and since that of Lord

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Grenville, and the events which the least discerning politicians may now easily anticipate as about to happen, far surpass the fears expressed by these two statesmen—— But as Cassandra prophesied in vain, I will not assume her name, nor that of Jonas, but subscribe myself. *Curactacus.*

Foreign Countries.

Ratisbon, Sept. 15.—An unexpected incident has occurred respecting the indemnities. The Imperial Plenipotentiary, M. de Hugel, has formally refused to ratify the *conclusum* of the Deputation of the 8th inst. for the adoption of the plan proposed by France and Russia. This refusal has been notified to the Deputation, who held yesterday its fourth sitting, when a very warm discussion took place, and several very important declarations were made. The vote of the Count de Goertz, the Minister of Brandenburgh, was particularly remarked: after solemnly protesting against the proceedings of the Imperial Plenipotentiary, and in general against all further adjournment, he demanded that the Deputation should regulate entirely and definitively the indemnities with the Ministers of France and Russia, without the co-operation of the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty. The sub-delegate of Bavaria voted shortly afterwards to the same effect. The result of this sitting has been an address to the Plenipotentiary, inviting him in the most pressing manner to accede to the *conclusum* of the 8th of September.—M. de Hugel notified his declaration in the form of a decree of the Imperial commission, which is contrary to received usage, and the laws of the empire. He founds his refusal principally upon the adoption of the plan of indemnities being contrary to the dispositions contained in the *conclusum*, by which the Deputation engages to have regard to the reclamations transmitted to it by the parties interested. He offers, as to any thing further, to communicate all the reclamations which shall be addressed to him, to the Ministers of the two mediating Powers, and to enter with them into a conference upon the subject.—In the same sitting of yesterday, the Directorial Minister of Mayence communicated to the Deputation two notes, which are said to be very important, from Citizen Laforêt and the Baron de Buhler, but their contents have not transpired. They are said to be very energetic.—*(Moniteur.)*

Berne, Sept. 10.—We learn from Basil, that an insurrection has broken out there. It was occasioned in the following manner: There had for some time subsisted a considerable degree of jealousy between the armed citizens and the regular troops of the Canton. A party of the former, encouraged, no doubt, by recent events, assembled suddenly, disarmed the battalion of soldiers, and nearly assassinated the commandant, Citizen Buxtorf. They afterwards took possession of the arsenal and the town-house. The soldiers who were disarmed have been sent home, and the gates of Basil have been kept shut for two days. A subscription has been entered into, and 500,000 livres have been collected and sent to the chiefs of the insurrection in the smaller cantons. Persons who have lately arrived from Zurich, circulated some alarming accounts, which we do not think entitled to entire credit.—They state, that the suspension of arms agreed upon between General Andermatt and the inhabitants of Zurich were suddenly violated by the latter, who made an unexpected sortie from the city, and at first succeeded in repulsing the Helvetic troops, but at length the citizens were driven back into the city, with the loss of 200 men. That after this event General Andermatt had bombarded the city a second time, and had entered it as conqueror, but that fortune had once more changed sides—the inhabitants rose upon the Helvetic troops, defeated them, made General Andermatt prisoner, and cut off his head. These reports, though they do not obtain entire credit, yet cause a great deal of disquietude.—*Sept.* 17.—Our troubles assume a more threatening aspect. The government every day loses its partisans. The hostile measures employed against Zurich have alienated the minds of the inhabitants of several cantons who have not hitherto taken any part. The deputies of the smaller cantons have threatened a rupture of the armistice, on learning the re-commencement of the bombardment at Zurich. The strong castle of Arbourg has surrendered to the insurgents in Argovia. Fear, trouble, and anarchy every where prevail.

Basil, Sept. 17.—We have not yet received any positive information respecting the events which are said to have lately happened at Zurich. The armistice concluded by General Andermatt and the smaller cantons, has enabled him to collect all his forces near that city; they amount to about 3000 men. In the negotiation between the General and the Municipality of Zurich, the former proposed the following terms:—1st. The disarming of the citizens—2d. That the inhabitants of Zurich shoul

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make good all the expenses which the Helvetic republic had been put to in consequence of their insurrection.—3d. That certain persons who were chiefs in the insurrection should be given up.—The deputies from the city agreed to the two former propositions, but refused to submit to the last. The negotiations were then broken off, and the town was bombarded; but in consequence of an insurrection in the canton of Baden, General Andermatt was obliged to raise the blockade of Zurich. An insurrection broke out in the neighbourhood of Lucerne, but the chiefs having been taken, the peasants soon dispersed.

We are assured that the Prussian ambassador at Paris has announced to the Helvetic Minister there, that his Prussian Majesty has recognized the present Helvetic constitution and government.

Vienna, Sept. 11.—The capitulation made between the Sublime Porte and the famous Passwan Oglou has been actually signed. The Pacha, as might be expected, has obtained a complete amnesty for all past offences, and has even been assured by his government of payment of the arrears due to his troops. On his part, Passwan engages to remain perfectly obedient, and moreover to disband his troops immediately on their receiving the money due to them. It is not very probable, however, that this celebrated rebel, who has exercised pillage during so many years, and who has been the sovereign of one of the provinces of the Turkish empire, will consent to deprive himself of his forces, when he may obtain new means of supporting them on an imposing footing. The peace which prevails at this moment throughout Europe, furnishes, it is true, to the Sublime Porte the means of attacking the rebels in its states, but Passwan Oglou has already evinced, that he knows how to maintain his power either in peace or war, being assured of the neutrality of the neighbouring powers.

Florence, Sept. 8.—Our Sovereigns and the Prince Charles Louis set off from this city on the morning of the 4th, with a suite of about eighty persons, and a numerous guard. The King has been detained at Pisa by a slight indisposition, but it is hoped that in two or three days he will be able to continue his journey to Leghorn, to embark on board the squadron which is to convey the Royal Family to Spain.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His Majesty's acceptance of the offer of service from the Wiltshire Yeomanry Cavalry, has been signified in the following letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant, dated Aug. 31, 1802.—"My Lord, I have received and laid before "the King your Lordship's letter of the "20th instant, containing the offer of the "Wiltshire regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry "to continue its services, according to the "provision of the Act of the last Session "of Parliament; and I have the honour to "acquaint your Lordship, that his Majesty "has been graciously pleased to approve "and accept this offer." Signed Hobart, and addressed to the Earl of Pembroke.

At a meeting of the Committee of Ship-Owners, for the port of London, held the 9th day of September, 1802, at Wills' Coffee-house, Cornhill:—present, Mr. Hill in the chair; Mr. Blacket, Mr. Gillespy, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Akenhead, Mr. John Jackson, Mr. Williams, Mr. W. Curling, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Davison, Mr. Fairles.—The secretary reported, that he had written to Mr. Wells, chairman of the committee of ship-builders, according to the resolution of the last meeting, but that he had not received any answer from him.—The secretary also stated, that he had received letters from G. Smith, Esq. master of the Trinity-house, Leith; Mess. Thomas and Joseph Hillicar, Bristol; and Mr. Michael Longridge, Sunderland; acknowledging the receipt of the several papers which the committee had directed to be sent to them, and expressive of their determination to co-operate with the committee in promoting the various and important objects of this society.—Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this committee be given to G. Smith, Esq. Leith; Messrs. Thomas and Joseph Hillicar, Bristol; and to Mr. Michael Longridge, Sunderland; for their early attention to the communications addressed to them by the committee.—The committee then took into consideration the letter addressed to the secretary, respecting a Mediterranean pass; which letter being read:—Resolved, That it be recommended to the parties in question to apply to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to exonerate them from the bond entered into by them, for the Mediterranean pass mentioned in their letter to have been lost under the circumstances therein stated.—Resolved, That a special general meeting of ship-owners be held at the London Tavern, on Thursday the 30th instant, at twelve o'clock at noon precisely, to take into consideration the draft of a petition to Parliament, for a repeal of the tonnage duty, agreeable to

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the resolution of the general meeting of the 22d day of June last, and on other business of importance; and that such general meeting be advertised in the newspapers.—RESOLVED, That an extract from the minutes of the proceedings of this committee of the 20th day of May last, including the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th resolutions of the committee at that meeting, be printed and sent to the persons named in the 2d resolution; and also transmitted to the ship-owners at the out-ports.—The draft of a petition to the honourable the House of Commons for the repeal of the tonnage duty was then read by the secretary, and agreed to.—A letter from James Smith, Esq. master of the Trinity-house, Scarborough, respecting a claim made by the directors of Ramsgate Pier, for dues on ships returning in ballast; and on the construction recently given of an Act of Parliament respecting the admeasurement of ships, and the inconvenience resulting from it; and also a letter signed 'A Ship-owner,' which appeared in the Hull Advertiser, on the same subject, were read: but the consideration of them, as well as of the termination of the differences between the ship-builders and their men, was adjourned until the next meeting of the Committee.—RESOLVED, That this Committee do adjourn to Thursday the 23d inst.

Signed *J. Hill*, Chairman.

Fire at Liverpool.—The following is a pretty correct statement of the loss occasioned by this event:

Francis's Warehouse....6 ..	£26,000	
Dawson's ditto.....2 ..	8,000	
Front row of ditto, belonging to different Persons.....8 ..	18,000	
In all 16 Warehouses.		£52,000
Sugar, about 1400 hhds, say	£51,000	
Cotton —— 1500 bales.....	26,000	
Coffee and other West-India, &c. produce.....	40,000	
Grain.....	110,000	
Tallow, Hemp, &c.....	16,000	
		243,000
		295,000
Insured about..		90,000
Supposed Loss..		205,000

On the 26th the Lord Mayor, attended by the Aldermen, Mr. Recorder, Mr. Common Serjeant, and City Officers proceeded from the Council Chamber to the hustings, where Messrs. Alexander and Welch were called upon to take upon themselves the office of Sheriffs for the year ensuing, and were sworn into their offices accordingly.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

St. James's, Sept. 22.—This day Sir Charles Morgan, Bart. and John Smith, Esq. were sworn of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council.

Hanover, Sept. 6.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge has been pleased to appoint the Rev. George Henry Glass, Master of Arts, Rector of Hanwell, in the county of Middlesex, to be one of His Royal Highness's domestic Chaplains.

Downing Street, Sept. 27.—The King has been pleased to appoint Colonel Prevost to be Capt.-Gen. and Governor in Chief, over his Majesty's Island of Dominica.

War Office, Sept. 25.—1st Reg. of Drag. Lieut. Wright Edward Atkyns to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, vice Langford, who retires. Cornet Edward Swainston to be Lieut. vice Atkyns.—10th Reg. of Light Drag. Lewis Gasquet, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Card promoted.—23d Ditto, Capt. William Maxwell to be Major, vice Alexander Maxwell, deceased. Cornet Robert Salmon to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Gordon, promoted in the 60th Foot. Quarter-Master Robert Thomas to be Cornet, vice Salmon.—24th Ditto, Capt. Henry Loftus to be Major, by purchase, vice Verelst, who retires.—York Hussars, Ensign Char. Bellock, from the 85th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Henrietta, who retires.—1st Reg. of Foot Guards, Lieut.-Col. Lord Charles Bentinck, from the 38th Foot, to be Capt. of a Company, vice Coleman, who exchanges.—Coldstream Reg. of Foot Guards, Lieut.-Col. William Henry Pringle, from the 4th Foot, to be Capt. of a Company, vice the Earl of Cork, who exchanges.—3d Reg. of Foot Guards, Capt. George Henry Duffield to be Capt. of a Company, by purchase, vice Shaw, who retires.—2d Battal. of the 1st Reg. of Foot, Capt. James Stevenson Barnes to be Major, by purchase, vice Macdonald, who retires.—4th Reg. of Foot, Colonel Edmund Earl of Cork, from the Coldstream Reg. of Foot Guards, to be Lieut-Col. vice Pringle, who exchanges.—18th Ditto, Ensign Henry Hardy to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Page, who retires.—22d Ditto, Lieut. Duncan Campbell, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. vice Kirby, placed on Half-pay. Lieut. Francis Lodge Morris, from Half-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Lieut., vice West placed on Half-pay.—32d Ditto, Assistant Surgeon W. Hackett, from Half-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—35th Ditto, Major Charles Strickland, to be Lieut.-Col. by purchase, vice Baylis.—37th Ditto, Ensign Samuel Busby to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Medley, who retires.—38th Ditto, Lieut.-Col. Francis John Colman, from the 1st Foot Guards, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Lord Charles Bentinck, who exchanges. Lieut. John Every, from Half-pay of the 15th Light Drag. to be Lieut. vice Newton, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—44th Ditto, Lieut. Francis Henry Borell, from Half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Fernandez, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—54th Ditto, Brevet Lieut.-Col. Hampson, P. Thomas, from the 64th Foot, to be Capt. vice Deane, who exchanges.—55th Ditto, Lieut. William Ellis, from Half-pay, of the 6th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Greer, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—60th Reg. of Foot, Charles Maximilian St. Paul, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Cartwright, promoted.—62d Ditto, Lieut. Samuel Denholm Young, Gent. to be Captain, by purchase, vice O'Meara, who retires.—64th Ditto, Capt. Thomas Deane, from the 53d Foot to be Captain, vice

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Thomas, who exchanges.—65th Ditto, Capt. John Swinton, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Capt. vice Lefroy, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—67th Ditto, Lieut. Alexander Pilford to be Capt.-Lieut. by purchase, vice O'Bryen, promoted.—70th Ditto, William Keon, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Firth, who retires.—72d Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Lawrence Oliphant to be Capt. of a Company, vice Fraser, deceased. Lieut. Thomas White to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Oliphant. Adjut. Edward Renwick, from the Fifeshire Fencibles, to be Adjutant, with the rank of Ensign vice White, who resigns the Adjutancy.—3d West India Reg. Bryan Bernard Kelly, Esq. to be Paymaster, vice Bent, who resigns.—Queen's German Reg. Capt.-Lieut. William M'Carthy to be Captain of a Company, vice Develin, deceased. Lieut. Matthew Sutton to be Capt.-Lieut. vice M'Carthy.

Garrisons.—The Rev. William Hardwicke to be Chap. to the Garrison of St. John's in Newfoundland, vice Tickell, deceased.—Lieut. Robert Grier, of the 25th Foot, to be Town-Major of Prince Edward's Island, vice Robertson, promoted.

Memorandum.—Supernumerary Major Francis Slator Rebow is appointed *Major and Lieut.-Col.* in the 2d Reg of Life Guards, and not *Second Major*, as stated in the Gazette of October 1, 1799.—Ensign Macdonald, of the 5th Reg. of Foot, and Lieut. Dennis Vernon, of the 23d Foot, are superseded, being absent without leave.

War Office, Sept. 28.—4th Reg. of Drag. Cornet Lord William George Henry Somerset, from Half-pay of the 4th Drag. to be Cornet, vice Faulkner, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—20th Reg. of Light Drag. Cornet Maximilian Joerres, from Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen, to be Corn. vice Campbell, deceased.—Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen, Lieut. James Hughes, from the 60th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Chollett, who retires.—5th Reg. of Foot, Major Arthur Gore, from the 42d Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. by purchase, vice Gooch, who retires.—13th Ditto, Capt. Tryon Bayard, from Half pay of the 41st Foot, to be Capt. vice Schyler, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—28th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon A. Williams, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Steward appointed to the Hospital-Staff at Jamaica.—40th Ditto, Lieut. William Balfour to be Capt. by purchase, vice Bagley, who retires.—47th Ditto, Surgeon Tho. Gunning, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Loane, deceased.—69th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon William Stone, from Half-pay of the Staff-Corps, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—4th West-India Reg. Capt. William Clunes, from Half-pay of the 50th Foot, to be Capt. vice Yates, who exchanges.

Garrison.—Lieut. Winckworth Tonge, of the Royal Fusileers, to be Town-Adjutant of Cape Breton, vice Fitzsimons, who resigns.

Hospital Staff.—Surgeon . . . . M'Neill, from the 13th Foot, to be Surgeon to the Forces.

BANKRUPTS.

Simkins, Archer Thomas, of Old Swan-lane, Upper Thames-street, London, lighterman and coal-merchant.—Beedzler, John, late of Market-Deeping, Lincolnshire, brazier and corn-merchant.—Farthing, Robert, of Blakeney, Norfolk, merchant.—Fawcett, Thomas, of Chiswell-street, Moorfields, rectifier.—Hughes, John, of Worcester, butcher.—Nightingale, George, of Leadenhall-street, carver and gilder.—Pope, William, of Wood-street, London, merchant.—Roberts, Edward of Bedford-court, Covent Garden, woollen-draper.—Tomkinson, Richard, Tomkinson, John, and Frederick, Daniel, Solicke, of Liverpool, merchant.—Wilkinson, Robert, and Daniel, George, of Kingston-upon-Hull, merchants.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
3 per C. Con.	69⅛	69	69	—	69⅛	69⅛
3 pr Ct. Ann.	101⅛	101⅛	101¼	—	101⅛	101⅛
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	68⅞	—	—	68⅞	68⅞
D° Ann.....	—	12⅛	12⅛	—	12 1/16	12 1/16
Omnium ...	8 dis	8¼ dis	8¼ dis	—	8 dis	7¾ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 1⅛	2 us.	Leghorn	51¼	
D°, at sight	10 10½		Naples.....	43½	
Rotterdam	11 2½	2 us.	Genoa	47½	
Hamburgh	33. 5	2½us.	Venice, 59 livres piccole		
Altona....	33 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.		
Paris 1 day	23 11		Lisbon.....	67½	
Paris.....	23 19	2us.	Oporto	67½	
Bourdeaux	24		Dublin.....	12	
Cadiz	36	eff.	Bilboa.....	36¼	D°
Madrid ..	31¼	effective	Agio, bank on Hol.		p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	45s to 70s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 220s
Rye.....	30..34	Hay per load....	80..150
Barley.....	31..38	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	46..52	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Oats	14..23	Veal	4s. 6d. to 6s. 4d.
Pease (white)....	39..42	Pork....	5s. 6d. to 7s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	35..38	Tallow	3s. 0d.
Flour per sack ..	50..52	Av. of Sugar pr cwt	81s.9d.
Seconds.....	45..50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	36..41	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

Days.	Mo's age	Weather, near *Guildford.*	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
23		Fine.	E	E	29,95	29,95	66	70
24		Fine.	E	E	30,01	30,01	59,5	68
25		Fine.	E	E	30,2	30,2	60	67
26	☾	Fog. Fine.	E	E	30,26	30,2	60	65
27		Fair.	NE	NE	30,16	30,16	56	59
28		Fair.	NE	NE	30,17	30,16	49,5	56
29		Fair.	NE	NE	30,23	30,22	56	66,5

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

A report of the vice-president of the Italian republic (which shall have a place in our next) has attracted some attention; but, the more important transactions in Switzerland and in Germany seem, at present, to have engrossed the thoughts of all those who take an interest in public affairs.

The civil war between the smaller cantons and the Helvetic government still rages. Much blood has been shed. French troops have been called in to the aid of government; and, did not Buonaparté perceive a greater advantage in the occasional *neutrality* of Switzerland, there is no doubt but the whole country would, in the course of a very few weeks, be united to the republic of France, with as little ceremony as Piedmont has been, and with as little fear of exciting the jealousy and the resentment of foreign nations.

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At Ratisbon, the scene (as will be perceived by referring to p. 403) is far from being so smooth as it was expected to be. On the 13th Sep. the Baron de Hugel transmitted to the deputation a decree of the imperial commission, which was immediately replied to by the French and Russian ministers. These papers (which will appear in our next) fully prove, that, if the Emperor does, at last, yield to the iniquitous, the imperious and insolent mandates of Russia and France, his submission must be ascribed, not to his want of great, enlightened and honourable views, but to the degradation and imbecility of other nations, particularly this fallen and foolish England. If England had not been in such haste to conclude a peace, of which Buonaparté alone ought to have wished for the conclusion, in order thereby to complete the subjugation of France, of Europe, and of St. Domingo, and to enter on his Spanish and Portuguese cessions; if England had not pressed the accomplishment of the views of her deadly foe, what a prospect would the present moment have offered! Austria burning with rage, a civil war in Switzerland, which, while it covers the weak part of Austria, opens to her the weak part of France. Piedmont, Lombardy, and Tuscany would instantly rise against their task master; all the Catholic part of Germany would declare decidedly for the Emperor. Prussia would not dare to move; and, most assuredly, Russia, under such circumstances, would, notwithstanding the want of the zeal and address of Lord St. Helens, never think of undertaking a war for such an object and with such an ally. The accusation, too, the just accusation, of having, merely for purposes of ambition, plunged France into a new war, at a moment when (whatever may be said to the contrary) a famine, or, at least, an alarming scarcity, is apprehended, could not have failed to excite a formidable opposition against the troubler of the world.—But, such an opportunity, once neglected, never returns. The miserable policy manufactured by the Wilberforces, and, unfortunately, adopted by Mr. Pitt (for it is really a shame to affect to attribute the evil to those who are almost literally no more than tools in his hands) has banished us from the continent of Europe, and, it would require, in this cabinet, such a change of sentiment and of conduct, as, it is to be feared, we never shall behold, to obtain a repeal, or even a mitigation, of the sentence.

On this subject we have just noticed an article in the Morning Chronicle, which appears to be a continuation of that, from which we made a short quotation in our last, p. 362. The present article we shal insert entire, not only because it is an admirable piece of political writing, and expresses, from one end to the other, in the happiest manner, precisely what we ourselves could have wished to express, but because, when the former sentiments of the Morning Chronicle are considered, it will serve to show the change produced in the mind of, at least, one part of the public, by the recent alarming transactions in Germany. Those who recollect the sentiment delivered by the noblemen and gentlemen who opposed the peace, and who recollect the censure (not to say abuse) bestowed on those sentiments by the Morning Chronicle and, indeed, by almost every news-paper in London, must be forcibly struck with the following article, nearly every sentiment of which may be traced to some part or other of the speeches delivered by the opposers of the peace, and particularly to that of Mr. Windham on the preliminaries, which, being printed in the form of a book, may be referred to with the greater facility.

" A few days ago we laid before our rea
" ders a faithful view of the decline, or rathe
" absolute extinction of the influence an
" consideration of Great-Britain upon th
" continent of Europe. A just sense of tha
" situation, so humiliating to our pride, an
" which ultimately may be fatal to our safety
" [*Mr. Windham's Speech, p.* 19 *and* 91.
" ought to rouse the people of England t
" reflect on the real source of the greatnes
" —nay, of the safety of states. We are i
" danger of becoming the dupes of the weali
" of which, with so much ostentation, w
" perpetually boast. We have contracte
" the vices of new-gotten inordinate riches
" a coarse and vulgar affectation, founded o
" no better pretence than the weight of th
" purse, and a disgusting air of superiorit
" to others, with no better qualities to justif
" it than the habits of accumulation and th
" practice of gain. However valuable an ac
" cessary and instrument commercial wealt
" may be, it does not constitute the greatnes
" of a nation [*Mr. Windham's Speech, p.* 21.
" When we compare the temper and th
" character of the French government wit
" that of our own, we see room for infinit
" alarm. We may inveigh with just indig
" nation against the ambition, the perfidy
" the injustice of Buonaparté, and dilat
" with complacency on the meekness an
" pacific disposition of Mr. Addington.—
" Till the period, however, arrives when th
" lamb may lie down in safety with the lion
" we shall not be greatly reassured by a com
" parison of moral qualities. After the in

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" finite declamations on the wickedness of " ambition, ambition is never thoroughly " odious but when it is unsuccessful. There " is a defect in the moral sense of mankind, " for they never cease to admire great qua- " lities however exerted to dishonest ends, " [*Mr. Windham's Speech, p.* 100] and it " will be in vain ever to attempt to elevate " innocent imbecility to the rank of a great " and able ravager of the world. Mr. Ad- " dington's weakness, with all the humble " virtue his friends can ingraft upon it, will " never be raised to the level of Buonaparté's " usurped dominions; and woe to England " if we are condemned to lean on such a de- " fence against the enterprises of the First " Consul.

" Laying aside the office of moral censors " (a function that will serve us little, unless " we can remove Buonaparté from *his Se-* " *nate* by our assumed prerogative) it is pro- " per to consider like practical politicians, " how the dignity, honour and independence " of this country are to be maintained in so " critical a state of the world.—It were a " puerility deserving more than contempt to " rely solely on the pacific intentions of the " First Consul. [*Mr. Windham's Speech,* " *p.* 29, 31, 39] Indeed it is impossible to " hear Buonaparté insulting our statesmen " (as his own journals report him to have " done), [*alluding to the words said to be* " *spoken to Fox, respecting Mr. Windham*] " by inveighing against those who would " kindle the flames of war in Europe, with- " out indignation. At the moment when " he issues from his senate, after having pas- " sed a decree, uniting all Piedmont to " France, and thereby invading the rights " and independence of mankind, it is into- " lerable to be so derided. In happier times, " when the resources of Europe were more " entire, and the tone of its statesmen more " dignified, that annexation would have pro- " duced a new and most just war, [*This was* " *urged, with respect to Elba, &c. &c. by* " *every gentleman who opposed the peace*] " yet (*ob incredibilem audaciam, ob impu-* " *dentiam prædicandam*) Buonaparté in- " veighs against those who would kindle the " flames of war in the great family of Europe!

" It must be confessed that the First Con- " sul displays a capacity, a vigour, in the ex- " ecution of his designs, that insure their " success, and elevate his character by con- " trast with the imbecility on which he tram- " ples. Glory and dominion are the ends of " his administration. In war and negotia- " tion he displays the same energy, the same " spirit of command. He assails, with equal " energy, with equal daring, by his diplo- " macy as by his arms. In both he con- " founds and dismays his adversaries. Their " feeble resistance only adds to the credit of " the success. In every negotiation, in every " pretension, he decides the question in his " own favour, even before discussion. His " opponents may shew a hesitating, timorous " opposition, but their minds being already " subdued, they end with implicit submis- " sion, and their reluctance only proves that " they are compelled.

" A neighbour, who thus conquers in " peace as well as in war, ought to be op- " posed by a vigour, an energy, a daring in " diplomacy equal to his own. Timid re- " monstrances, torpid discussion, are lost " upon such an adversary. But vigour and " decision are only to be employed by great " abilities, and commanding reputations.— " Weak men may be precipitate and rash. " They can never be vigorous and stout, be- " cause they have no wisdom, no prudence. " They are sure to produce contention; " while the decision of firmness, of genius, " always secures victory. From the cha- " racter of the present administration, in- " deed, it would be in vain to expect acts " of vigour. It would be even dangerous " for them to assume a tone of firmness. " Their talents, their reputation, do not " warrant those bold and decisive steps " which succeed only with superior men. " Knowing this, Buonaparté has, from the " beginning, treated ministers with an air " that bespeaks consciousness of his ascen- " dancy. In every disputed question during " the negotiation, he was ultimately victo- " rious. It may well be remembered, dur- " ing the negotiation at Amiens, what an " appearance of vigour was assumed, what " note of preparation was sounded! The " definitive treaty at length was published, " and in every principle, in every detail, it " was found more advantageous to France " than the preliminary articles. [*The very* " *words of all those who opposed the peace,* " *as every person who reads the newspapers* " *must well remember.*] With the same " domineering superiority Buonaparté con- " tinues to act towards them. He knows " their want of true firmness, as he knows " their want of real capacity. He cavils, " demands, refuses. He expects a momen- " tary reluctance, an argument in a memo- " rial, but he knows that, by perseverance, " his object will be attained. By this con- " duct with such a ministry, he is perpe- " tually gaining. It is not the rapid con- " quest of arms, but it is a conquest per- " haps more fatal. [*Windham's Speech,* " *p.* 24 *and* 25, *where the whole process is*

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" *minutely described.*] The habit of dictating on the one hand, and of submitting upon the other, is contracted. The spirit of command, and the spirit of obedience, become the respective attributes of the two countries, and absolute conquest is prepared by the utter subjugation of national dignity, and extinction of national pride.

" At a time when such a formidable rival, one never content with acquisition, but in the perpetual act of acquiring more, is presented to us, it would have demanded all the talents, all the reputation combined, which this nation possesses, to oppose his encroaching spirit. It would have required a ministry singularly adapted to the conduct of foreign affairs to have given us weight, and to have given France limits on the continent. Foreign powers ought to have been solicited, and gained over to the general interests of the community. The family of Europe (to use Buonaparté's own phrase) should have been united against the rebellious, unnatural disposition of one of its members. But IT REQUIRES A GREAT AND COMMANDING REPUTATION TO GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF FOREIGN POWERS.—ANY MAN, HOWEVER INSIGNIFICANT, MAY SUPPORT A COURT INTRIGUE, OR LEAD A VENAL, SPIRITLESS CREW, WHO ADHERE TO ANY MINISTER; BUT OUT OF THE CIRCLE OF OUR OWN KINGDOM SUCH MEN TRULY FIND THEIR LEVEL. NO FOREIGN COURT, NO CONSENT OF MEN, NO FEELING OF SOCIETY IN DANGER AND IN AIMS, CAN RALLY ROUND SUCH HOLIDAY MINISTERS. NO DEPENDANCE CAN BE PLACED ON THEM." [*This is the very sentiment contained in the letter of our Stockholm correspondent, p.* 361.] " Thus, when union is most wanted, union is made impossible. Hence the wonderful effect of reputation for the achievement of good; hence the sacred indefeasible duty of great men guarding their reputation free from reproach, because it is a public property. Foreign powers that would commit themselves to the bark which carries Cæsar, will not trust themselves with a low, obscure, nameless crew. Hence the abandoned state in which we are left naked to our enemies."

To every sentence, phrase, word, any syllable, of this extract do we most heartild subscribe, and our readers will do us the justice to recollect, that, in so doing, we strictly adhere to those principles and opinions, which, ever since the signature o the peace, it has been our constant endeavour to instil into the minds of the public The *last* paragraph, particularly, we would beg leave to direct the attention of Mr. Pitt While the world remained in its old-fashioned state; while England enjoyed the benefit o those connexions, which had been formed by the wisdom and the valour of our ancestors while we were supported in the world by that vast stock of reputation, which the had treasured up for us, to conduct the affairs of this country required only credi at the bank and a majority at St. Stephen's The times are changed. Mr. Pitt, if he continues to rule, must *look abroad*, or the ground will slip from beneath him. He must discard the politics of the wise-acre and the wise-acres themselves, or the monarchy of England is not of many years duration. When we contemplate the fallen state of this country and the strange situation of Mr. Pitt, we are naturally led to inquire, who, or what, has produced this wonderful change; and when, at last, we trace the mighty mischief to some half dozen canting candidates for popular favour our surprize, our disappointment and indignation, are like those of the hunter, who, at the end of a long and intricate pursuit, find a weazle concealed in the den of the wolf There is one reflection, however, which we must confess, is always somewhat consolatory to us; and that is, that a people who can basely turn their backs on men of honour, and yield themselves to the guidance of these political vermin, deserve every species of chastisement that Buonaparté and his legions can inflict.

Mr. *Coke*, member for Norfolk, at a dinner, which he gave at Dereham, told the company he had a letter from Charles Fox He then gave them an account of Mr. Fox's honourable reception by Buonaparté, and endeavoured to impress them with an opinion that Buonaparté has a strong predilection for Mr. Fox, and that, *if the latter were Minister England might rely upon the continuance of peace and also upon the friendship of France.*—On the correctness of this statement, our readers may place perfect reliance; and, when they have well considered the sort of person that Mr. Coke is, the information which Fox must have given him, together with the motive for giving him that information then let them compare the language of Mr. Coke with the opinion stated in the Letter to Fox, p. 344 of the Register.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Dec. of Im. Com. at Ratis.* 417. *Not. of the Fr. & Rus. Min.* 418. *Not. of the Elec.* 420. *Note of the Fr. & Rus. Min.* 422. *Buonap. Pro. to the Swiss*, 423. *Amc. Turky*, 424. *Switz.* 425. *Cap. of Berne by the Pro.* 426. *Nar. of Events in Swit.* 428. *Zur.* 430. *Sum. of Pol.* 434. *Situ. of the Emp.* 435. *Swit.* 438. *P. of Bo.* 446.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Decree of the Imperial Commission, addressed to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, at Ratisbon, Sept. 13, 1802.

The Imperial Commission has seen, by the advice of the extra-deputation of the 9th inst. and by the votes emitted in the two last sittings, which served as the basis of it, that by their unanimous conviction and judgment, there exist well-founded claims against the plan of indemnities proposed by the ministers of the mediating powers, that the deputation have also reserved to themselves all the observations which they deem it their duty to make, and that fully convinced of the good intentions of those powers towards the German empire, they promise the admission in common of these claims and observations.—The Imperial Commission thinks it its duty to set out with the supposition, that it is the intention of the deputation to make all the observations to which they are bound by their instructions, and by the duties which result from the direct principles established in the treaty of Luneville; that the idea of modifications reserved, includes all the amplifications and instructions which a legal discussion of all the parts of the plan cannot fail to give rise to; and that at the regulating of these observations and founded claims we may expect with confidence, both from the justice of the mediating powers and their regard for the inviolable rights of an independent state, an arrangement conformable to the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville. The Imperial Commission cannot reconcile at all this point of view and this mode of deliberation, with the declaration to be made at present to the minister of the mediating powers, that the deputation accept purely and simply the plan of indemnities in general.—Such an adoption makes us foresee, that each party, whom it would be necessary to indemnify by the plan, would think that he had acquired a right to insist upon the share that should be adjudged to him, and to check and impede the changes and modifications, which well founded claims might render necessary. It would be equally incompatible to reserve expressly observations of this nature, and yet to deprive ourselves at the same time of the means of satisfying them for the indemnities already fixed in the plan that adopted, exhaust the mass of indemnity to such a degree, that nothing or very little remains to do justice in the end to claims founded upon the clearest principles of justice.—In short, the nature of the affair requires, before the plan in general be adopted, that the deputation should previously occupy itself with the examination of the observations made against several of its parts, and to infer from the examination of each of those parts, what it will be proper to do upon the whole. Such this state of affairs the Imperial Commission has been glad to find in the second advice of the deputation an opportunity of acceding to the opinion contained in it. Always disposed to concur in every thing that can serve to accelerate the task of the deputation, the Commission declares that it is ready to transmit, without delay, the three claims mentioned to the ministers of the mediating powers, and it thinks that this communication ought to be accompanied with the following declaration:—"It is acknowledged with "sensibility, that the two powers have wished to "take upon themselves the mediation in an affair "so complicated and important, and to cause to "be submitted to the deputation by their minis-"ters, declarations relative to the regulating of "the objects reserved for a particular Convention "in the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of "Luneville.—Fully convinced of the good inten-"tions of the two powers towards the empire, "and of their justice, care will be taken to com-"municate to the ministers, the pressing repre-"sentations made against the plan proposed, as "well as the observations which the deputation "themselves may deem necessary, and to concert "with the said ministers, after having obtained "the requisite information, in order to procure "with impartial justice for each the indemnity "due to him in virtue of the treaty of Luneville, "and to come to a resolution as soon as possible, "which shall be submitted to his Imperial Ma-"jesty and to the empire."—The Imperial Commission expects to receive soon an ulterior advice from the deputation; it recommends it to them at the same time to take into consideration, as soon as possible, the fresh claims that may be made; for the rest, it cannot dispense with making known the full assent of his Imperial Majesty to the principles of equity and justice established by common consent in the first advice of the deputation with respect to those who, without any fault on their side, shall be the victims of the peace.—(Signed,—*Baron De Hugel.*

Notes of the Ministers of France and Russia, addressed to the Extraordinary Deputation, at Ratisbon, and dated Sept. 15, 1802.

Note of the French Minister.

The undersigned Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic to the Diet of the Germanic Empire, has taken the earliest opportunity of transmitting to his government the rescript communicated by the sub-delegate of Bohemia to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, in the sitting of the 24th of August, and communicated also to the undersigned on the 28th of the said month. He is charged to transmit to the deputation the following observations:—The First Consul has been much affected to see that his intentions for securing the peace and prosperity of the Germanic body have been misunderstood, since

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they reproach him with not having answered the overtures made by his Imperial and Royal Majesty since the conclusion of the treaty of Luneville, and having thus retarded to Germany, that interesting portion of Europe, the advantages of the peace, he must declare that the overtures which, though confidential and secret, are at present publicly alluded to by the Court of Vienna, far from being calculated to procure the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of Luneville, could tend only to remove, not to promote, the means of providing for the indemnification of so many secular princes, who had sustained such considerable losses; their only object was to regulate the indemnification of the Archduke Ferdinand, by employing lay and hereditary dominions. The projects of the Court of Vienna tended to extend its territory beyond the Lech, and their effect consequently would have been to erase Bavaria from the number of the powers.—Justice and generosity, which are always the first heard in the heart of the First Consul, made it a law with him to forget what wrongs the elector might have done to the republic, and not to suffer to perish a state weakened and threatened, but however hitherto secured by the policy of the governments interested in maintaining a just equilibrium in Germany; for, if the equilibrium of Europe requires that Austria should be great and powerful, that of Germany requires that Bavaria should be preserved entire and protected from all further invasion. What would become of the Germanic body, if the principal states which compose it should see their independence every moment endangered? and would not the honour even of that ancient federation suffer, by weakening a prince whose house has concurred in so honourable a manner to the establishment and support of the Germanic constitution? It is not then at Paris that the insinuations of the Court of Vienna, in regard to the affairs of Germany, could be received, and, though it has since renewed them at Petersburgh, they could not meet with better success. The great and generous soul of the Emperor Alexander could not permit him to neglect the interests of Bavaria, which were recommended to him also by the ties of blood and by every consideration of sound policy. Having been unable to succeed either at Petersburgh or Paris, the Court of Vienna nevertheless pursued at Munich the execution of its projects, and it was the communication of his uneasiness made by the Elector to the French and Russian governments, which contributed above all to make them feel the necessity of uniting their influence to protect the hereditary princes, secure the execution of the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, and not to suffer to fall to the lowest rank one of the oldest, and not long ago one of the most powerful houses of Germany.—The undersigned, therefore, is charged to declare to the deputation, that the states of his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, as well as the possessions destined for him as indemnities, and as necessary for re-establishing the equilibrium of Germany, are naturally and indispensably placed under the protection of the mediating powers; that the First Consul, personally, will not suffer the important place of Passau to remain in the hands of Austria, nor allow it to obtain any part of the territories which Bavaria possesses on the right of the Inn; for he considers that there would be no independence for Bavaria, the moment [illegible] troops of Austria should be near its capital. It remains to the undersigned to express to the deputation, the regret which the First Consul feels for divulging negotiations which took place only under the seal of confidence, and the secrecy of which ought consequently to have remained sacred; but he has been constrained to it by just reprisals, and by the value which he attaches to the opinion and esteem of the brave and upright German people.—(Signed)—*Laforêt.*

Note of the Russian Minister.

The undersigned Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to the Germanic Diet, has seen a Note, dated the same day, which was transmitted to the Extraordinary Diet of the Empire, in the name of the French Republic, in consequence of the rescript communicated by the Sub-delegate of Bohemia to the deputation, in its sitting of the 24th of August, and communicated also to the undersigned on the 28th of the same month. At present he can only refer to the contents of his note delivered to the deputation next day, August 29, without dwelling on the facts which preceded and rendered necessary the concert between Russia and France. But he must again declare, that his Imperial Majesty has manifested the sentiments of justice by which he is distinguished, and the interests he takes in the happiness and equilibrium of the Germanic Empire, in the declaration which he caused to be transmitted on the 18th of August last, conjointly with the First Consul. His Imperial Majesty can not then but expect its speedy accomplishment. He particularly considers the hereditary states of his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, as well as the possessions assigned to him as an indemnity, as indispensably placed under the protection of the mediation; and has no doubt that the town of Passau will be immediately given up to its destination.—*Baron de Buhler.*

The following Votes were also delivered in the same Sitting at which these Notes were read.

Bohemia.—Before the result of the votes respecting the declarations of the two mediating powers had been converted into a *Conclusum*, in the sitting of the 8th, the Sub-delegate entered into an exposition of the reasons which did not permit him to accede to the plan contained in these declarations. But now that the *Conclusum* has been come to, fresh orders from his court impose it upon him as a duty to confirm his first refusal, by a second still more formal. In one view of the question, and in that which should be considered before all others, the acceptation of the plan in its *ensemble* is incompatible with that justice which it was the object of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, and of the mediating powers, to attain. It cannot, therefore, be looked upon by the present generation, nor by posterity, as the result of a mature examination, in which every right, and every bearing and relation have been duly weighed and considered; on the contrary, it must rather appear to be the work of precipitation and of an exclusive premeditation.—The importance of the business entrusted to our charge, and the desire, that after its being brought to a close every thing may be established upon a durable basis, ought equally to suspend both of these decisions. In another point of view, this acceptation raises against the best grounded remonstrances, an adversary in each of the persons

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who by the tendency of the plan have been favoured beyond all measure. From this instant the latter will look upon themselves as completely secure against the best grounded remonstrances; and will regard the share assigned to them, as an inviolable property, into the possession of which they have just entered. The deputation of the empire must raise by this circumstance a new obstacle between the accomplishment of its own views, and the assistance which it owes to those who have been injured.—The justness of this observation cannot escape the eye of any impartial person; and whosoever hesitates openly to assent to it, must at least secretly yield to the conviction of his own mind, and to the judgment of the public at large. If hereafter a matter of such weighty importance should come reasonably under discussion (and indeed since the treaty of Westphalia no more important matter has been agitated) the first step will not necessarily lead into labyrinths without an out-let. It seems, however, to be adopting a step of that nature, to follow a plan which, on its first blush and development, leaves in a great measure unexecuted the most precise obligations of the 5th article of the treaty of Luneville, which establishes indemnities for a third, on the very same basis which was to complete the indemnity which the empire had bound itself to ensure to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and which thus gradually breaks in upon a fourth and a fifth; a plan, in a word, which proceeds to rest upon new principles, upon new bases; which have nothing in common with either the letter or the spirit of the treaty of peace with the empire. Is not such, however, the step taken by the deputation of the empire: which, instead of exploring and of ascertaining a fixed point to guide it amidst this complicated mass of confused object, it appears, on the contrary, to yield to them in the most passive manner.—It is the interest of all parties, and even the interest of the two mediating powers, that such occurrences should not take place; and that what is necessarily called for by the exigency of circumstances, should not appear under the seal and sanction (which must have destructive consequences) of an absolute omission of all spontaneous judgment.—To the end, therefore, that the affair may assume a better aspect, and that this change may take place in the least possible delay, his Majesty, the Emperor and King, has already made new overtures to the two powers—overtures which unequivocally evince the most moderate and the most conciliating dispositions.—His Majesty may naturally look to a happy issue from this his proceeding. In the mean time, his Imperial Majesty ought to reserve to himself, upon this occasion, the decision of the deputation, in order the more solemnly to avail and strengthen himself against every premature adoption of the plan that has been submitted to him. As to the notes on the part of the ministers of France and of Russia, which have just been read, the contents of these notes, more particularly those of the former, were on the one hand unexpected; and, on the other, they appear of so strange a nature, that the sub-delegate cannot venture to anticipate the opinion or the declarations of his court.—The character, however, of veracity, to which he professes to aspire, and of which he will afford the most convincing proofs as often as an opportunity shall offer, imposes it upon him as a duty to affirm, that as long as he took a part in the negotiations at Paris, nothing came to his knowledge from which could be drawn an inference that there existed any pretentions to the Bavarian possessions of the electoral house of the Palatine as far as the Lech, or any project of infringing on his actual possessions: that, on the contrary, the fullest equivalent was uniformly offered whenever the subject of cession or exchange was agitated; and that in general there never was conceived or harboured any project of change which was not perfectly in accord with the interests and the expressed acquiescence of that house.

Saxony.—The minister of Saxony requires that the Directory shall address to the Imperial Plenipotentiary suitable representations to induce him to accede to the Conclusum of the Diet. He protests against the expression of the decree of the Imperial Commission, which is at the head of the declaration of the minister of Bohemia, an expression which would change the nature of the relations of the Diet of the Empire.

Brandenburgh.—After the example of Saxony, the sub-delegate of Brandenburgh likewise objects to the title of *Decree of the Imperial Commission.* He declares that he does not recognize, in the most distant manner, in the sub-delegate of Bohemia, the quality of Imperial Commissioner, and that such a designation is inconsistent with the usages applicable to an extraordinary Diet, formed to treat with foreign powers. Passing then to the object of the deliberation, he expresses his surprize and grief, that under circumstances so urgent as the present, the Imperial Plenipotentiary not only refuses to accede to a resolution required by the general interests of the empire, but did not make known his refusal to the Diet till after an interval of six days.—He thinks that notwithstanding this refusal, the resolution ought to be maintained in all its force, and that the Diet ought to continue tranquilly and without interruption, to deliberate and to treat with the ministers of the mediating powers. "Extraordinary circumstances, says he, require extraordinary measures; formalities established for ordinary occasions, cannot be rigorously adhered to in circumstances of peculiar emergency. The sub-delegate would think that he failed in his duty to Germany, and to Europe; to his cotemporaries, as well as to posterity, if he did not unequivocally declare his opinion, that the Diet ought not to interrupt their functions through any defect of formality, resulting from the refusal of the Emperor to accede to their decision. He is convinced that in order to provide against any subsequent delay, the Diet, in case of any new difficulty started by the Imperial Plenipotentiary, is from that moment obliged to enter into an immediate communication with the ministers of the mediating powers."

Note, dated Ratisbon, Sept. 17, 1802, given in to the Austrian Plenipotentiary, and also to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, by the French Minister at Ratisbon.—A similar Note was given in by the Russian Minister.

The undersigned envoy extraordinary from the French Republic to the German Diet, has seen from the printed protocol of the sittings of the extraordinary deputation of the Empire, that the said deputation has passed several *conclusums* which

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have been transmitted to his Excellency the Austrian Plenipotentiary, in order that they all, without exception, and especially the principal *conclusums* of the sitting of the 8th of September, may be communicated by him to the ministers of the mediating powers; he therefore requests the Austrian Plenipotentiary, at length, to make this communication, which in the present state of things cannot longer be deferred without great inconvenience, unless his Excellency wishes to depart from the established custom, and would rather chuse that the undersigned should apply to the directory.—The undersigned renews to his Excellency the Baron Von Hugel the assurance of his high esteem. *Laforêt.*

Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the Eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republic.

INHABITANTS OF HELVETIA, *St. Cloud, Sept.* 30.

You have afforded, for two years, an afflicting spectacle. Opposite factions have successively taken possession of the sovereign authority; they have signalised their temporary rule by a system of partiality which proved their unskilfulness and weakness.—In the course of the year 10, your government desired that the small number of French troops in Helvetia should be withdrawn. The French government willingly availed themselves of that opportunity to honour your independence; but soon afterwards your different parties began to be agitated by fresh fury; the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of Swiss.—You have been disputing for three years, without coming to any understanding; if you are left longer to yourselves, you will be killing each other for three years, without coming to a better understanding. Your history proves besides, that your intestine wars could never be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France.—It is true that I had determined not to interfere at all in your affairs; I had constantly seen your different governments ask advice of me, and not follow it, and sometimes abuse my name, according to their interests and their passions.—But I neither can nor ought to remain insensible to the misery of which you are the victims; I recall my determination—I will be the mediator of your differences, but my mediation *shall be efficacious*, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak.—Five days after the notification of the present proclamation, the Senate shall assemble at Berne.—Every Magistracy that shall have been formed at Berne since the capitulation shall be dissolved, and shall cease meeting and exercising any authority.—The Prefects shall repair to their posts All the authorities which may have been formed shall cease meeting—Armed assemblages shall disperse.—The 1st and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades shall compose the garrison of Berne.—The troops who have been on service for upwards of six months, shall alone remain in corps of troops.—Finally, all individuals disbanded from the Belligerent armies, and who are now in arms, shall deposit their arms at the municipality of the commune where they were born.—*The Senate shall send three deputies to Paris, each Canton may also send deputies.* — All Citizens who, for the last three years, have been Landamman, Senators, and have successively occupied, places in the central authority, may *repair to Paris*, to make known the means of restoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties.—On my part, *I have a right* to expect that no city, no commune, no corps, will do any thing contrary to the dispositions which *I make known to you* —Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake to hope!!!—Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it shall be immediately drawn from it; all men of good intentions will second this *generous* plan.—But if, which I cannot believe, there be among you a great number of individuals who should have so little virtue as not to sacrifice their passions and their prejudices to the love of the country; people of Helvetia, you will have indeed degenerated from your forefathers!—There is no sensible man who does not see that the mediation which I take upon myself is a benefit to Helvetia, *from that Providence*, which, in the midst of so many shocks, has always watched over the existence and independence of your nation, and that this mediation is the only means of saving both.—For indeed it is time you should see, that if the patriotism and union of your ancestors founded your Republic, the bad spirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly destroy it; painful would it be to think, that at a period when several new republics have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most antient.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

United States of America —New York, Sept.—From the newspapers under this date, it appears that two French frigates and a sloop of war, with 800 black insurgents on board, had arrived at New York on the 14th of Aug. These blacks, with several hundreds more, on board of two other frigates and another sloop of war, were destined (*as the French say*) for Carthagena; but the Spaniards having objected to receiving them, the squadron stood for the United States. The Mayor of New York had officially forbidden the landing of the people, which prohibition was complied with by the commodore; but the sick, of which there were sixty, had been landed, and sent to the marine hospital in Staten Island.—The same papers say that it *is reported*, that the PRESIDENT of the United States is seriously ill.—The yellow fever had much abated at Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Leghorn, Sept. 10.—Their Etrurian Majesties are detained here in consequence of the illness of the King. Their embarkation for Spain will depend on the state of his health.

Semlin, Sept. 10.—The navigation of the Danube is entirely free since the reconciliation between Passwan Oglou and the Porte. That Pacha has engaged to repair, as far as he can, all the damages occasioned by his troops contrary to his intentions, and to punish the authors. Already much merchandize which had been taken from the caravans, has been delivered at the office of quarantine at Orsova, and several commanders of troops have been hung. It is expected that Passwan Oglou will be ordered to march to reduce the rebellious janissaries of Belgrade.

Vienna, Sept. 17.—It is confirmed, that the two ambassadors from the imperial court, the count Cobentzel at Paris, and the count Saurau at Petersburgh, are recalled. The motive assigned for this step, is, that neither of them had any intelligence of the arrangement concluded between Russia and the French government, respecting the in-

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demnities, although the negotiations on that subject were opened at Petersburgh, and terminated at Paris. The count de Stadion will in consequence go from Berlin to Paris, and will be replaced at Berlin by general Meerfeld. The prince de Schwartzemberg has refused the embassy to Petersburgh.

Vienna, Sept. 18.—The PRINCE of ESTERHAZY was sent for here three days since, and immediately after his arrival had a conference with the minister of state Count Cobentzel, when he received important dispatches for the court of Russia, with which he set out on the 16th inst. for St. Petersburgh.

Ratisbon, Sept 19.—A note exactly similar to that given in by the French Plenipotentiary, was given in, on the same day, by the Russian Plenipotentiary Baron Buhler, to the Directorial Minister Baron D'Albini, to be communicated, together with the French note, to the deputation of the empire.—The Austrian Plenipotentiary, in consequence, yesterday transmitted to the Envoys of the Mediation the principal *Conclusum* of the 8th, with the accessory resolutions, but without according to the former.—On the 18th the sixth sitting of the deputation took place, in which it was resolved that the Directorial Minister should again apply to the Austrian Minister, to accede to the *Conclusum* of the 8th. The deputation likewise took into consideration the memorial from the Swabian Towns.

Sept. 21.—At the seventh sitting of the deputation, the Imperial Minister declared that he hoped the minister of the mediating powers would be satisfied with the answer he had given, but that it was not in his power to accede farther than he had done to the *Conclusum*, and that he reserved himself for further explanation on that subject.

Switzerland.—Lausanne, Sept. 21.—On the evening of the 18th, after a cannonade of an hour, which produced little effect, C. Gaudarb, Commander in Chief of the Helvetic Troops at Berne, concluded, after being authorized for that purpose, with the Chief of the Insurgents, in the environs of that town, the following convention.

The Commander of the Helvetic Armed Force at Berne, in order to avoid any farther bloodshed, and particularly from the intention of sparing the Inhabitants and the City, on the one part: and M. E. EMAN de WATTEVILLE, *in the name of the Council of War of the Troops who have attacked Berne, on the other, have agreed upon the following articles:*—Art. I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic Troops at Berne, and those which have attacked the city, to commence from the signing of the present convention.—II. The Helvetic Troops shall give up the place in twenty-four hours after the signature.—III. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, engage to obtain from the municipal authorities, the carriages, waggons, and horses, and all the necessary facilities for the departure of the government, and those in office, with their families and effects of every description, and also for the conveyance of twenty pieces of artillery, with the powder and ammunition necessary to serve them; in a word, every thing belonging to the government. The records, papers, and other articles, which cannot be carried off, will be respected, and remain under the guarantee of the parties contracting. The sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals shall be maintained, taken care of, and sent to their respective corps.—IV. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne ensure to the government a free passage to the frontiers of the Cantons of Vaud and Friburg.—V. Should any members of the government, or any person in its employment, not be able to accompany the government itself, they shall have passports to follow it at full liberty. Should they be obliged to leave behind them their families and effects, these shall be respected.—VI. The ministers of foreign powers to the Helvetic Republic, with their suite, and property of every description, remain under the guarantee of the law of nations.—The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, shall respect their character, and promise to furnish them, at any time, with the facilities requisite to their removal, whithersoever they think proper.—VII. General Andermatt, the troops under his orders, and all other Helvetic Troops on detached service, are comprised in the present convention, and may rejoin the Helvetic Government, at its departure from Berne, without any molestation, with their arms, baggage, and train of artillery; and for this purpose couriers shall be immediately dispatched to the general and the detachments, to inform them of the present convention. These troops shall march by the shortest road, without the city, at the rate of at least five leagues each day.—VIII. The other columns in arms against the government are equally included in the present convention.—IX. Until the junction of the above-mentioned detachments shall have been effected, the troops in arms against the Helvetic Government shall not enter the territory of the Cantons of Vaud or Friburg Hostilities shall not take place on either side.—X. As a security for the performance of the present convention, two officers of equal rank shall be reciprocally delivered as hostages until the complete execution of all its articles.—XI. Such articles as may appear doubtful, shall, if necessary, be explained by commissioners on both sides in favour of the besieged.—*Done and agreed upon at Berne, Sept.* 18, 1802.—*eight in the evening.*

(Signed) *Gaudard, E. D. Watteville.*

Berne, Sep. 22.—The convention was concluded in consequence of an obstinate action, fought with much bloodshed, immediately before the walls of Berne. The army, commanded by Messrs. Watteville, D'Erlach, and Effingueur, was composed of peasants, from Argovia, Soleure, Oberand, Petit Lac, Niddaw, and Arberg. Dolder's troops fired from the ramparts, and the peasants threw some canon-balls into the town, which damaged nothing but the town-house. Mr. Effinguer was introduced to a parley with his eyes under a bandage. No agreement could be effected, and the attack was renewed.—After a severe and warmly-sustained combat, at one of the gates, the usurpers proposed to capitulate. It is doubtful whether they may find a gracious reception at Lausanne. The whole Pays de Vaud is in commotion—the peasants are up in arms—but whether to support the revolutionary cause, we know not.—General Andermatt, abruptly recalled by the now exiled government from Zurich, left to the townsmen his heavy artillery. He proceeds by forced marches towards Lausanne. But he is pursued by Reding: he is between the army which has conquered at Berne and that of the small Cantons: and unless he be comprehended in the capitulation, his troops will be entirely dispersed.—M. de Watteville was, on the 29th, named commander in chief, and paid a visit to the French minister, Verninac, who gave him a very obliging reception. The bear, and the

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colours of Berne, are already restored to their wonted places. Friburg has surrendered to the peasant army. Soleure likewise surrendered on the 17th. All Switzerland, except the Pays de Vaud, will soon enjoy the renovated authority of its ancient constitution. The two demi-brigades promised by Buonaparté are to come from Italy, and cannot arrive within less than fifteen days. In the mean time, all will be over. And it is expected that France will not, then, think its interposition necessary.—The ministers of France, Spain, and the Italian Repnblic, accompanied the *usurpers* to Lausanne.—Two state papers, of great importance, have been circulated through all the Cantons. The first of these pieces is a letter from the deputies of the five democratic Cantons of Uri, Schwytz, Underwalde, Glaris and Appenzel, to general Andermatt, the commander in chief of the Helvetic troops. It is dated Schwytz, Sept. 18, and is signed by M. Aloys Redin, who was the president of the deputies. "The total dissolution of the "central government of Berne (says he), authorizes us, as well as every patriotic inhabitant of "Switzerland, no longer to recognize a government, springing originally from faction, and "formed by the influence of a few individuals. "All your obligations to obedience have ceased, "and as you, as well as your troops, no longer "belong to any legal government, whatever opposition you make against the troops of the democratic states, whatever hostilities you are "guilty of against the inhabitants, villages, cities "or districts of Switzerland, will be considered "as acts of personal hostility, and you and your "officers shall be personally responsible for the "consequences, since we cannot longer consider "you as troops paid by a government legally "formed and recognized.—On the other hand, it "is in your power, and in the power of your officers and soldiers, quietly to return to your "homes, and if you there conduct yourselves as "orderly and peaceable citizens, a preference will "be given to you at the period when a new legal "central government shall be formed by order of "the respective Cantons.—You are charged to "communicate *our pleasure* to your officers and "soldiers, and to answer within three hours at "farthest after receiving our letter, by a declaration whether, as Swiss attached to their country, you wish to put an end to civil war, or "whether you are desirous of being considered as "wandering banditti who menace the repose, "the liberty, and the safety of their fellow citizens."—The conclusion of the other assumes the form of a proclamation of the five democratical Cantons to the inhabitants of the other Cantons of Switzerland. It begins in these words: —"The Swiss name is for ever degraded by the "most detestable of all crimes with which the soi-disant Helvetic government closed its career "(the bombarding of the town of Zurich). We "are fully resolved to rescue our country and "to break the chains which tyrants were preparing to impose upon it. We enter into your "country and cantons, not as enemies, but as "friends, animated by a laudable anxiety to establish an equal participation of rights and of liberty between the towns and the villages, and to "second you by every sinew of our strength in "order to secure to you a re-union between "the towns and villages by means of a central "government, emanating from the Cantons.—To "that effect we call upon you to send two dele-"gates to Schwytz before the 24th September "one of them representing the towns, the oth "the villages.—You will at the same time al "take care to establish in your canton an ad "quate armed force in the following proportion "for Zurich, 2000 men; for Berne, 3000; for Lu "cerne, 1200; for Friburg, 800; for Soleur "1000; for Schaffhausen, 500; for Baste, 400 "for the Grisons, 2000; for Bellinzona, 600; f "Lugano, 600; for Turgovia, 500; for St. Gal "1200; for Baden, 400; and for the democrati "Cantons, 6000 men."—This address bears da Schwytz, Sept. 18, and is signed by the presider Reding.

Berne, Sept. 23.—In giving an account of t taking of this city, the numbers of the besieg have been much exaggerated. The fact is, th grand affair was effected in two hours, with onl two hundred and forty men. After the conve tion which followed the second bombardment of Z rich, general Andermatt, with the 1200 men whic remained with him, marched to Ergen, from whic place an equal number of insurgents had marche for the relief of Zurich; but as they had taken different route, they did not fall in with gener Andermatt. That general, however, was stoppe in his march near Arau, by a body of 500 men under the command of M. May, who compelle him to sign a convention, by which he agreed t retreat to Berne, and not to interrupt the proceedings of the Berneze army. Twelve hundred men of th army marched to Soleure, and took possession it on Friday 18th September. On the next da 1000 men proceeded from Soleure to Berne. Th advanced guard of this corps consisted of 24 men, and was commanded by M. Essinguer Mu linen. In his march he met M. Laharpe, who w reconnoitring with 300 men. The latter imm diately prepared to defend himself, but at the sam time offered an armistice of two hours. To th M. May consented, on condition that Laharp should retire into Berne, without leaving a guar upon the heights. M. Essinguer having pass Warblen, collected his force at Breitfeld, whic then amounted to 800 men; he advanced to a tack the out-posts of Berne, in hopes of enterin the city with the fugitives; but there were no ou posts. Being arrived upon the heights, he form the resolution of going himself to the city, a summoning the Landamman to surrender, allow ing only half an hour to deliberate upon the pr position, which was rejected.—At three o'clock t attack commenced. Mr. Essinguer chose 240 m who were the best armed, and ordered them to a vance under the command of Messrs. Wagne Kirchbergaer, Delohr, and Delverth. M. de Lu terman placed three pieces of cannon on a heig which commands the town. M. Wagner conduc ed the riflemen by the way which leads down the esplanade, and Messrs. Kirchberger and De verth, with four peasants, volunteers, had the bol ness to drag a small piece of cannon opposite t gate of the bridge, though exposed to a most drea ful fire. They exhausted all their ammuniti without being able to succeed in destroying t beams of the draw-bridge, which they battered vain with their small balls. M. Delverth receiv a wound, of which he died in the course of t night. They brought back the piece of cannon at that moment a flag of truce came from the cit with proposals to capitulate. There were the 1100 men in the city, and general Andermatt wi only six leagues off. The capitulation was agree

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upon, and the city taken possession of.—The following paper has been posted up in this city:

PROJECT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"Art. I. The cantons shall be allowed a month "to form each a government, adapted to its "wants, its local situation, and its actual wants. "—II. The cantons, when once constituted, "shall each name their deputies, who shall be "made acquainted with the intentions of their "constituents, and furnished with the necessary "full powers——1st. To assemble in general "diet, and organise a central power, which may "be united to the powers in alliance with Switzerland.—2d. To make the first nomination of "the members of the central power.——III. The "central government shall be charged with the "external, political, and foreign relations, and "the general organization of the military. It "shall guarantee the cantonal constitutions.—IV. "If any difficulty should arise in any canton in "regard to its constitution, it shall be referred "to the central government. The case shall be "same in regard to any difficulties that may arise "between one canton and another.—V. Sufficient "sums for the ordinary expences shall be assigned "to the central government.—VI. Each deputy to "the central government, shall be indemnified "by the canton by which he is nominated.—VII. "The number of the deputies which each canton "must nominate, shall be regulated according to "its population.—VIII. The rights of city in "those towns heretofore sovereigns, shall be open "to every inhabitant of the canton, which can "prove a right to a property in money or land of "a fixed value, and paying a retribution in order "to have a share in the enjoyment of communial "property. Political advantages to be acquired "by the right of city shall not be subject to any "retribution whatever.—IX. No one shall be eligible to places in the government in the cantons heretofore aristocratic, except those who possess the right of city above mentioned.—X. "The new cantons, such as Turgovia and others, "which have not yet had a constitution, shall be "free to give themselves one, or to unite themselves to other cantons.—XI. The cantonal governments shall be in possession of all the powers which shall not have been expressly delegated to the central government.—XII. To present this general measure under a constitutional and conciliating form, the Citizen Minister of the French is requested to employ his good offices.—*Berne, Sept.* 21, 1802."

Berne, Sept. 24.—The council of two hundred met on Tuesday morning. They appointed M. de Watteville de Landshut, general in chief, with full powers, and a committee of ten members to exercise the functions of government. A body of 2000 men, under the command of Usdermanner, have entered from Underwalden, Uri, Glarus, and Schwitz. They bring intelligence that Reding is at Lucerne.—Fresh corps are daily arriving, and many platoons of deserters from the Helvetic corps of the line. We now have under arms in this city nearly 8000 men. Parties have been detached on the road to Friburg and Morat.—We are forming three battalions of troops of the line, which will, in all, consist of 1500 men.

Rome, Sept. 25.—Citizen Lauriston, who arrived here a few days ago from Ratisbon, after having a conference with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and with the State Directory, set off for Paris. He delivered a letter from the First Consul, which is supposed to relate to *our indemnifications*.—We are assured, the French troops will continue only seven weeks longer in the pay of our Republic.

Frankfort, Sept. 26.—The Prince of Nassau Orange quitted this place the day before yesterday.

Hamburgh, Sept. 28.—The Portuguese Envoy to the court of Russia, the Chevalier D'Aranjo, is arrived here on his way to St. Petersburgh.

Lausanne, Sept. 28.—Yesterday was mustered the whole reserve of Lausanne, and to-day a company sets out for Yverdon.—Citizens Ruttiman, Statthalter, and the senator Mesmer, set off yesterday for the army.—The minister at war received the following dispatch from general Andermatt, dated yesterday, from his head-quarters at Morat:—"Citizen minister, the moment I effected the junction of the three battalions of Vaudois, at "Payerne, I set off from it to take a position here. "The insurgents retreated on the approach of my "troops, who pursued them as far as Guminen; "night put an end to a very hot cannonade: yet "we had only seven men slightly wounded; those "of the enemy must be much more considerable. "We have made a dozen prisoners, who make "but a poor appearance; three of them are "wounded. The enemy has retreated from be"fore Friburg. A copy of the orders was found "on a dragoon who was killed. I shall send out "some reconnoitring parties to-morrow.

(Signed) *Andermatt.*"

Russia.—St. Petersburgh, Sept. 30.—His Imperial Majesty has published the following Ukase.—"Having perceived in my late journey through several governments, that notwithstanding previous orders that no particular preparations which might be burdensome to the people should be in any case made on account of this journey, the magistrates had, however, permitted several things to the contrary; that in many towns and villages, gates with various ornaments were purposely erected, the streets filled with trees and illuminated, and other similar arrangements made by the people.—We have thought it necessary, to prevent similar occurrences on the occasion of any future journey either of myself or of any other person of the Imperial House, to publish the following Rescript to the senate.—1st, That no one be ordered by the magistrates either to meet or to escort us on the road.—2d, That the high roads be no where repaired on the occasion of such journey, but only at the usual time.——3d, This prohibition is to be applied with particular strictness, to ornamenting the streets and villages, and decking them with trees without roots, as the forests are thereby destroyed only for the sake of a temporary appearance.—4th, That no person of the nobility be ordered to receive us at the different stations, except an assessor of the court of the district, or according to the direction of the marshal of the nobility, one or two persons of the nobles to provide for the regulation of the relays of horses, and the due payment of the money for the same."

Convention concluded between the Municipality of Zurich and the Commissary of the Helvetic Government.

Different circumstances having given rise to hostilities between the Helvetic troops and the inha-

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bitants of the city of Zurich, citizen May, commissary of government, in virtue of his full powers, has taken upon himself the office of mediator; and has, in consequence, agreed upon the following convention with the municipality of the city.—Art. I. The commissary of government, May, resigns, in full confidence, to the townsmen of Zurich, the military service of that city, and engages that he will establish no garrison there, but will personally repair thither as the chief place of the Canton, bringing along with him only a few pieces of ordnance.—II. All past proceedings shall be buried in oblivion. All the inhabitants of Zurich, as well as all the inhabitants of Helvetia, who have taken part in the late events, are discharged from all responsibility. Consequently all those who on either side have been made prisoners, or arrested by the civil or military power, shall be instantly set at liberty, if there be no other accusation against them.—III. Immediately after the signing of the present convention, the speediest means will be taken to put an end to all hostile proceedings.—Zurich, Sept. 15, 1802, eight o'clock in the morning, in name of the municipality,

(Signed) *Hirzel, Rheinard.*

Head-quarters at Zurichberg, Sept. 15, 1802, nine in the morning. (Signed) *May*, commissary of the government.

Paris, Oct. 4.—The First Consul has appointed general Beurnonville ambassador of the French republic in Spain.—Citizen Didelot, prefect of the palace, minister plenipotentiary of the French republic at Stuttgard.—Citizen Cavaignac, resident and commissary of commercial relations for the French republic at Mascate.—Citizen Parandier, late agent for foreign affairs, first secretary for the French legation at Constantinople.—Citizen Lamarre, late secretary to the department of foreign affairs, second secretary of the same legation, and citizen Recordin third secretary.—Citizen Kieffer, interpreter of the French legation at Constantinople, secretary of the same legation, fulfilling the functions of secretary interpreter.—Citizen Lefebvre, first secretary of the French legation at Florence, secretary of the French legation at Naples.—Citizen Simeon, second secretary of the French legation at Florence, first secretary of the same.—The general of division of artillery, Marmont, inspector general of artillery.—Two vessels which set sail from St. Domingo towards the latter end of August, have arrived. The sickness in that island had greatly abated, and cultivation and commerce were fast reviving.—On the 26th ult. the squadron under the command of admiral Leissegues arrived at Toulon from Tunis. The admiral's dispatches state, that he was received by the Bey in a very distinguished manner, who granted the request made by the rear-admiral, to liberate twenty-two slaves, whose mothers were born in the island of Corsica, and also consented to renew the ancient commercial relations subsisting between France and Tunis. The Bey deputed an ambassador to treat with the First Consul, (and congratulates him on his being appointed consul for life,) who took his passage on board the admiral's ship.

DOMESTIC.

On Tuesday the 28th ult. Lord St. Helen's and suite arrived at Sheerness from Russia, in the Latona frigate. On landing his Lordship immediately proceeded to Chatham, on his way to town.

On Wednesday, the 6th inst. the King held a Levee, at which the presentations were: Lord St St. Helens, on his return from the Court of Pe tersburgh.—The Rev. G. H. Glasse, Chaplain t his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, o his arrival from Hanover.—General Doyle, o his arrival from the East-Indies.—Admiral Keith on his return from the Mediterranean.—Genera Sir Thomas Trigge, Commander of his Majesty' Forces in the West-Indies.—Colonel Hadden, h Earl Chatham, on his return from inspecting th coasts.—Capt. Fielding, Commander of the An dromeda frigate, on his return from the West-In dies.—Capt. Woodhouse, of the Navy, by hi father, Lord Woodhouse.—Mr. Allen, of Blooms bury-square, had the honour also to be introduce to the King, by General Arabin.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Whitehall, Oct. 2.—The King has been pleased to present the Rev. John Mackenzie, Clerk, to th Church and Parish of Edderachillis, in the Pres bytery of Tongue, and County of Sutherland, vac by the Death of Mr. Alexander Falconer, late Mi nister there.

Oct. 2.—The King has been pleased to appoint John Martin Leake and John Erskine, Esqrs. to be Comptrollers of Army Accounts.

Oct. 5.—The King has been pleased to presen the Rev. Wm. Haldane, Clerk, to the Church an Parish of Kingoldrum, in the Presbytery of Meigle and county of Forfar, void by the death of Mr James Badenoch, late Minister there.

The King has also been pleased to appoint Mr Wm. Ireland to be Clerk to the Commissariot o Kirkcudbright, void by the death of Mr. John Bushby.

Ordnance-Office, Sept. 29. *Corps of Royal Engineer* —Second Lieutenant Rob. Smith to be First Lieu vice Gordon, deceased. Dated Sept. 9, 1802.

House of Peers, Oct. 5.—His Majesty's Proclama tion was read, proroging the Parliament unt Tuesday, the 16th of Nov. next, then to meet an sit for the consideration of divers weighty and im portant affairs, &c. &c.

BANKRUPTS.

Lewis, Thomas, Bedford-street, Covent Garde druggist.—Solly, Richard Heaton, St. Margaret's Cliff, Dover, merchant and ship owner.—Adam Joseph, Brompton, Kent, butcher.—Peplow, Jo Shrewsbury, Salop, linen-draper.—DaCosta, Em nanel Mendez, the younger, Orange-street, Bloo bury, grocer and tea dealer.—Whateley, Jo Bankside, Surry, colour manufacturer.—Bre white, John, the younger, of Rochland, in county of Norfolk, shopkeeper.—Share, Thom Cleobury Mortimer, Salop, druggist.—Share, E zabeth, and Thomas Share, Cleobury Mortim Salop, druggists.—Fallon, Patrick, Edward-stre Portman-square, hatter.—Pilling, Oswald, Live Lancaster, miller.—Platt, George, Digle in S dleworth, Yorkshire, merchant.—Lambard, Jo Fenchurch-street, flour-merchant.—Easterby, G and William Macfarlane, Rotherithe, merchan —Dalton, John, Deptford, bricklayer.—Tuck, W liam, Islington, cow-keeper.

BIRTH, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—On Thursday, Sept. 9, the Lady of Ca Norcott, of his Majesty's rifle reg. of a son.—O the 10th inst. at Gosport, Mrs. Hutton, wife Lieut. Hutton, Queen's German reg. of a daugh —On the 19th inst. at her house, at Walton-upo

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Thames, the Lady of Lieut.-Gen. Souter Johnston, of a son.—On the 19th inst. at Dreghorn, near Edinburgh, the Lady of Alexander Trotter, Paymaster of the Navy, of a son.—On Monday last, the Lady of R. Scott, Esq. of the East-India Company's Civil Service, of a son.—On Thursday morning, at his house in Spring Garden, the Lady of Joseph Jekyll, Esq. M.P. of a son.—On Monday sep. 27th, in Cavendish-square, the Lady of William Hunter, Esq. M.P. of a daughter.—Tuesday morning, Sept. 28, the Lady of Capt. Samuel James Ballard, of the Royal Navy, of a daughter.—On Wednesday the 29th, the Hon. Mrs. Montgomerie Stewart, of a daughter, at the Earl of Galloway's Great-Ealing.

Marriages.—On the 6th of Sept. Capt. Henry Martin Farrington, of the Royal Reg. of Artillery, to Miss Clarissa Claringbould, of Canterbury, by the Rev. Mr. Horsley.—Robert Dallas, Esq. M.P. to Miss Justina Davidson, of Bedford-square, Sept. 10, at Putney.—Lately, at St. Leonard's Shoreditch, Capt. Hawes, of the Royal Navy, to Miss Debell, of Andover, Hants.—On the 10th Sept. at Chepstow, Capt. Wm. Brown of the Royal Navy, to Miss M. V. Fothergill.—On the 1st inst. at Tiverton, Devon, the Rev. David Brymer, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, to Miss Sarah Lund, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Henry Lund, Rector of Clare Portion, Tiverton.—On Tuesday, at Lymington church, the Hon. Charles Murray, brother to the Earl of Mansfield, to Miss Law.—A few days since, at Shoreham, in Sussex, Colonel Porter, M.P. for Stockbridge, to the Dowager Countess of Grosvenor.—On Wednesday, Sep. 23, at Windlesham, in Surry, Capt. Robert Mends, of his Majesty's Navy, to Miss Butler, of Bagshot Lodge, in the same county.—At Kindeace, Rossshire, on the 15th Sept. Colonel John Mackenzie, of the 78th reg. to Miss Lillias Chisholm.—At Cork, Colonel Garde, of the 45th reg. to Miss Coxon.—On Thursday, Sept. 23, Sir R. William Vaughan, Bart. M.P. to Miss Anna Maria Mostyn.—On Tuesday, Sept. 28, at Stepney, Capt. George Miller, to Miss Barnes, of Stepney-green.—On Thursday, Sept. 30. at Effingham, Surrey, by the Rev. J. Farley, Lieut.-Col. W. Johnston, of the 28th reg. to Miss Susan De Lancey, daughter of Stephen De Lancey, Esq. late Governor of the Island of Tobago.—Tuesday, Sept. 28, Lieut. Atkins, of his Majesty's ship, Concorde, to Miss Martha Edgecombe, of Portsea.—On Saturday, Oct. 2, at Greenwich, by Dr. Taylor, Capt. Croller, to Miss Hannall Pearson, second daughter of Sir Richard Pearson, Lieut.-Gov. of the Hospital.

Deaths.—On the 9th Sept. at Royden Hall, the seat of Sir Wm. Twysden, Bart. Mrs. Wynch, relict of Alexander Wynch, Esq. late Governor of Madras.—Sept. 5, at his seat at Ingleby, Sir Wm. Foulis, Bart.—On the 10th Sept. at his house in Grafton-street, Fitzroy-square, Peter Corbett, Esq. late of the East-India-House.—On Sunday, Sept. 12 at his house in Rathbone-place, John Maseres, Esq. aged 68, only brother of Francis Maseres, Esq. Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer.—On Sunday, at his house, on Streatham Common, Wm. Newman, Esq. aged 78, he was elected Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Within, in the year 1786, and had for several preceding years been a member of the Court of Common Council for the Ward of Farringdon Without.—Lately, Mrs. Lloyd, wife of the Rev. John Lloyd, of Sloane-square, Chelsea.—Lately, at Cuddalore, East-Indies, Capt. Andrew Kerr, aged 76, formerly of the country service, but better known by the name of the Old Commodore. He was born at Fort St. David's.—On the 14th inst. the Rev. John Hepworth, A.M. aged 69, Rector of Graffam, Huntingdonshire, and Rector of Little Gransden, in Cambridgeshire.—On the 21st Aug. the Rev. Cha. Smith, Rector of South Repps, Norfolk.—On the 17th July, at Aux Cayes, Bartholomew Dandridge, Esq. Consul of the United States for the Southern department of St. Domingo.—At Port Royal Jamaica, on board his Majesty's ship Santa Margaretta, Augustus Leveson Gower, Esq. late Commander of that vessel.—On the 17th ult. the Rev. Edward Estcourt, LL.D. Rector of Long Newton, Wilts, and of the consolidated parishes Didmarton and Oldbury, Gloucestershire.—On Friday, at his house, in Pulteney-street, Bath, Gill Slater, Esq. late of Liverpool.—At Dundoran Lodge, in the county of Donegal, Ireland, in consequence of the bursting of a blood vessel, the Right Hon. the Countess of Inniskillen.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
3 per C. Con.	69⅞	69⅞	69¾	69¼	69⅜	69⅜
5 pr Ct. Ann.	—	101½	101½	101¼	100⅞	101⅛
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	—	—	68¼	—	68½
D° Ann.....	—	—	12⅛	12⅛	12¼	12¼
Omnium ...	7¼ dis	7½ dis	7½ dis	8 dis	8¼ dis	7½ dis
India Stock..	—	—	208¼	207½	—	—

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 1½	2 us.	Leghorn 51¼
D°, at sight	10 10¼		Naples..... 43½
Rotterdam	11 2½	2 us.	Genoa 47½
Hamburgh	33 5	2½us.	Venice,59 livres piccole
Altona....	33 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.
Paris 1 day	23 11		Lisbon..... 67½
Paris.....	23 19	2us.	Oporto 67½
Bourdeaux,	24		Dublin..... 11¼
Cadiz	36¾	eff.	Bilboa..... 36¼ D°
Madrid ..	36½	effective	Agio, bank on Hol. p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	47s to 63s	Hops per cwt.	150s to 240s
Rye.....	33 .. 36	Hay per load....	90 .. 155
Barley.....	28 .. 33	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	46 .. 49	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s 8d.
Oats	15 .. 24	Veal	5s. 0d. to 6s. 4d.
Pease (white)....	44 .. 48	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	33 .. 36	Tallow	3s. 9d.
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 54	Av. of Sugar pr cw	85s.1¾d
Seconds.....	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	40 .. 44	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The political topics, with which the present time furnishes us, are so numerous and so important, that our whole sheet would scarcely afford room for a bare enumeration of them, much less for a developement of the origin, the nature and the consequences of the events and transactions to which they relate. The eyes of the politicans are still fixed, however, more directly, on Germany and Switzerland, where, indeed, events are passing, which would, at any time heretofore, have set all Europe in a blaze.

The public papers given in at Ratisbon (p. 417) together with our articles of intelligence from thence (p. 425) shew clearly

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enough the situation of affairs at the Diet; but, the question which remains to be determined, is, whether the Emperor will persist in his refusual, or whether he will, after some further altercation, yield to the mandates of France and Russia, backed as they are by Prussia, Bavaria, and the other envious upstarts of the Empire. The dangers of war, in his present circumstances, and against such a monstrous combination, are, indeed, fearfully great; but, it may well be doubted, whether they be greater than the dangers of peace, upon such terms as peace is now offered to him. A war, however unfortunate, could do no more than confine the House of Austria to its own territories, and place the imperial crown on another head; and these are the very objects contemplated by the arrangement imposed on the Empire, by the arrogant declaration of France and Russia. If that arrangement should be adopted, if it should go quietly into effect, it will be very difficult indeed to undo it, at any time hereafter. This his Imperial Majesty perceives, and, therefore, he may well hesitate before he finally rejects a war, by which he *may* lose the crown of Germany, for the sake of a peace, by which he *must* lose it.

Should he determine on war his prospect is, in our opinion, far from being so desperate as is generally imagined. He is, indeed, beset by a ministry not much unlike our own: Cobenzel advised and concluded a peace, which, if not quite so disgraceful as the peace of Amiens, is sufficiently so to characterize him as a minister totally unfit for the conducting of any important enterprize, particularly an enterprize of honourable motive and of arduous and dangerous execution; but, like our minister, he and his colleagues may be replaced by men of other minds: and, though the Archduke Charles has but too often lent his ear to the insidious partizans of France, the present daring assault upon the interests and honour of his House will, doubtless, have broken the charm by which he has so long been bound, and which has largely contributed to the overthrow of Europe. The people in the Emperor's dominions are loyal and brave, and it is yet in his power to bring *three hundred thousand* of them into the field.

That Austria could not maintain a long war against Russia, Prussia, France and her other satellites, is certain, if all these were heartily to co-operate; but, that they should do so, for any length of time, is not only improbable, but almost impossible. A bold movement of Austria would at once keep the Russians in check and completely overawe Prussia, while Buonaparté, placed at a great distance from the Austrian frontier, greatly embarrassed with Switzerland, fifty thousand of his best troops gone to the West-Indies, his Italian Republic held as yet by a feeble tie, and without a shilling in his treasury, would find it very difficult to enforce, by means of an army, the adoption of his plan of indemnities; and, he must perceive the danger to be apprehended with respect to the duration of his government (to say nothing of his life) from the plunging of France into a new war, in which he could promise to Frenchmen neither plunder nor glory, but merely the honour of shedding their blood for the sake of what the honest Talleyrand calls "sealing the *pacification* of "Europe and guaranteeing its stability."

From such a league against Austria, if it were actually formed, Russia would, we hope, be detached; but, this supposes the sincere, zealous, and efficient interference of *England*, and that interference can never be expected from those ministers, who have made a merit of having abandoned the Continent of Europe, and who, had they not disgusted the Emperor of Russia by their conduct (which deserves a much harsher epithet than we think proper to bestow on it), respecting our faithful ally, the King of Sardinia, might have prevented those negotiations between Russia and France, the first object of which is to nullify the military power of Austria, as a prelude to the destruction of the maritime power of Great-Britain. The Emperor of Russia was ready to co-operate with us for the settlement of Europe, and for the purpose of providing an efficient guarantee for Malta: his propositions were agreed to by our ministers, but Buonaparté threatened a continuation of the war, and the men with "*an hereditary disposition for office*," made no scruple of leaving Malta and Europe to their fate. The Emperor of Russia, finding himself thus treated, naturally sought to obtain influence in the affairs of Europe by some other means. Of the means he has had recourse to we now see the first part: the second part, which will, probably, not be fully made known to the world, 'till the affairs of Germany are finally settled, we shall *feel*, if its execution be not prevented by a timely interposition of other councils than those which at present prevail in this country.

Russia once detached from the combination against the Emperor, the latter would have nothing to fear, even though Russia should not become his ally. Prussia would continue to do as it has hitherto done: it

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would observe a neutrality, insincere without doubt, but sufficient to answer the purpose of the Emperor. On the side of Italy he would have nothing formidable; and, if the Swiss were to hold out but two months, Europe might yet be rescued from the fangs of the Corsican. Three months more of delay, and all is lost for ever: Germany partitioned, the House of Austria shut out from the system of Europe, the Italian Republic completely organized, Switzerland subdued, and Russia irretrieveably fixed in the politics of France. All this might be prevented, but to prevent it requires the interference of Great-Britain, which is not to be expected from the present ministry, nor, indeed, to be desired; for such is their want of talent and of public character, that there is neither confidence in their promises nor terror in their threats. In answer to this observation we shall, perhaps, be reminded of our remark in p. 411, that "the "present ministers are almost literally no "more than tools in the hands of Mr. Pitt," a remark which we by no means retract; for, though we are fully persuaded, that *all* the principal measures, which have been adopted, since the unexpected exaltation of Mr. Addington, have been adopted by the advice, or, at least, with the entire approbation, of Mr. Pitt; yet, it does not follow, that Mr. Pitt, had he been minister, would have pursued the same measures: weapons which he himself could have wielded with safety and even with facility, he may well have been afraid to trust in the hands of his impotent substitute. What were his motives for choosing a substitute at all, and such an one in particular, and how he will answer, to his king and country, for the consequences, we do not, at present, think it necessary to enquire.

The progress of events in Switzerland may be traced with tolerable accuracy through our various articles of intelligence from that country (p. 425), and the intentions of Buonaparté's relative threats, will be found clearly enough signified in his Proclamation of the 30th ultimo (p. 423). To attempt to characterize this proclamation would be vain, so far does it surpass, in the insolence and arrogance of its language as well as the duplicity of its object, whatever has hitherto been seen or heard of in the world. Our readers will remember, that, it is not long since Buonaparté declared Switzerland to be *perfectly independant*, and withdrew his troops from the Cantons, in order to give the colour of truth to that declaration; but the moment he finds that the people of that country have discarded the vile creatures of whom he had composed the new government, he recalls his declaration, and, in a moment takes upon him the absolute command of the country, issues orders for the disbanding of its armies, the cashiering of its magistracy, and commands the Swiss Nation (in the persons of certain base wretches of his own choosing) to appear before him at Paris; and, for this daring outrage on the rights of a country, which he himself has so lately declared to be perfectly independant, he has no other pretext than that of *acting under the direction of Providence*. "In the name of God," said he to the Egyptians, "there is no God but God: "he has no son or associate in his kingdom. "—Buonaparté is now arrived, and the "Almighty, the lord of both worlds, has "sealed the destruction of the Beys.—The "French are true Mussulmans. Not long "ago they marched to Rome, and overthrew the Pope, &c. &c."—The Morning Chronicle has well observed, that the famous Attila, the Goth, called himself the Sword of God; but that Buonaparté more humbly calls himself the instrument of Providence. A closer comparison might, however, have been found in the modest pretensions of our countryman, the usurper and tyrant CROMWELL, who, when he went to the Parliament House and drove out the members, very gravely told them, that he had besought the Lord to slay him rather than put him upon that work, but that all his supplications had been in vain. Whether Buonaparté did really pray to be excused from the execution of his present pious undertaking, and, if so, whether he gave the preference to the intercession of St. Peter, or to that of Mahomet, are matters, with which we cannot, of course, be acquainted; but it is absolutely impossible to read his proclamation without remarking the striking similarity between it and the summons of Cromwell.

To *complain*, however, is useless, and of full as little use is it to attempt an exposure of the conduct of Buonaparté: the interesting object of enquiry is, to what extent the Swiss will be able to resist his interference. But, before we offer the confined observations, which our room will allow us to make on this subject; we cannot refrain from adverting to certain passages in the London newspapers as to the *principle* of that interference.

The Morning Post (of the 7th instant), while it justly reprobates the proclamation of Buonaparté, seems aware, that this glaring instance of the restless and encroaching disposition of Republican France, affords a

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new and irresistible proof, of *the necessity of the late war to prevent the overthrow of the English Government*; and as is the custom with those who feel that they have a weak part, it endeavours to fortify itself by enlisting into its own service the argument which it perceives will otherwise be employed by its adversary. The passage we allude to is as follows:—"The charge he makes "against the Swiss, of having for three "years afforded an afflicting spectacle, is "*precisely of the nature of the charges the "Allies made against France some years ago. "They provoked crimes, and then accused the "French as the sole perpetrators.* Switzerland "was tranquil and happy, till France, in a "manner the most atrocious, revolutionized "the country, at the moment Buonaparté "was in his highest glory, just after the "peace of Leoben. Since that time, since "massacre and pillage were spread over the "inoffensive Cantons, by the Frenchmen "now in power at Paris; and since the "Swiss agents of France, the traitors to "their country, have been raised to power, "Switzerland has displayed an afflicting "spectacle, the spectacle of a noble minded "people, constantly struggling for their "freedom in defiance of every difficulty." —So hard is it for a jacobin to be thoroughly converted! This is, indeed, the hideous ghost of jacobinism, walking after the body is dead. It is false that the Allies "provoked the crimes" committed in France, or by the French elsewhere. Was it the allies who caused all the numerous treasonable, rebellious, and bloody deeds that were committed *previous* to the year 1792, *before* the allies were in arms? Mr. SHERIDAN once observed, in the House of Commons, that the massacres in France ought to be attributed to the allied powers: "You hunt "them," said he, "like wild beasts, then "you complain of them for being ferocious." This reasoning was particularly applied to the murders committed in the prisons of Paris, while the Austrians and Prussians were on their march into France. But, can we possibly conceive how the murder of eight thousand poor prisoners, locked up and bound, could be necessary to the defence of a capital containing half a million of inhabitants? Can we believe that the sabres of the assassins would not have been more effectually employed against the invaders, than against defenceless priests and women? The deluded populace were told not "to leave the wolves in the fold "while they went to attack those that were "without." But these wolves, if they were such, were in prison; were under a guard an hundred thousand times as strong as themselves, and could have been destroyed at a moment's warning. There is something so abominably cowardly in this justification, that it is even more base than the crime. Suppose that an hundred thousand men had marched from Paris, to make head against the Austrians and Prussians, there were yet another hundred thousand left to guard the unhappy wretches that were tied hand and foot. Where could be the necessity of massacreing them? Where could be the necessity of hacking them to pieces, tearing out their bowels, and biting their hearts?—Subsequent events have fully proved, that it was not *danger* that produced these bloody measures; for we have ever seen the revolutionists most cruel in times of their greatest security. Their butcheries at Lyons and in its neighbourhood, in *Italy*, in Egypt, in Syria, did not begin till they were completely *triumphant*. It was then, at the moment when they had no retaliation to fear, that they commenced their bloody work. Carrier, lolling at his ease, sent the victims to death by hundreds. The blood never flowed from the guillotine in such torrents, as at the very time when their armies were driving their enemies before them in every direction. How the *hunting* as Mr. Sheridan called it, could drive the French to butcher one another, we cannot see; but if it was a justifiable reason for them, it might certainly be applied with much more justice to their enemies; for these have been oftener obliged to fly than the French. The revolutionary armies have "*hunted*" the Flemmings, the Dutch, the Germans, the Italians, the Swiss, the Spaniards, and the Egyptians; but we have heard of no *massacres* amongst any of these people, except those in which the French Republicans were themselves personally concerned.—The French most unmercifully put to death eight thousand of their country people, who were in the prisons of Paris, and, as an excuse for this, they tell us that the Duke of Brunswick had invaded the province of Champagne; but they themselves have overrun one half of Europe, and have found but one place in all their career, where the people could be prevailed on to erect a guillotine, and that was at Geneva. Here their army was more numerous than the whole population of the state, and therefore their system was fully adopted; yet, even here, among this little debased and tyrannized people, there were to be found no villains infamous enough to imitate their masters in murdering women and children.

There is something so exceedingly cow-

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ardly and ridiculous in this justification, that even the French revolutionists are ashamed of it. They have recourse to another, still more dishonourable, it is true, but less cowardly: they alledge, and Buonaparté's Moniteur has lately repeated the allegation (see p. 179), that the crimes committed in France, during the whole course of the revolution, are to be ascribed to the late ministry of England, or, in their own favourite phrase, "the *gold of Pitt*." This is an acknowledgment of some importance! The cruelties that have been committed were not, then, necessary to the establishment of a free government; they were not "the "effect of irritation, of anarchical confusion, "of vindictive retaliation;" they were not the "natural consequence of a long-op-"pressed people's breaking their chains and "rising on their tyrants:" all these excuses (which we must allow were weak enough) are at once done away by this new justification: for we are here told, that the French people have shed rivers of each other's blood, *in every* part of their dominions, purely for the love—not of liberty, but of the gold of Pitt.—The reader will certainly feel, with us, inexpressible indignation at a people, who, *because an hostile army was on their frontiers*, could be prevailed on to butcher thousands upon thousands of their innocent countrymen; who could cut the throats of their fathers and mothers, rip up the bowels of women with child, and carry about the trophies of their base and savage triumph on the points of their pikes and bayonets; but what will be his feelings, when he is told, that all this was undertaken and perpetrated *for foreign gold?*—Between foreign armies and foreign gold, between fear and corruption, between the defence of Mr. Sheridan and the more modern one contained in Buonaparté's official paper, we now leave the French republicans and their advocates to choose.

Now, as to the "*charge*" brought against the Swiss by Buonaparté, let us see, whether it be "*precisely* of the nature of the charges, "which the allies made against France, "some years ago." The Consul's charge (if indeed, it can be so called) against the Swiss amounts to this: *that they have, in the affairs* OF THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, *acted unskilfully and weakly; that they have shed* EACH OTHER'S *blood, and will continue to do so, unless he immediately interferes.* Is this *precisely* similar to the charge of the allies against France? The allies charged France, and truly charged her, not with *unskilful management of her own government*, but with an intention and endeavour *to overthrow theirs*; not with shedding *the blood of her own people*, but with a design, openly avowed, of plunging *every other people*, not governed according to her will, into confusion, civil war, and bloodshed, a design which she unhappily effected in but too many countries, but not quite so soon as she would have done, had she met with no resistance from the allies.—With respect to the right, which one nation has, in certain cases, and under certain restrictions, to interfere in the domestic concerns of another, we hold it to be undoubted; and we scruple not to attribute the failure of the war entirely to Mr. Pitt's want of resolution and magnanimity to act, in this respect, upon the liberal and universally recognized maxims of public law: but, waiving this point, and allowing, for argument's sake, that the allies did, what they will long repent that they had not the honesty to do; that is, that they formed and acted upon a plan for the restoration of the family of the Bourbons, was the principle of their interference, in that case, "*precisely*," of the nature of that now set up by Buonaparté? The allies saw, in France, a people in open rebellion against their lawful sovereign, whom they first deprived of his authority, then imprisoned, and afterwards murdered; Buonaparté sees, in Switzerland, a people who have driven out a band of traitors, which band, by the aid of a foreign nation, had usurped the powers of the government. The allies might have interfered to re-establish the ancient and lawful government of France; Buonaparté interferes to *prevent* the re-establishment of the ancient government of Switzerland. "Switzer-"land," says the Morning Post, "was *tran-"quil and happy*, 'till France, in a manner "the most atrocious, revolutionized the "country;" but was France *tranquil and happy* when the allies were said first to interfere in her domestic concerns? How often have those, who wished to prosecute the war for the sake of the Bourbons, been accused of injustice, in wishing to "*impose* a government upon France?" How often have the Jacobin senators chuckled at the effect which this sophism produced on the selfish and factious herd? But, the friends of the Bourbons and of monarchy in general, wished to "*impose*" no government on France: they only wished to *restore* to that kingdom her lawful government. The object of Buonaparté, with respect to Switzerland, is not "precisely the "*same*," but precisely the *contrary*: and yet there are men so perverse as to affect to regard them as perfectly similar! Nor is it a little curious to observe, that the True Bri-

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ton (which, in some instances, seems lately to have deserted Mr. Pitt) should favour this opinion. Speaking of the proclamation respecting Switzerland, it says: "the mode, "in which this interference has been made, "is not the *most respectful* to the dignity of "a foreign state, nor, in a free country, can "the *principle*, on which it is done, be ap- "proved. It is *the* PRINCIPLE, *indeed*, THE "RESISTANCE TO WHICH *roused into such* "*stupendous action the natural energies of* "*France*." Five hundred paragraphs, at least, have been published in the True Briton, for the sole purpose of combating the notion, which it here inculcates! Who would not "rather be a dog and bay the "moon," than the conductor of such a publication!

Well may those, who opposed the war, as *unjust* and *unnecessary*, be alarmed at the force of the argument, with which the present conduct of Buonaparté, the present situation of Switzerland, and the fate which apparently awaits that country, will furnish their opponents. To justify the war, on the part of England, upon the ground of necessity, there wants nothing but a faithful relation of what has happened in Switzerland, *which could not be prevailed upon to join in that war*. "Switzerland," says the Morning Post, "was *tranquil* and happy, till "France, in a manner the most atrocious "revolutionized the country. Since that "time, since massacre and pillage were "spread over the inoffensive Cantons, by "the Frenchmen now in power at Paris; "and since the Swiss agents of France, the "traitors to their country, have been raised "to power, Switzerland has displayed the "spectacle of a noble-minded people, con- "stantly struggling for their freedom in "defiance of every difficulty."—Such has been the consequence of keeping peace with France; of observing that strict neutrality, which Mr. Fox recommended to England, and which would, very probably, have succeeded full as well here as in Switzerland. There is, to be sure, an arm of the sea between us and France; but, as the business, in the latter case, was effected, not so much by the French armies, as by "the Swiss "agents of France, the traitors to their "country, who," (as a reward for their treason) "*have been raised to power in Switzer-* "*land*," it is by no means certain, that the same sort of process would not have taken place in England. Nay, we should be very loth to promise, that it will not take place in England yet; but, whenever that unfortunate day arrives, we shall, with thanks to the late ministry, acknowledge, that the yoke of France has been put on our necks ten years later than it would, had it not been for the war; we shall acknowledge that the "atrocious interference of France," that "revolution, massacre, and pillage," have not reached us so soon by ten years, as they would have done, had the country yielded to the councils of Messrs. Fox and O'Connor.

The means of defence, which the Swiss may possess, cannot be very correctly estimated. We should suppose, that at most, their effective numbers will not amount to more than 40,000 men, even after some weeks of preparation; and, it is evident, that this army must be destitute of many things essentially necessary for a campaign. If, however, they can hold out to November, or if the French troops should be tardy, in coming up, and, if the Emperor is, as it is rumoured, marching a considerable body of men towards the Cantons, resistance may yet be opposed to the master of the world. But we must again and again observe, that, to render this resistance effectual, and to give Europe one more chance of deliverance, the concurrence of Great-Britain must be obtained; and, under the present ministry, that is impossible. This short message, "*leave Germany and Switzerland to themselves or you have war with us*," from an efficient English ministry to Buonaparté, would yet preserve the world; but the present ministry dare not utter a syllable in the tone of hostility: they vainly imagined that our enemy was *satiated*, and they consented to bind their country hand and foot. They can never, on any occasion, or on any account, do that which will expose us to even the hazard of war, without a manifest departure from both their theory and their practice. They have killed the spirit of the country: they have caused it to be held as a fundamental maxim in politics, that all war is evil, and that peace, on any terms, is good. One of the grounds of their hope, in peace, was "the *chapter* "*of accidents*," forgetting that, when once our arms were grounded, fortune would offer her favours in vain, a truth which is at this moment strikingly illustrated. "It "is curious," said Mr. Windham, in his speech on the preliminaries, "to hear these "chances gravely brought forward, as the "best foundation of our hopes, and by "those too, who a few weeks ago, while "the war continued, would never hear of "them, as entering, at all, into calculation. "It seems, that the chapter of accidents, "as it is called, which could do nothing "for us in war, may do every thing for us

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" in time of peace. Whereas I should have " thought just the contrary; that chances, " such as are here intended, were not only " more likely to happen in war, but, what " is a little material, might then be better " improved and turned to account. While " war subsists, while armies are ready to " act, while confederacies are in force, " while intelligences are going on, while " assistance may be lawfully and avowedly " given, every chance of this sort may, if " properly improved, lead to consequences " the most decisive. *In peace*, all that for- " tune can do for us, *falls dead and still-* " *born. Nobody is ready, nobody is authorized* " *to move a step, or stretch forth a hand, to* " *rear and foster those chances, however promis-* " *ing, which time and accident may bring* " *forth.*"

How soon have events verified these remarks! Had we been *now at war*, we should have profited from the provocations of the Emperor and the Swiss, or Germany and Switzerland would still have remained unpartitioned and unsubdued; but, being, as we are, fettered by a peace, made on the implied, if not the avowed, condition of never again having recourse to arms, we dare not move even our lips, scarcely can we venture to endeavour by our prayers, to prevent the states of Europe from falling, one by one, under the grasp of that power, whose evident, and, indeed, declared intention is to consummate its projects by effecting our complete and radical destruction. " The " consequence is, that France is our mis- " tress; that there is nothing she can ask, " which she must not have; (she has only " to threaten war, and her work is done;) " —that all the objects of interest and am- " bition which France can have in view, lie " open before her, to be taken possession of " whenever she pleases, and without a strug- " gle: her establishments will accumulate " round us, till we shall be lost and buried " in them; her power will grow over us, " till, like the figures in some of Ovid's " Metamorphoses, we shall find all our fa- " culties of life and motion gradually failing " and deserting us:

" ——— *Torpor gravis alligat artus;*
" *Mollia cinguntur tenui præcordia libro.*

" If, in this last extremity, we should make " any desperate efforts and plunges, that " might threaten to become troublesome, " and give us a chance of extricating our- " selves, she will call in the aid of her " arms, and with one blow put an end at " once to our sufferings, and our existence."

Was this (as it was represented by a vile pensioned caricaturist) " a *dream*" of Mr. Windham? or was it a description of real dangers? Is there a man in the kingdom, who does not now see these dangers? Not one, except, perhaps, Mr. Addington, who, while his country stands tottering on the brink of destruction, is amusing himself with assisting at provincial balls and suppers, given *in honour of that peace*, in the concluding of which (according to his own words, on the occasion) he was " the humble instrument *in the hands of Providence!*"

The length, into which we have been led on the preceding topics, compels us to draw to a conclusion.—Capt. D'Anvergne, prince of Bouillon, whom we mentioned (p. 380) as being confined in the Temple, at Paris, is, we are glad to find, safely arrived in His Majesty's dominions. He went to Paris with a view of recovering some part of the property he had in France, which he naturally enough concluded he might do, under the sanction of the treaty of Amiens. He had been in Paris about fifteen days, when he was seized by the runners of the police, taken out of his bed, and conveyed to the Temple as a state prisoner, where he was detained several days, without being able to learn the cause of his detention. When he was released, he was invited to quit the country, *where his presence gave uneasiness*. In two or three mock interrogatories, to which he was put, his service in Jersey was held out as the cause of his apprehension; and, we are informed, that, in these interrogatories, attempts were made to draw from him an acknowledgment, *that Messrs. Pitt and Windham had directed incendiaries and assassins to execute the most horrible crimes through his agency.*

In a former sheet (p. 376) we made some remarks on the statement, lately published in the ministerial papers, respecting the export trade of this country. According to that statement, the exports during the two first quarters of 1802 amounted to £17,174,230, whereas the two first quarters of 1801 amounted to no more than £11,012,250, from which comparison was drawn a strong and conclusive argument in favour of " *the blessings* of peace," which, it was asserted would continue to encrease the amount of the exports.—We observed on this statement generally, that it was very fallacious; we admitted (what every one who opposed the peace had done,) that the demand for manufactures might increase for two or three years, but we denied, and we think we proved our position to be true, that, admitting the correctness

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and fairness of the statement, it afforded any argument in favour of a *progressive increase* of trade, seeing that the last quarter fell *three millions short* of the first. In addition to this we have now to observe, that, from adverting more at leisure to the situation of our trade in 1801, we find that the two first quarters of that year were greatly injured by that temporary part of the war, *the rupture with the Northern Powers*, and that the two last quarters of the same year were, as we before observed, injured by the delay in shipping, occasioned by the daily expectation of peace. This is the reason why the two first quarters of 1801 were particularly chosen to form a contrast with those of 1802, and to exhibit a comparison between the effects of *war* and the effects of *peace!* But this suited the *candid* Mr. Addington better than to go back to 1800, or 1799; for, he would have found the first two quarters of either of those years of war to *surpass*, by almost a million, his first two quarters of peace. Such tricks might be expected from pettifoggers and quacks, but not, surely, from ministers of state!

The following extract is taken from a letter dated Nassau, New Providence, August 10, 1802.—"A petition has been handed "about by several respectable characters, "for the purpose of procuring signatures to "allow the importation of the usual Ame- "rican commodities, the governor's procla- "mation having expired on the 1st inst. "The chief motive was from *a well-founded* "*idea that the trade in English bottoms would* "*be monopolized by a few rich individuals* "*here, who would keep up a high price for* "*every article*. The governor, I under- "stand, had paid no attention to the peti- "tion when presented"—The pretext of this petition is truly childish: "a *well-* "*founded* idea, that a few rich individuals "(trading *in English bottoms*) would MONO- "POLIZE *the trade*, and *keep up a high price* "*for every article*" imported by them! We cannot read this without recollecting the clamour that was, some time ago, raised against monopolists in England. To annihilate the whole system of our navigation laws a better argument need not be found than the one here made use of. It is what the lawyers call a *sweeper*. How can the trade be monopolized, if the ports are open to any and every British ship, whose owner chooses to partake in the trade? If the trade yields an uncommon profit to the "rich in- "dividuals" now concerned in it, the people of Nassau may rest assured, that there are other "rich individuals," who will soon find it out, and participate in it, until the profit is no greater than that of other trade, that is to say, just as great as it should be; and, if the trade, at present, yields not uncommon profit, what ground is there for a charge of monopoly? This is a charge very convenient for all those, who, whether in the mother country or her colonies, whether they purchase by cargoes or by the quartern loaf, wish to make the interests of all others, and the laws of the land even, give way to their private interests. That provisions would arrive *cheaper* at Nassau, in *American bottoms*, is very true, and it is equally true, that sugar would come in the same sort of shipping, *cheaper* from Jamaica to England. India goods would, by the help of such a conveyance, come infinitely *cheaper* from Calcutta or Bengal; nor is it by any means certain, that the American and other foreign ships might not, if employed in the trade between Newcastle and London, greatly assist in defeating the "mono- "poly," by which "rich individuals" keep up the price of coals.—Absurd, however, as this argument is, it appears to us by no means improbable, that it will, if possible, be acted upon in the West India Islands. The colonists of New Providence have done no more than second the motion of the Jamaica assembly, who complained of "the difficul- "ties attending their commercial intercourse "with the United States, from whence "many most essential articles for carrying "on the cultivation of their properties, and "for the subsistence of the inhabitants of all "descriptions can *alone* be obtained."—The difficulties they allude to here, comprehend every restriction, that prevents a free trade between Jamaica and the United States, every regulation that gives British ships an advantage over American ships, and the *remedy* contemplated is neither more nor less than the annihilation of our navigation laws, as far as relates to the trade between the continent of North America and the West India colonies.—The governor of New Providence has done well not to pay any attention to this unreasonable request, but he would have done better if he had instantly signified his resolution not to yield to it, and had given his reasons for such refusal. We hope His Majesty's ministers will, neither actively nor passively, ever give the least encouragement to these dangerous encroachments.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Mr. Cobbett's Let. to Lord Hawkesbury*, 449. *Ext. from Demosthenes*, 458. *Note of Baron Hugel to Fr. Min.* 466. *Note of B. Hugel to Rus. Min.* 468. *Grand Mas. of Malta*, 468. *Switzerland*, 468. *Plot in Hol.* 471, 473. *Paris*, 472. *Unoffi. Manif. of Min. respect. Switz.* 476. *Last Advices from Switz.* 478.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,—I now, agreeably to my promise (p. 399), shall conclude my observations on the proposed new division of Germany, with an endeavour to shew, more fully than I hitherto have done, in what manner, and to what degree, England in particular is concerned in this important question.

I know, my lord, and I shall speak more fully respecting it hereafter, that the prejudice against continental connexions, which was once confined to the mere vulgar, has, of late years, been rising in the world. I know, that the base spirit of trade has grudged the expense of such connexions, and, as an apology for its niggardliness, has pretended that this island stands *in no need of foreign aid* to defend it against the assaults of its constant and powerful enemy. This opinion has, too, been fostered by vanity as well as by selfishness. It is the subject of songs, exhibitions, farces, and poems, without number; it is the great burden of all modern orations, from the stage in Goodman's Fields to the hustings of the county of York. It is little wonder, therefore, that the great mass of the nation does, as yet, remain unalarmed at the dangers, which we have to apprehend from the Emperor's power being annihilated in Germany, or, at least, so far removed from the dominions of France as to leave to the latter the choice of the *place* as well as the *time* when to attack this kingdom with the whole of her mighty force.

To combat this opinion, so dangerous to England, so certain, if it continue to prevail for a few months longer, to produce her ruin and her subjugation, I will, my lord, appeal to the political maxims of those, who, in former as well as latter times, have given their attention to this subject. In the reign of Elizabeth, when the nations of Europe had assumed pretty nearly the relative state in which they were at the commencement of the French Revolution, there were not wanting (as is observed by the author of the Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France) English politicians, who thought, that the queen did not interfere with sufficient energy in continental affairs. Lambarde (says the same author), a celebrated topographer in those days, asserts, that if Flanders falls into the hands of the queen's enemies, *the trade and manufacture of England will be lost*; and, the well known maxim of Elizabeth's reign was, "*do not suffer the French to extend their dominion to the North Seas.*"—The correspondent of the Earl of Strafford wrote to him thus: "this day we have letters come, that "Gravelines is given up to the French, "which will make open war (meaning between France and Spain), yet not cast "us. For we are not out of as near a danger, *that a growing state doth get* HARBOURS "RIGHT AGAINST US."—In the reign of Charles I. (1637) the Count D'Estrades was sent to England to prevail upon Charles to remain neutral, while France and the Prince of Orange attacked the towns on the coast of Flanders. King Charles, upon learning the object of this embassy, and upon hearing the great offers made by the King of France, answered, that he would do all in his power to shew his friendship, "provided it was not prejudicial to his *honour*, his *interest*, and the *interests of his kingdom*; and that, if the King of France, "or the States of Holland, *attacked the maritime towns of Flanders, he would keep his "fleet in the Downs to act in their defence, "and have fifteen thousand men in readiness to "pass over the seas.*"—Howell's Familiar Letters have the following passage: "I believe these distractions of ours (meaning the grand rebellion) have been one of "the greatest advantages that could befall "France, which, otherwise, never could "have attempted Dunkirk; for England, "*in true reason of state*, had reason to prevent nothing more, *because no one place "could have added more to the naval power "of France.*" What would this writer have said, my lord, had he lived to see an English ministry ordering, and setting the example of, a general illumination, to celebrate a peace, which leaves in the hands of France, not only Dunkirk, but Ostend and

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the Scheldt, nay, even Flushing itself, and puts her into uninterrupted possession of a chain of ports, whence, from the top-masts of her ships, she can count the number of vessels lying in our harbours!—Sir William Temple thought, that "any firm conjunction of France and Holland, either by confederacy *or the submission of Holland* (which has now taken place) "*would prove the nearest approach that ever was made to our ruin and servitude*," and he doubted, "*whether it were possible, on the conquest of Flanders by France, to defend ourselves in war, either by our own forces, or the alliances of our neighbours.*"—You, my lord, have called your peace "*an experiment*;" was the object of it to try, whether Sir William Temple was right or wrong? A few years, perhaps a few months, may decide the question.—The statesmen of the reigns of William and Anne have left us a memorable proof of their persuasion as to the importance of a barrier between France, Flanders, and Holland. The terms of the barrier treaty and of that of Utrecht, are the best possible commentary on those of the treaty of Amiens, with which they form a contrast that strikingly exhibits the degeneracy of English ministers, and but too plainly indicates the decline and the approaching fall of the country they govern. Bolingbroke, who hated the whigs, and who was far from being an enthusiast in enterprizes against the power of France, allows the war of the Spanish succession to have been unavoidable for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and especially *for preventing France and Flanders from being in the same hands.* He considered the want of *greater* security to Flanders and Germany as a solid objection to the peace of Utrecht, though Flanders itself was taken from the house of Bourbon and given to Austria as a safer neighbour to England, and though several of Lewis's conquered towns were given back to Flanders, while several others of them opened their gates for the reception of the garrisons of the Dutch.—From the time that the house of Austria became possessed of Flanders to the French revolution, this possession has ever been regarded as indispensably necessary to the security of England, and upon this maxim all our statesmen have invariably acted. Since the commencement of the French revolution, and even since the French have overrun Flanders, the same opinion has been repeatedly expressed, both in Parliament and out of it; nor has there, to this hour, that I know of, been one writer hardy enough explicitly to deny the danger to be apprehended from the conquest of Flanders, except the profound Sir Frederick Morton Eden, who, in his defence of the peace, observes, with an equal degree of sagacity and novelty, that, "notwithstanding all the various changes in the states on the Continent, Britain has long *flourished great and free, the dread and envy of them all*;" and who has further informed "an enlightened public," that "history shews the rise of one nation is not necessarily accompanied with the downfall of its neighbour; that *the French Republic may possess the Rhine, and yet not annihilate the commerce of the Thames*; and that *England may yet be free, though Holland is in chains.*"—Alas, my lord! it is not the repetition of the threadbare chorus of a vaunting hyperbolical song; it is not assertion upon assertion, conveyed in a strain of flippant antithesis, and totally unsupported by facts or by arguments; it is not a Treasury pamphlet, never read, though circulated gratis, and though so earnestly recommended by those sapient, independent, and impartial reviewers, the Editors of the British Critic; it is not any or all of these, my lord, that will overset the wisdom of a system of policy, invariably pursued by the statesmen of England from the reign of the Tudors to the present day, much less is it by means like these, that we shall be able to defeat the hostile regulations and armaments, which will be directed against us from the coasts of Flanders and of Holland, when Austria is completely removed, not only from the French frontiers, but from all the west of Europe; when other little republics, or states of some sort or other, are placed as a barricado between them; when, in short, the key of the whole German empire is finally and irretrievably lodged in the hands of France.

Being cut off from our natural ally, the house of Austria, it were to be wished that we could look to Prussia, as being the next power, which, from its magnitude and local situation, might afford us an efficacious alliance; but, the truth is, that we have for a long time, from one cause or another, been with Prussia, upon terms worse than indifferent; and France has availed herself of our errors and misunderstandings to make a system for Germany, which, in its very origin and essence, prevents cordiality between Hanover and Prussia as well as between England and Prussia. Hanover must be uneasy and sore at being stripped of her own territories by Prussia, and Prussia must

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be always fearful, that Hanover will watch for an opportunity to regain them. The feelings entertained by the sovereigns, seem to have been already pretty fully expressed by their respective subjects, on the entry of the Prussian troops into part of the Hanoverian territory allotted to that power.

Besides, Prussia, were she ever so well affected towards this country, will not, when the new plan of partition has been fully executed, have it in her power to render us any prompt or efficacious assistance. For, in addition to the double hold of hope and of fear, which France has in his Prussian Majesty, we must remember, that, by way of superabundant precaution, the honest Talleyrand has taken care to place him "*beyond* "*the reach of contact with France and Ba-*"*varia*;" that is, in plain English, to interpose between him and the possessions of France and Holland obstacles sufficient to defeat any enterprize, on his part, for preventing or clogging the operations of France against England, which is, indeed, the principal object that Buonaparté has in view in every measure that he adopts, whether foreign or domestic. In short, if the consular plan of partition be carried into effect; if his machiavelian system be once completely organized and consolidated, it will be next to an impossibility for England ever again to derive the least degree of support, either directly or indirectly, from Austria or Prussia.

From Russia we *had* much to expect.—Russia is in little danger from the military projects of France, gigantic as those projects may be, while, on the other hand, she might, possibly, though at so great a distance, by acting in conjunction with Austria, or Prussia, again carry her arms to the borders of France. Nor is it the interest of Russia to suffer France to destroy the trade of England, from which she derives so great a profit. It may be said, for the sake of argument, that it is indifferent to Russia, whether France or England purchase her commodities; but, as a writer who supposes this assertion to be made, very truly observes, that, for two reasons the assertion cannot be maintained: *first*, the merchants of Russia cannot trade with France upon the same degree of security as they do with those of Great-Britain: *secondly*, France having retained her conquests on the Rhine, she will not have occasion to purchase from Russia commodities to the extent even which she formerly purchased. The timber and masts, the pitch and the tar, of Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy; the hemp which is produced in great abundance in the conquered departments; the iron of Namur and Liege; this new source of commerce, opened to France by the free navigation of the rivers of which she has now obtained the command, not only lessens her demand for all the principal commodities of Russia, but renders her, in some measure, the rival of that power.

But, my lord, in spite of all these favourable circumstances, we see, that Russia is become the associate, or, more properly speaking, the instrument of France, for the purpose of humbling and crushing Great-Britain. France has been enabled, in consequence of the ignorance and pusillanimity of those, who have lately directed our foreign affairs, to inveigle Russia into measures directly contrary to her interest, but to which, when consolidated into a system, it will be her interest to adhere. In truth, this system will give her new interests, and will operate a total revolution in her politics. It will bind her fast to the French Republic, who will revive and foster her revenge against England by some malignant compact relative to neutral navigation, and who will find room for all her ambition on the side of Hindostan.

Such, my lord, with respect to England, will be the *new balance of power* on the Continent, which the wise-acres affected to discover in "the recent agrandizement of Aus-"tria, Prussia, and Russia." It may well be doubted, whether the former two have derived any real addition of strength from their allotments in Poland and Italy; but, it is certain, that, if Buonaparté be permitted to carry his present schemes into effect, all these powers, however aggrandized, will thereby become only more formidable to each other, France having conceived a plan for placing them all at a distance from herself, and for cutting them off from any alliance or communication with England.

Nor is the contemplated project of France and Russia indifferent to this country in a mere *mercantile* point of view. The *tolls* of the Rhine, exacted at the entrance of every new territory, were very unfavourable to the trade of France, while we enjoyed favours from some of the princes having dominions on the banks of that river. These tolls are twenty-eight in number, from the city of Mentz to Holland. The revenues arising from them were very considerable, and were much more oppressive to France than to Germany, and principally vexatious to her commerce between Alsace and the provinces

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of the Upper and Lower Rhine, the free navigation of which river will also greatly injure the trade of England on the Weser, the Elbe, &c. The anxiety of France to do away these tolls will be perceived from the stipulations in her treaties of peace with the princes on the Rhine (See Vol. I. p. 481, &c.); but, she has now precluded the necessity of again having recourse to specific stipulations, on this subject, by one general sweeping mandate, addressed to all whom it may concern, and abolishing, for ever and ever, these shackles on her commerce. "All "the tolls of the Rhine" [in whatever sovereigns' dominions they may be] "shall be "abolished,* without the power of re-esta-"blishment," (Signed) "CH. MAU. TAL-"LEYRAND," emphatically styled "the "honest," a man, my lord, who, in such cases, seldom flinches from his word.

What the result of this abolition of tolls may be is, however, of little importance, compared to the fact, that France, from the beginning of her revolution to this moment, has never, in any one instance, let slip an opportunity of manifesting, that one great use that she means to make of her political power, is, to retrench, if not destroy, the commerce of England. From the savage ravings of Marat and his goary crew down to the cool and malignant speeches of the Consular orators, this object has constantly been the favourite theme. The several sects as well as the several individual tyrants, whether levellers, democrats, or federalists; whether atheists, theophilanthrophists, mahometans, protestants, or catholics; however they may have differed as to any and to all other points, they have all been perfectly of one mind with respect to the necessity and the *justice* of annihilating the commerce of this country; and, if they could succeed in so doing, without endangering the existence of the monarchy, and without bringing poverty and shame on any part of his Majesty's subjects, except those who have clamoured against continental connexions, I, for one, should most sincerely rejoice at their success.

If, by way of reply to this long and gloomy enumeration of dangers, to be apprehended from the consummation of the projects of France in Germany, your lordship should ask me whether we can interpose, by arms, to prevent these dangers, I answer, [illegible] spirit of

the nation, petrified by the present soul-less ministry, can once more be re-animated. Can we hope, that, by waiting for a better opportunity, we ever can recover what we have lost and are about to lose? That will every day become more and more desperate. It will require ten times the force to break this settlement of the Empire, than it would to have resisted its introduction with efficacy. Could we have prevented it, then? We could. The Consul would never have ventured to propose this plan, which is intended to fetter our allies forever, if we had still had our arms in our hands. He followed the old maxim of dividing to govern. He made peace on the plan avowed by the convention, in 1795 and 1796, as the first principles of French diplomacy: he made it by separate negotiations and separate treaties. He extorted a peace from Austria (or rather he *obtained* it, some how or other, through the joint aid of Lerbach and Cobenzl), which was, however, not much more than an armed truce, because it left the great, and most essential point to Austria, the settlement of Germany, wholly in suspense; a point likely, above all others, to produce fresh dissensions and quarrels. The argument then was, amongst our jacobinical and ministerial defenders of the peace: "What can you do? Where are "your allies?"—"Mr. Burke himself," said the Master of the Rolls, "observes, "that we can never by our military force "make any considerable impression upon "France, without the co-operation of some "force or other on the Continent. Why, "then, in our present circumstances, should "we continue the contest?" Peace, therefore, was made, and at *such a time*, in *such a tone*, and on *such terms*, that spoke most emphatically to France, that she had nothing more to fear, and to the rest of Europe that it had nothing more to hope, from the exertions of this country, in favour of that established scheme of balanced power, which had so long been the principal guardian of our own independance, and the great source of tranquillity and happiness to the civilized world.

Up to that time, to the very moment of the signature of the fatal treaty of Amiens, Austria showed a readiness and desire to enter on the discussion of the German indemnities; but France procrastinated. Her ascendency was not yet securely fixed, till she had obtained from England, in the conditions of peace and in her conduct throughout the negotiations, a confession of infirmity more convincing to all mankind but

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ourselves, than the most direct and abject terms of submission could have been. Up to this disgraceful period, too, Russia, in spite of the *wet blanket* which your lordship threw over the youthful and generous warmth of the new Emperor, manifested a disposition to interfere in favour of the old system against the encroaching ambition of France. This was clearly enough declared to the world in the notes of M. Kalitscheff (see Register, Vol. I. p. 74); and, my lord, it is well known, that, if they had not been discouraged by this country, both Austria and Russia showed dispositions to attempt once more the deliverance of Europe. But no: the statesmen with "*an hereditary disposition to office*," were resolved on peace, popularity, and place, totally disregarding "the time, the tone, and "terms," in which and by which they were obtained. They taught Austria, that she had nothing left but patience under new injuries: they taught Russia, that her ambition to interfere in the affairs of Germany and the south must not look for gratification but through France, and, of course, in necessary subordination to her. For good, this powerful and ardent prince was not allowed to interpose; for evil, he might. It was not till after the 1st of Oct. it was not 'till after the preliminaries of Downing street, it was not 'till after the triumphal entry of Lauriston, the rejoicing of Mr. Fox, and the Treasury illuminations, that Russia was prevailed on to take part in those disgraceful and fatal negotiations, carried on, under hand, by France, and, at length, when France had got possession of most of our restitutions, promulgated to the world, in open violation of her assurances to Austria, and with every circumstance of affront and indignity towards her and Great-Britain. Whatever, therefore, our ancient ally, Austria, suffers from the unjust and insolent interference, which has been the subject of the letters, with which I have troubled your lordship, whatever Hanover suffers, in whatever degree our own interest, safety and honour, and the happiness and glory of our gracious and beloved Sovereign may suffer from the same cause, is all to be directly ascribed to to the preliminaries of Downing-street, and the subsequent definitive treaty; that treaty, my lord, which has laid the axe to the root of the British monarchy, and of which your lordship, like another EROSTRATUS, wished "to be known to posterity as the author."

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

London, Oct. 10, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

EXTRACTS FROM DEMOSTHENES.

The following Extracts from the Orations delivered by Demosthenes, at the time when the war was breaking out between the Olynthians and Philip, are so applicable to the present juncture, and so descriptive of the character and conduct of our enemy as well as of our own character and conduct, that we cannot refrain from submitting them to the perusal of our readers, who will, doubtless, remember the fate of the Athenians.

In many instances (Athenians!) have the gods, in my opinion, manifestly declared their favour to this state: nor is it least observable in this present juncture. For that an enemy should arise against Philip, on the very confines of his kingdom, of no inconsiderable power, and, what is of most importance, so determined upon the war, that they consider any accommodation with him, first, as insidious, next, as the downfal of their country: this seems no less than the gracious interposition of Heaven itself. It must, therefore, be our care (Athenians!) that we ourselves may not frustrate this goodness. For it must reflect disgrace, nay, the foulest infamy upon us, if we appear to have thrown away not those states and territories only which we once commanded, but those alliances and favourable incidents, which fortune hath provided for us.

To begin on this occasion with a display of Philip's power, or to press you to exert your vigour, by motives drawn from hence, is, in my opinion, quite improper. And why? Because whatever may be offered upon such a subject, sets him in an honourable view, but seems to me, as a reproach to our conduct. For the higher his exploits have arisen above his former estimation, the more must the world admire him: while your disgrace hath been the greater, the more your conduct hath proved unworthy of your state. These things therefore I shall pass over. He indeed, who examines justly, must find the source of all his greatness here, not in himself. But the services he hath here received, from those whose public administration hath been devoted to his interest; those services which you must punish, I do not think it seasonable to display. There are other points of more moment for you all to hear; and which must excite the greatest abhorrence of him, in every reasonable mind. * * *

There are no people who ever made the least use of him, but have suffered by his subtlety: his present greatness being wholly owing to his deceiving those who were unacquainted with him, and making them the

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instruments of his success. As these states therefore raised him, while each imagined he was promoting some interest of theirs; these states must also reduce him to his former meanness, as it now appears that his own private interest was the end of all his actions.

Thus then, Athenians! is Philip circumstanced. If not, let the man stand forth, who can prove to me, I should have said to this assembly, that I have asserted these things falsely; or that they whom he hath deceived in former instances, will confide in him for the future; or that the Thessalians, who have been so basely, so undeservedly enslaved, would not gladly embrace their freedom When forces join in harmony and affection, and one common interest unites the confederating powers, then they share the toils with alacrity, they endure the distresses, they persevere. But when extravagant ambition, and lawless power (as in his case) have aggrandized a single person; the first pretence, the slightest accident, overthrows him, and all his greatness is dashed at once to the ground. For it is not, no, Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once; and borrow for a while, from hope, a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness; and they fall into ruin of themselves. For, as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true. But these advantages are not found in the actions of Philip.

I say then, that you should dispatch succours to the Olynthians: (and the more honourably and expeditiously this is proposed to be done, the more agreeably to my sentiments) and send an embassy to the Thessalians, to inform some, and to enliven that spirit already raised in others. And let it be your care, Athenians, that our ambassadors may not depend only upon words, but give them some action to display, by taking the field in a manner worthy of the state, and engaging in the war with vigour. For words, if not accompanied by actions, must ever appear vain and contemptible.

Would you indeed regain attention and confidence, your measures must be greatly changed, your conduct totally reformed; your fortunes, your persons, must appear devoted to the common cause; your utmost efforts must be exerted. If you will act thus, as your honour and your interest require; then, Athenians! you will not only discover the weakness and insincerity of Phillip, but the ruinous condition of his own kingdom will also be laid open. The power and sovereignty of Macedon may have some weight indeed, when joined with others. But of itself, unsupported, it is infirm, it is totally distempered: for by all those glaring exploits, which have given him this apparent greatness, his wars, his expeditions, he hath rendered it yet weaker than it was naturally. For you are not to imagine that the inclinations of his subjects are the same with those of Philip. He thirsts for glory: this is his object, this he eagerly pursues, through toils and dangers of every kind; despising safety and life, when compared with the honour of atchieving such actions as no other prince of Macedon could ever boast of. But his subjects have no part in this ambition. Harrassed by those various excursions he is ever making, they groan under perpetual calamity; torn from their business, and their families, and without opportunity to dispose of that pittance which their toils have earned; as all commerce is shut out from the coast of Macedon by the war.

Hence one may perceive how his subjects in general are affected to Philip. But then his auxiliaries, and the soldiers of his phalanx, have the character of wonderful forces, trained compleatly to war. And yet I can affirm, upon the credit of a person from that country, incapable of falsehood, that they have no such superiority. For, as he assures me, if any man of experience in military affairs should be found among them, he dismisses all such, from an ambition of having every great action ascribed wholly to himself: (for, besides his other passions, the man hath this ambition in the highest degree.) And if any person, from a sense of decency, or other virtuous principle, betrays a dislike of him, he loses all favour and regard; so that none are left about him, but wretches who subsist on rapine and flattery. And these things, Athenians, trifling as they appear to some, are to men of just discernment great indications of the weakness both of his mind and fortune. At present, his successes cast a shade over them; for prosperity hath great power to veil such baseness from observation. But let his arms meet with the least disgrace, and all his actions will be exposed. This is a truth, of which he himself, Athenians! will, in my opinion, soon convince you, if the gods favour us, and you exert your vigour. For as in our bodies, while a man is in health, he feels no effect of any inward weakness; but, when disease attacks him, every thing becomes sensible, in the vessels,

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in the joints, or in whatever other part his frame may be disordered; so in states and monarchies, while they carry on a war abroad, their defects escape the general eye: but when once it approaches their own territory, then they are all detected.

If there be any one among you who, from Philip's good fortune, concludes that he must prove a formidable enemy; such reasoning is not unworthy a man of prudence. Fortune hath great influence, nay, the whole influence, in all human affairs: but then, were I to chuse, I should prefer the fortune of Athens (if you yourselves will assert your own cause, with the least degree of vigour) to this man's fortune. For we have many better reasons to depend upon the favour of Heaven, than this man. But our present state is, in my opinion, a state of total inactivity; and he who will not exert his own strength, cannot apply for aid, either to his friends or to the gods. It is not then surprising, that he who is himself ever amidst the dangers and labours of the field; who is everywhere; whom no opportunity escapes; to whom no season is unfavourable; should be superior to you, who are wholly engaged in contriving delays, and framing decrees, and enquiring after news. I am not surprised at this, for the contrary must have been surprising: if we, who never act in any single instance, as becomes a state engaged in war, should conquer him, who, in every instance, acts with an indefatigable vigilance. * * * * * * * * * *

I am not so unhappily perverse, as to study to be hated, when no good purpose can be answered by it: but it is my opinion, that every honest speaker should prefer the interest of the state to the favour of his hearers. This (I am assured, and perhaps you need not be informed) was the principle which actuated the public conduct of those of our ancestors who spoke in this assembly (men, whom the present set of orators are ever ready to applaud, but whose example they by no means imitate): such were Aristides, Nicias, the former Demosthenes, and Pericles. But since we have had speakers, who, before their public appearance, ask you, "What do you desire? What shall I propose? How can I oblige you?" The interest of our country hath been sacrificed to momentary pleasure, and popular favour. Thus have we been distressed; thus have these men risen to greatness, and you sunk into disgrace, * * * * * * * * *

Such was the state of Athens at that time, when the men I have mentioned were in power. But what is your condition under these indulgent ministers who now direct us? Is it the same, or nearly the same? Other things I shall pass over, though I might expatiate on them. Let it only be observed, that we are now, as you all see, left without competitors; the Lacedemonians lost: the Thebans engaged at home; and not one of all the other states of consequence sufficient to dispute the sovereignty with us. Yet, at a time when we might have enjoyed our own dominions in security, and been the umpires in all disputes abroad; we have expended above one thousand five hundred talents to no purpose; the allies which we gained in war have been lost in time of peace; and to this degree of power have we raised an enemy against ourselves. (For let the man stand forth who can shew, whence Philip hath derived his greatness, if not from us.)

"Well! if these affairs have but an unfavourable aspect, yet those within the city are much more flourishing than ever." Where are the proofs of this? The walls which have been whitened? the ways we have repaired? the supplies of water, and such trifles? Turn your eyes to the men, of whose administrations these are the fruits. Some of whom, from the lowest state of poverty, have arisen suddenly to affluence; some from meanness to renown: others have made their own private houses much more magnificent than the public edifices. Just as the state hath fallen, their private fortunes have been raised.

Favours are all dispensed, affairs all transacted by the ministers; while you, quite enervated, robbed of your riches, your allies, stand in the mean rank of servants and assistants: happy if these men grant you the theatrical appointments, and send you scraps of the public meal. And, what is of all most sordid, you hold yourselves obliged to them for that which is your own, while they confine you within these walls, lead you on gently to their purposes, and soothe and tame you to obedience. Nor is it possible, that they who are engaged in low and grovelling pursuits, can entertain great and generous sentiments. No! such as their employments are, so must their dispositions prove.—And now I call Heaven to witness, that it will not surprise me, if I suffer more by mentioning this your condition, than they who have involved you in it! Freedom of speech you do not allow on all occasions; and that you have now admitted it, excites my wonder. * * * * * * * * *

Phillip, as he is a man of consummate policy, complete in the art of turning every incident

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to his own advantage; there is the utmost reason to fear, that partly by concessions, where they may be seasonable; partly by menaces, (and his menaces may be believed) and partly by rendering us and our absence suspected; he may tear from us something of the last importance, and force it into his own service.

Those very circumstances, however, which contribute to the power of Philip, are happily the most favourable to us. For that uncontrolled command, with which he governs all transactions, public and secret; his entire direction of his army, as their leader, their sovereign, and their treasurer; and his diligence, in giving life to every part of it, by his presence; these things greatly contribute to carrying on a war with expedition and success, but are powerful obstacles to that accommodation, which he would gladly make with the Olynthians. For the Olynthians see plainly, that they do not now fight for glory, or for part of their territory, but to defend their state from dissolution and slavery. They know how he rewarded those traitors of Amphipolis, who made him master of that city; and those of Pydna, who opened their gates to him.

Convinced of what hath now been offered, and possessed with every other just and worthy sentiment; you must be resolved, Athenians! you must exert your spirit; you must apply to the war, now, if ever; your fortunes, your persons, your whole powers, are now demanded. There is no excuse, no pretence left, for declining the performance of your duty. For that which you were all ever urging loudly, that the Olynthians should be engaged in a war with Philip, hath now happened of itself; and that in a manner most agreeable to our interest. For, if they had entered into this war at our persuasion, they must have been precarious allies, without steadiness or resolution: but, as their private injuries have made them enemies to Philip, it is probable that enmity will be lasting, both on account of what they fear, and what they have already suffered. My countrymen! let not so favourable an opportunity escape you: do not repeat that error which hath been so often fatal to you. * * * * * * * * *

And in my opinion, Athenians! if a man were to bring the dealings of the gods towards us to a fair account, though many things might appear not quite agreeable to our wishes, yet he would acknowledge that we had been highly favoured by them; and with great reason: for that many places have been lost in the course of war, is truly to be charged to our own weak conduct. But that the difficulties, arisen from hence, have not long affected us; and that an alliance now presents itself to remove them, if we are disposed to make the just use of it; this I cannot but ascribe to the divine goodness. But the same thing happens in this case as in the use of riches. If a man be careful to save those he hath acquired, he readily acknowledges the kindness of fortune: but if by his imprudence they be once lost; with them he also loses the sense of gratitude. So in political affairs; they who neglect to improve their opportunities, forget the favours which the gods have bestowed; for it is the ultimate event which generally determines men's judgment of every thing precedent. And, therefore, all affairs hereafter should engage your strictest care; that by correcting our errors, we may wipe off the inglorious stain of past actions. But should we be deaf to these men too, and should he be suffered to subvert Olynthus; say, what can prevent him from marching his forces into whatever territory he pleases.

Is there not a man among you, Athenians! who reflects by what steps, Philip, from a beginning so inconsiderable, hath mounted to this height of power? First, he took Amphipolis: then he became master of Pidna; then Potidæa fell; then Methone: then came is inroad into Thessaly: after this, having disposed affairs at Pheræ, at Pegasæ, at Magnesia, entirely as he pleased, he marched into Thrace. Here, while engaged in expelling some, and establishing other princes, he fell sick. Again, recovering, he never turned a moment from his course to ease or indulgence, but instantly attacked the Olynthians. His expeditions against the Illyrians, the Paeonians, against Arymbas, I pass all over.—But I may be asked, why this recital, now? That you may know and see your own error, in ever neglecting some part of your affairs, as if beneath your regard: and that active spirit with which Philip pursueth his designs: which ever fires him; and which never can permit him to rest satisfied with those things he hath already accomplished. If then he determines firmly and invariably to pursue his conquests: and if we are obstinately resolved against every vigorous and effectual measure: think, what consequences may we expect! In the name of Heaven, can any man be so weak, as not to know, that by neglecting this war, we are transferring it from that country to our own! And should this happen, I fear, Athenians, that as they who inconsiderably borrow money upon high interest, after a short-lived

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affluence are deprived of their own fortunes; so we, by this continued indolence, by consulting only our ease and pleasure, may be reduced to the grievous necessity of engaging in affairs the most shocking and disagreeable, and of exposing ourselves in the defence of this our native territory. * * *

It is worthy your attention to consider, how the affairs of Philip are at this time circumstanced. For they are by no means so well disposed, so very flourishing, as an inattentive observer would pronounce. We must suppose that the Pæonian and the Illyrian, and all the others would prefer freedom and independence to a state of slavery. They are not accustomed to subjection, and the insolence of this man, it is said, knows no bounds; nor is this improbable: for great and unexpected success is apt to hurry weak minds into extravagancies. Hence it often proves much more difficult to maintain acquisitions, than to acquire. It is your part, therefore, to regard the time of his distress as your most favourable opportunity: improve it to the utmost; send out your embassies; take the field yourselves, and excite a general ardor abroad; ever considering how readily Philip would attack us, if he were favoured by any incident like this, if a war had broken out on our borders. And would it not be shameful to want the resolution to bring that distress on him, which, had it been equally in his power, he certainly would have made you feel?

This too demands your attention, Athenians! that you are now to determine whether it be most expedient to carry the war into his country, or to fight him here. If Olynthus be defended, Macedon will be the seat of war: you may harass his kingdom, and enjoy your own territories free from apprehensions. But, should that nation be subdued by Philip, who will oppose his marching hither? will the Thebans? let it not be thought severe when I affirm, that they will join readily in the invasion. Will the Phocians? a people scarcely able to defend their own country, without your assistance. Will any others?—"But, Sir," cries some one, "he would make no such "attempt."—This would be the greatest of absurdities; not to execute those threats, when he hath full power, which, now when they appear so idle and extravagant, he yet dares to utter. And I think you are not yet to learn how great would be the difference between our engaging him here, and there. Were we to be only thirty days abroad, and to draw all the necessaries of the camp from our own lands, even were there no enemy to ravage them, the damage would, in my opinion, amount to more than the whole expense of the late war. Add then the presense of an enemy, and how greatly must the calamity be increased: but, further, add the infamy; and to those who judge rightly, no distress can be more grievous than the scandal of misconduct.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note of Baron de Hugel, Plenipotentiary of His Imperial Majesty, addressed the 26th Sept. 1802, to C. Laforêt, Minister extraordinary of the French Republic.

The declaration delivered at Ratisbon in the name of the intervening Powers contained an heavy and unmerited imputation upon the delays which attended the meeting of the Deputation of the Empire. His Majesty owed it to himself as well as to the Germanic Empire, to prove by facts that nothing had been neglected on his part to abridge these details. Far from wishing to inculpate any body, the faithful exposition of what is passing had only for its object to evince the purity of the conduct of the Emperor.—Such is also the motive which obliges His Majesty to call to mind here other facts relative to anterior conferences which had taken place upon the Indemnity of Tuscany, for the purpose of opposing them to assertions contained in the Note transmitted the 13th of this month to the Undersigned, by C. Laforêt, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic. His Majesty willingly submits it to the judgment of all Europe, whether he can be charged with injustice or ambition, for having insisted upon the full and entire Indemnity which the Treaty of Luneville assures to his august Brother. As to the means which he has employed to obtain the execution of so formal a stipulation, far from entertaining a fear of exposing them in full day, he can only feel a desire for their publicity, inasmuch as all his efforts have had exclusively for their object to combine the strict execution of the Peace of Luneville with the maintenance of the Germanic Constitution. Some indirect insinuations made at Vienna, by a distinguished person in the service of the Court of Munich, have given reason to think that the Elector Palatine himself wished to settle with the Grand Duke of Tuscany upon the exchanges for their mutual convenience; nobody then doubting but that the Indemnity of His Royal Highness would be such as the Treaty imported. In the supposition that the complement of the Indemnity of Tuscany could not be found, except in the ecclesiastical properties of Suabia, it was in question to concentrate the respective possessions by an exchange of the part of Bavaria, in the neighbourhood of the Bishop of Salzburg.—His Majesty, having no motive to object to such an arrangement, did not shew himself disinclined to give effect to these overtures. Insinuations of the same kind took place at Paris at the time of the ratification of the Treaty of Luneville, and they went even so far as to put in doubt what had been said to the Austrian Plenipotentiary, whether the Elector would be able to preserve the City of Munich; but it never had been, nor could be, a question, in these different conferences to carry so far as the Lech the Indemnity of the Grand Duke

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of Tuscany.—Upon what title could the Elector be deprived of the whole of Bavaria? Where could the means be found to indemnify him? and though His Majesty should have had views so foreign from his sentiments, how could he conceive the idea solely to engage the French Government to adopt them? He appeals, in this, to the testimony which he has himself furnished, to that of the Court of Munich, and to that of the Imperial Court of Russia, to which every thing was communicated upon this subject. All those who had a knowledge of the subject which was then in treaty, know that the only question was, that of the 1ser, with the addition of the proposition made by Austria to leave to the Elector a suitable extent of County, for the purpose of removing the City of Munich from the frontier; and that this projet, which surely was not exaggerated in the supposition of a full and entire indemnity for Tuscany, at the same time that His Palatine Highness should have obtained in Suabia a complete equivalent of cessions, to which it would be willingly carried, was entirely abandoned by the Emperor, the moment it was perceived that the Elector was not inclined to put his hand to it. Since that time the views of His Majesty for a supplementary portion to be given to his august Brother have been solely fixed upon Ecclesiastical Properties and Free Cities, situate in the circle of Suabia. The plan of it has been drawn up in Paris, and afterwards proposed by His Imperial Majesty of Russia, who in his wisdom adopted it in full. In confining himself to this faithful statement of every thing that passed upon the subject, he may dispense with noticing the inductions contained in the Note of Citizen Laforêt. Never could the Emperor have entertained a thought of procuring for his august Brother any part whatsoever of Bavaria in any other manner than by an arrangement of mutual consent, to the perfect convenience of the Elector Palatine. His Majesty has already given, relative to the City of Passau, every assurance that could be expected from his justice and moderation. He is ready to surrender that City to the person, who by the legal and definitive arrangement of the Indemnities shall be acknowledged its lawful owner. It is not until then, that the present possessor shall cease to be so, and that His Majesty will be disengaged from the obligation which he has contracted, at the request of the Prince Bishop, to provide for his safety until the decision of his fate. The Emperor would not willingly renounce the hope, that the moderate and equitable propositions with which he has recently charged his Ambassador to the French Republic, shall put an end to all differences of opinion between him and the First Consul, but should it be otherwise, his august Brother, without having any pretensions to make to any part of Bavaria, which he never entertained an idea of acquiring, except by the way of exchange with mutual consent, will not the less retain the incontestible right secured to him by the Treaty of Luneville, to a full and entire indemnity in Tuscany; a right, of which the Empire and France have solemnly bound themselves to put him in possession.

The Undersigned eagerly embraces this opportunity to repeat to C. Laforêt, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic, the assurance of his high consideration.

Note addressed the same day to the Minister of Russia by the Imperial Plenipotentiary.

The Undersigned has not failed to make his august Master acquainted with the Note which Baron de Buhler transmitted to him the 13th of September. He is charged to inform him, in answer, that the welfare of the Germanic Empire, and the most prompt arrangement of what still remains to be regulated in consequence of the Treaty of Luneville, form equally the object of the most ardent wishes of His Imperial and Apostolic Majesty and King.—In claiming the accomplishment of what the Treaty of Luneville secures to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as His Majesty cannot dispense with it, the means of conciliation which he has himself proposed, in that respect, the moderation of his demands, notwithstanding the incontestible rights of His Royal Highness to a full and entire indemnity; every thing unites to prove that it is not His Majesty's fault that the issue of important affairs, which are at this moment treating of, should not be as prompt as all those interested in them might desire. The Emperor is convinced of the sentiments of equity entertained by His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; he relies with confidence upon his friendship; he cannot doubt but that august Sovereign appreciates, at once, both the justice of his demands, and the spirit of conciliation that directs his whole conduct.—His Imperial Majesty shall be, no doubt, immediately informed of all the circumstances which have rendered necessary the occupation of the City of Passau by the Imperial troops. He will acknowledge in his wisdom that this occupation having taken place at the instance of him, who is still its lawful possessor. His Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, has satisfied every thing that could be required of him, in declaring, that this City should be delivered up, without any obstacle on his part, to the person to whom it should be legally adjudged by the definitive arrangement.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Rome, Sept. 18.—A meeting was held on the 12th instant, of the Order of St. John of St. Jerusalem, in the Palace of Cardinal Braschi, the Grand Prior, to elect Candidates for the Office of Grand Master. The result of their proceedings was then submitted to the Pope, to whom the final decision of this affair has been referred by the powers interested.—His Holiness' choice has fallen on the Roman Prince Ruspole, and a courier has been sent off to carry his appointment to him, to Paris or London, in one of which cities he will be found.

Berne, Sept. 26.—The Council of Two Hundred issued a Proclamation on the 21st, from which the following is an extract:—"We, the Great and "Lesser Councils of the City and Republic of "Berne, do by these presents assure all our faith- "ful adherents of our good and patriotic inten- "tions towards the same, &c. At length, after "repeated sufferings, and four years of disaster "and misfortune, we are all arrived at the object "of our wishes, to which our good fortune, as "well as our duty, invited us some time since. "We return to the bosom of our Common Mother, "the capital City of Berne, which your courage "and fidelity have assisted us to regain.—We are

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" filled with gratitude and admiration, in contem-
" plating that sublime and generous devotion with
" which you have braved such multiplied dangers,
" in order to re-establish your Laws and your
" Government.—The Sovereign Power has re-
" solved to be on terms of amity with those who,
" during unsettled and turbulent periods, have
" deviated from the line of their duty;—to those
" it opens the doors of reconciliation. Of you it
" expects an oblivion for all the injuries you
" have sustained, and that you will not sully the
" glorious triumph of your Country by acts of in-
" dividual vengeance. It is incumbent on us to
" hold with a steady hand the reins of Govern-
" ment, and to punish with severity all those who
" in any manner impair public confidence, or who
" attack the persons of their neighbours, or injure
" their characters or properties."—Our Canton is now under a Provisionary Government. The majority of votes was in the first instance for the complete re-establishment of the ancient regime; but they were soon convinced of the necessity of yielding to the spirit of the times. The Provisional Government of Zurich have solemnly engaged that that City and District shall be put into the enjoyment of equal rights and liberties. Those Cities which formerly enjoyed exclusive rights of Sovereignty, are endeavouring to obtain declarations in their favour.—General Aufdermaur returned to this quarter the day before yesterday from Berthoud, whence he brought 500 prisoners, part of the garrison of Lucerne. Yesterday the Deputies from the Lesser Cantons arrived; they have since ratified the scheme for levying 20,000 men, as proposed by the Central Committee at Schwitz. These troops are to be commanded by General Bachman. They have also agreed to make a common cause against the Helvetic Government. The Provisional Diet established at Schwitz is engaged in forming necessary and immediate regulations. Berne and the other Cities, formerly aristocratical, have engaged not to lend their aid to form a Constitution which shall be disagreeable to the inhabitants; they have also engaged to several Cantons not to intermeddle in their internal government. M. de Mulinen has been dispatched to Paris; we are impatient to learn the resolution of the French Government. Other Foreign Powers have been written to, but Ministers have not yet been sent.

Vienna, Sept. 20.—The Royal Family are plunged into the greatest sorrow, on account of the unexpected death of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Princess of Naples, and wife of the *ci-devant* Grand Duke of Tuscany. This Princess died yesterday at six in the evening, in child-bed. His Imperial Majesty came to-day from Baden, to console his august brother, who is deeply afflicted at the loss of his wife. The body of the illustrious deceased, will lie in state to-morrow in the chapel of the palace, and will be interred on the 22d in the evening, in the vault of the Imperial Family, at the convent of the Capuchins.—The Batavian Envoy, Citizen Van Spaan, yesterday had his audience of entry of his Imperial Majesty.

Morat, Sept. 29.—The insurgents were attacked at the gates of Morat, and several prisoners made; on the part of the government, the loss was but trifling.

Berne, Sept. 29.—The Bernese Deputies sent to the French Minister at Lausanne are returned, without having fulfilled the object of their mission. Verninac refused to recognise them as deputies from the Canton of Berne.

Lausanne, Sept 29.—During the night, between the 25th and 26th, the Helvetic General in Chief received a dispatch from the insurgent commander, acquainting him that the suspension of arms had ceased.—At six in the morning Fribourg was attacked. After an hour's cannonade, the commandant was summoned to surrender. He answered he could not treat with those who had manifested their ill faith, in violating the capitulation of Berne, and disarming the Helvetic troops.—The cannonade then began a-new, and continued about an hour, when a second parley took place, but which produced a similar answer from the besieged. The cannonade then continued briskly until evening, but without the desired effect. The attack was renewed with increased vigour, on the morning of the 27th, when, at length, the commandant was under the necessity of capitulating.—Immediately after possessing themselves of Fribourg, the insurgents proceeded towards the Canton de Vaud, the only one which remains faithful to the Helvetic government. The Confederate Generals have addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud.—
" We understand that the *soi-disant* Helvetic go-
" vernment have adopted the most tyrannical
" measures, with a view of raising the whole Pays
" de Vaud against us. In entering your territory
" we come but to fulfill these engagements which
" we have already made, and promise to wage no
" war but against that miscalled government. We
" come to you as friends, and not in the smallest
" degree to influence your choice respecting a
" constitution, and our intention is to retire, as
" soon as, with the Divine permission, we accom-
" plish the end we have in view. Entertain no
" fears; be not alarmed. Public tranquillity, so
" far from being interrupted by our presence, will
" be durably established by our success. We
" have issued the strictest orders for the due ob-
" servance of discipline, and that no individual
" whatever be molested.—Every well founded
" complaint made to us shall be redressed.—Such,
" dear compatriots, are the intentions with which
" we enter your territory.—Rely upon our loyalty
" and forbearance; in like manner, we shall
" depend upon your amicable dispositions, and
" above all, trust to Providence for the final tri-
" umph of our just and legitimate cause.—Dated
" at head-quarters at Fribourg, Sept. 27, 1802.
" The Commanders in Chief of the troops of the
" Swiss Cantons.

" *D. Aufdermaur.* *E. de Watteriville.*"

The National Prefect of the Canton de Vaud being temporarily invested with the powers of the minister of the police, immediately issued the following proclamation—" To arms, citizens! they
" promised to permit our troops to arrive at the
" frontiers: they have violated their oaths.—
" They promised not to attack the Pays de Vaud:
" They have attacked it:—And will you trust to
" their farther promises? What true Vaudois but
" feels his heart swell with indignation, and will
" not take up arms in order to defend his house
" and his family from pillage, from robbery, and
" from slavery? Let every brave man come for-
" ward, and we shall avert those accumulated
" evils!"

Basle, Sept 30.—The provisional government has re-established the ancient arms of the Sovereign

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City of Basle, and taken down those of the Helvetic Republic.—In the present conjuncture, the Brickthal does not consummate its union with Switzerland, and the authorities of that country are to remain provisionally charged with the government.

Lausanne, Oct. 1.—The column, which left this place last night, arrived before Orbe in the night; it attacked the insurgents this morning intrenched before the city: the latter made a vigorous resistance. It appears that this insurrectional movement was combined with another. The Bernese were to debark some troops at Vaumaren, on the Lake of Neufchatel, but the plan failed. Our troops forced the insurgents to retreat to the Mountains. As Orbe had participated in the insurrection, it has been laid under a contribution of 12,000 livres.

Basil, Oct. 3.—The confederation between the smaller Cantons and Berne has been signed.—They all agree to use every means in their power to drive those who constituted the Helvetic government from the Swiss territory. The other Cantons have been requested to concur in this confederation, and to furnish troops. The forces of the insurgents are daily augmenting, and their army now amounts to 20,000 men. The ancient form of government has been established in most of the aristocratic Cantons. The great and small councils have been established, with all the rights which they exercised before the year 1798; but it has been thought proper to entrust provisionally the direction of general affairs, and of government, to particular committees.

Strasburgh, Oct. 3.—A large army is to be formed near Huninguen, to enter Switzerland under the command of General Rey. Several corps stationed in our department, and a part of our garrison, have received orders to repair thither.—We learn from Lausanne, that the Helvetic Government has quitted that city, and gone to Geneva.

Amsterdam, Oct. 5.—For this last week rumours have been in circulation of an insurrection which was to take place, and the principal persons who were to direct it were openly talked of. The names of Generals Daendels, Dumonceau, Walchaer, &c. were mentioned. There is not the least truth in these rumours, and it has appeared astonishing that the government should seem to place any credit in them by offering a large reward for the discovery of the author of a pamphlet upon the subject. The party which was supposed to be on the point of rising, was the Jacobins, whose cause seems now perfectly hopeless. They would never have had any consistency in this country, if the French government, when it was Jacobinical itself, had not supported them, and appointed them to places of importance.—General Daendels went this morning to the Executive Authority. The result of his conference is not yet known, but the General is at liberty, and does not appear to entertain the slightest apprehensions. Dumonceau and M. Shimmelpenninck are expected to-morrow. The latter, in a letter addressed to government, has assured them that he is totally ignorant of the business, and that he never had any conferences with Daendels or Dumonceau upon the political affairs of the country: every thing is tranquil.—Semonville is not yet arrived, and this delay is attributed to a political motive. It is said that France will not interfere in any manner in our affairs; and that Semonville will not arrive till every thing is arranged.

Paris, Oct. 5.—*Arrêté of the* 21*st of Sept.*—The Consuls of the French republic having seen the report that has been presented to them by the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon the French merchants of the Levant, who have passed under foreign protection, decree,

"Art. I. All French merchants and other natives established at Constantinople, and in the other parts of the Levant, who, before and since the rupture between the Republic and the Ottoman Porte, have passed under the foreign protection of any nation whatever, are maintained in the rights and prerogatives attached to the quality of French citizen. (Signed) *Buonaparté.*"

Oct. 8.—At the audience of the First Consul on Thursday last, Mr. Merry, the British Minister Plenipotentiary, presented Lord Carhampton, a general in the army, Major Eustace, aid-de-camp to Lord Carhampton, Lord Frederic Montagu, lieutenant-colonel, the Earl of Oxford, the Chevalier Callander, major-general in the army, the Chevalier Turton, major-commandant of a corps of volunteers, Mr. Johnstone, member of the new parliament, Major Christie, Captain Brodie, commander of a frigate, Captain Pater, captain of a ship, Captain Mackay, an officer of marine, Mr. Mackintosh, a barrister, Mr. Dallas, King's counsel and member of parliament, Captain Bathurst, Mr. Bennett, Captain Maitland, an officer in the guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, an officer of infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, an officer of cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Blaquiere, an officer of dragoons, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Mr. Roche, Captain Clifton, an officer of artillery, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Halifax, Mr. Garnier, Mr. Smyth, Mr. Weyland, Mr. Foster, Major Allen, Lieutenant-Colonel Ruddock, a captain in the guards, Mr. Porter, Mr. Robson, member of parliament, Major Aubrey, Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, Lieutenant-Colonel Tyndall, an officer of horse-guards, and Mr. Crawfurd.—The last news from St. Domingo, is of the date of the 28th of August. The Captain-General Leclerc, and Generals Rochambeau and Dugua, were in good health. The mortality in the hospitals was considerably diminished. Some bands of negroes had again risen in insurrection, but were soon repressed.—General Leclerc reviewed his army on the 28th. He had already obtained by the disarming of the negroes 30,000 muskets, and expected to obtain 10,000 more.—The Captain-General Leclerc was occupied with the greatest activity in re-organizing all the parts of the administration.—The last intelligence from Guadaloupe is dated the latter end of August. General Lacrosse had been re-established in his post of captain-general, and had been received with all the necessary ceremony, in order to atone for the outrage which had been committed by a handful of brigands against the agent of government. It is time the colonies should learn that there is no mercy for those who endeavour to create disorder; and that the government will severely execute the laws upon those who revolt against the authority of the mother country.—The individuals who composed the committee of insurrection, calling itself the provisory council, who created an insurrection in the colony against the captain-general, are in the prisons of Brest, and will be delivered over to the tribunals. The tribunals will feel the importance of their functions, and that there can be neither colonies nor national authority, if a handful of individuals may hope for impunity in carrying on conspiracies against the agents of govern-

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ment.—The last intelligence from Martinique is extremely satisfactory: more than forty French vessels have already arrived, and sold their cargoes well.

Rotterdam, Oct. 9.—Citizen Dumonceau, Schimmelpenninck, and the French Ambassador Semonville, are arrived at the Hague. General Daendels has had a conference with the President of the Executive Government.

Lieutenant General Daendels and Dumonceau to the Council of War of the Batavian Republic.

"It would be unbecoming the rank we have the "honour to hold, were we to enter into an exculpation of ourselves, with respect to a certain "bulletin, of which we have been informed by "the publication of the government of state of "the 28th Sept. Yet we think it necessary to "declare publicly, as officers, who love honour, "that our sentiments have been entirely misinterpreted, imagining that by inserting our names "in the said bulletin, the army would be persuaded that we approved of the propagation of "the spirit of opposition among the troops, to "the government, and that we wished to excite "them to disturbances. We intreat the Councillors of War to make known our sentiments to "the Government of State. Health and respect.

(Signed) "*Daendels. Dumonceau.*"

DOMESTIC.

On Thursday, 7th inst. her Majesty held a drawing room at St. James's, which was numerously attended.—The presentations were—

Lord St. Helen's, on his arrival from the Court of St. Petersburgh.—The newly elected Sheriffs of London, Messrs. Alexander and Welsh.—Admiral Lord Keith, from the Mediterranean.—Gen. Sir Thomas Trigge, on his arrival from the West-Indies.—Maj.-Gen. Doyle, on arriving from Egypt.—Gen. Craig, from the East-Indies.—Commis. Sir S. Hood, on setting off for the Island of Trinidad.—Lieut.-Col. Sir E. Butler, on arriving from Egypt.—J. Burton, Esq. Gentleman Usher and Quarterly Waiter, had the honour to kiss the Queen's hand.—Lord and Lady Fitzgerald took leave on their setting off for Lisbon; as did Capt. Fielding for the same place.—Lady Warren was at Court for the first time since the death of Sir Geo. Warren.—Sir Spencer Smith, his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte, on his return from Constantinople, with leave of absence, by Lord Hawkesbury.—Mrs. Spencer Smith, on her marriage and arrival in England, by Lady Hawkesbury.—Baron Herbert of Rathkeal, an Austrian officer of the Reg. of Coburg, and Knight of the Military order of St. Stephen of Tuscany, by Baron Degerfelde, the Imperial Charge d'Affairs.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

St. James's, Oct. 7.—Count St. Martin de Front, having received new Letters of Credence from his Majesty Victoire Emanuel King of Sardinia, giving him the same character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Sardinia, had this day a private audience of her Majesty.

Whitehall, Oct. 9.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Honourable Edward Legge, Clerk, Bachelor of Laws, the Place and Dignity of a Prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the Castle of Windsor, void by the death of the Reverend Doctor William Arnald.—The King has also been pleased to grant to the Reverend John Barton, Clerk, Master of Arts, the Place and Dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, void by the Resignation of the Honourable Edward Legge.

War Office, Oct. 12.—6th Reg. of Drag. Guards, Alex. Kennedy Clarke, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Blake, who retires. Assistant-Surgeon James Arthur, from the 23d Light Drag. to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Cradwell, who retires upon Half pay.—3d Reg. of Drag. Rich. Staunton Stitwell Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Tucker, promoted.—4th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon ——— Matthews, from the 52d Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Sargent, who exchanges.—11th Reg. of Light Drag. Ensign Charles Maximillian St. Paul, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Mingay, who retires.—20th Ditto, Surgeon Rich. Cobbe, from the 2d Batt. Royals, to be Surgeon, *v.* George, whose appointment does not take place. Assistant-Surgeon Henry Coates, from Half-pay of the Royal Waggon Train, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—22d Ditto, Lieut. Orford Gordon, from the 33d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, *v.* Sinclair, who retires.—23d Ditto, Cornet Peter Warburton, to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Aburthnot, promoted.—2d Batt. of the 1st Reg. of Foot, Surgeon William Morlen, from Half-pay of the 54th Foot, to be Surgeon, *v.* Cobbe, removed to the 20th Light Drag.—5th Reg. of Foot, Lieut.-Col. Wm. Cockell, from Half-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. *v.* Lindsey, who exchanges.—8th Ditto, Cornet John Mac Mahon, from the 8th Light Drag. to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Battersby, promoted.—16th Ditto, Hospital Mate, Edw. O'Reilly, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—20th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. John Colbourne, to be Capt. *v.* Newman, deceased. Lieut. Charles Des Voeux, to be Capt.-Lieut. *v.* Colbourne. Ensign William Lyons to be Lieut. *v.* Des Voeux.—21st Ditto, Surgeon J. H. Macpherson, from the late Clanalpine Fencibles, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—30th Ditto, Ens. Alex. Young to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Russel, promoted. William Stewart, Gent. to be Ensign, *v.* Young.—36th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. R. R. Campbell to be Capt. without purchase, *v.* Williamson, placed on Half-pay. Lieut. Alex. Williamson to be Capt.-Lieut. *v.* Campbell.—38th Ditto, Lieut. James Annesley, from Half-pay of the 17th Light Drag. to be Lieut. *v.* Bowen, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Surgeon Gurge Burleigh, from the late Essex Fencibles, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—44th Ditto, Francis Bernard Jervoise, Gent. to be Ensign by purchase, *v.* Cumming, who retires. Hospital Mate John Inglis to be Assistant-Surgeon.—45th Ditto, Lieut. J. Bond, from Half-pay of the 17th Foot, to be Lieut. *v.* Wm. Bond, who exchanges. Hospital-Mate John Gibson to be Assistant-Surgeon.—50th Ditto, Hospital-Mate Edgib, to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Cooper, who resigns. Hospital-Mate Alexander Coulson to be Assistant Surgeon.—52d Ditto, Assistant Surgeon Andrew Sargent, from the 4th Dragoons, to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Mathews, who exchanges.—56th Ditto, Ensign Alexander Macdonald to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Buckley, who retires.—62d Ditto, William Cooke Collis, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, *v.* Tomkinson, who retires.—63d Ditto, Thomas Ricketts Myers, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, *v.* White, promoted.—68th Ditto, Ensign H. Willis, from Half-pay, to be Ensign, *v.* Jones, who exchanges.—

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71st Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon James Evans, from Half-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—72d Ditto, Hospital-Mate William Wilson, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—83d Ditto, Ensign John Lindsay Bucknall, from Half-pay of the Corsican Corps, to be Ensign, *v.* Oliver, promoted.—1st West-India Reg. Michael Stretch, Esq. to be Paymaster, *v.* Calcott, deceased.—5th Ditto, Lieut. Col. Thomas Barrow, from the 6th West India Reg. to be Lieut.-Col. *v.* Sir Rich. Bassett, who exchanges.—5th Ditto, Col. Sir Richard Bassett, from the 5th West-India Reg. to be Lieut.-Col. *v.* Barrow, who exchanges.

Brevet.—Lieut.-Col. Thomas Barrow, of the 5th West-India Reg. to be Col. at the Bay of Honduras only.

BANKRUPTS.

Truste, William, Cripplegate, shoe-maker.—Davey, James, East Anstey, Devonshire, yeoman.—Cox, James, John Street, Minories, painter and glazier.—Bevington, Thomas, Worcester, draper.—Bridgman, John, Lothbury, merchant.—Gowland, Thomas, the younger, Birchin Lane, merchant.—Biddulph, John, Staffordshire, cordwainer.—Horton, John, Islington Road, mealman.—Stanbury, John, Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, baker.

BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES.

Births.—On Wednesday, at Battersea Rise, the Lady of H. Thornton, Esq. M.P. of a son.—On the 7th inst. at Margate, the Lady of Commissioner George, of a son.

Marriage.—At Ayr, on Monday se'nnight, Capt. Robert Hamilton, 79th Reg. of Foot, to Miss Margaret Bowie, of Cambusiscan.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI
Stock Bank.	—	—	183	—	—	—
3 pr. C. R. An.	—	68⅜	67⅛	67⅛	67⅛	67
3 per C. Con.	69⅜	69⅜	68⅛	68⅛	68⅛	67⅛
4 pr C. Cons.	—	86	85½	85½	85½	84⅞
5 pr Ct. Ann.	101½	101½	100⅝	100⅝	100⅝	100⅜
Bank L. Ann.	—	20 1/16	20⅛	20	12 1/16	19 11/16
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	4½	4½	4 7/16	4½	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	—	68½	—	—	—
D° Ann.	12¼	12¼	12¼	12¼	12¼	12¼
5 per Ct. 1797	—	101¼	100⅝	100⅝	100⅝	100
Omnium	8 dis	8 dis	8 dis	8½ dis	8½ dis	10 dis
India Stock	—	—	206	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr. Ct.	—	—	98¼	—	—	—

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 1	2 us.	Leghorn 51¼
D°, at sight	10 19		Naples..... 43½
Rotterdam	11 2	2 us.	Genoa 47¼
Hamburgh	38 5	2½us.	Venice, 57 livres piccole
Altona....	33 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.
Paris 1 day	23 11		Lisbon..... 68
Paris.....	23 19	2us.	Oporto 67½
Bourdeaux,	24		Dublin..... 11⅜
Cadiz	36⅜	eff.	Bilboa..... 36¼ D°
Madrid ..	36½	effective	Agio, bank on Hol. p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	47s to 63s	Hops per cwt.	150s to 240s
Rye.....	33 .. 36	Hay per load....	80 .. 155
Barley.....	28 .. 33	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	46 .. 49	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats.....	15 .. 24	Veal	4s. 8d. to 6s. 6d.
Pease (white)....	44 .. 48	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	33 .. 36	Tallow	4s. 9d.
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 54	Av. of Sugar pr cw	35s.3½d
Seconds.....	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.0d.
Coals per chal....	40 .. 44	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

Days.	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
30	Fog. Fine.	SE	SE	30,2	30,16	58	63
1	Fog. Fine.	WNW	W	30,06	30,06	56	66
2	Fine.	NW	NW	29,98	29,98	61	68
3	Fine.	S	S	29,86	29,86	60	68
4 ☽	Rain.	SW	SW	29,6	29,6	54½	62
5	Fine.	SW	SW	29,7	29,9	55	58
6	Fine.	SW	SW	29,9	29,8	54½	59
7	Fine.	NW	NW	29,7	29,8	53	60
8	Fine.	W	SW	29,6	29,5	54	61
9	Rain.	W	W	29,4	29,3	51	49
10	Frost Fair.	NW	NW	29,8	29,8	46	52
11 ○	Frost Fair.	S	S	29,85	29,88	49	55
12	Rain.	S	NW	29,47	29,43	58	59,5
13	Fair.	N	N	29,9	30,01	50	56,5

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

In Holland there has been discovered a plot, or a pretended plot, against the present government; and, it has been suggested by some, that it is a contrivance of the French for the purpose of exciting commotion, and providing themselves with an excuse, as in the case of Switzerland, for taking the country more immediately under their command. This appears to us to be speculating rather too deeply. France is certainly at the bottom of the plot, which we believe, too, to be no more than a mere sham; but the object is, we should think, not to provide an excuse for seizing on the country, but to obtain a plausible pretext for delaying the departure of the French army. Holland cannot, in the present crisis, be completely evacuated, without great danger to the interests of France in that country. The example of the Swiss might embolden the Dutch to make an attempt at breaking their chains. Belgium lies between Switzerland and Holland—two magazines of combustibles connected by a train of powder! The French know this, and they will not, 'till affairs are settled in the former country, withdraw their troops from the latter.

The Emperor still resists the insolent mandates of France, with respect to the projected division of Germany; and, if *the interposition in behalf of Switzerland*, on which, it seems, our ministers affect, at least, to have determined, should actually take place, it is possible that the Empire may yet be preserved from the fangs of the Corsican wolf.

With regard to the grounds, the nature, and the object, of this interposition, we shall lay them before our readers precisely as we find them described in an article, which appeared in the True Briton of Thursday, and which we look upon as the unofficial manifesto of the ministry. "The extraordinary interference of the French government in the internal affairs of Switzer-

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" land, and the evident intention of the " First Consul to prescribe to the people of " that country the form of government " which he chooses they should live under, " seems to us to be of more importance to " this country, as well as to all Europe, " *than we apprehend is yet generally conceived.*" [Bless us! how vigilant we are become all of a sudden!] " It is not only the generous " feelings for an oppressed and injured " people that Englishmen have, upon this " occasion, to indulge (and surely the con- " duct of France towards Switzerland must " arouse all our indignation against the one " party, and awaken all our sympathy for " the other), but the question embraces " that which, perhaps, involves our own " safety and welfare as a free and indepen- " dent state. If the government of France " is to assume to itself the right of invad- " ing at pleasure, and modelling the go- " vernment of one independent country, it " may claim the privilege of doing so for " all. The principle must be considered as " a general one, and, as such, affects all in- " dependent countries alike. It springs " from that system of gigantic and hideous " ambition, which would revolutionize all " nations, and render all people tributary " to France. It was reasonable to hope [yes, the solid young lord, and Lord Castlereagh, the "*safe* politicians," thought so; but Mr. Windham, in his Speech on the Preliminaries, p. 29, said it was NOT *reasonable*. He said, on the contrary, that such a hope was *base* and *extravagant*] " that when general tranquillity took place, " the views of conquest and aggrandize- " ment which France indulged and prac- " tised during the war, would have given " place to sentiments more equitable and " pacific—that the principles which the re- " volution had called forth would have " been abandoned upon the restoration of " a fixed government, for something like " moderation and justice, as applied to other " states. If we are to judge from the pre- " sent conduct of France towards Switzer- " land, however, such hopes are not very " likely to be speedily realized, and the " dictatorial language used towards that " unhappy country, cannot be considered " as very respectful to the powers of Eu- " rope at large. The proclamation of the " First Consul deciding the fate of a free " people, is issued from the Consular Pa- " lace, without even the compliment of " previous communication to any other " power, at least certainly without any " previous communication having been " had with this country. Under these " circumstances, the cause of Switzerland " becomes a common one with every Power, " that is not a voluntary slave to the influence " of France, *and a resistance to* THE SYSTEM " *at present pursued by Buonaparté becomes a* " *duty in the rulers of every free country.*" [Stand to that, whatever you do.] " Know- " ing, as we do, how important it is to the " interests of this nation that the peace " should be preserved, we cannot be sup- " posed to be the advocates for war" [Oh! by no means!] " Far from it—We have " ever thought, and we still continue to " think, that the present ministers deserve " the warmest gratitude of their country for " having procured peace at the time, and " upon the terms, they did." [Though it has produced such tremendous mischiefs!] " Peace was ardently wished for *by the whole* " *nation*, and ministers, by procuring it, " shewed a praise-worthy *attention to the* " *public voice.*" [So, so! the "experiment" having failed, the blame is now to be laid on the poor mob!] " But the greatest blessings " which humanity can enjoy, may be pur- " chased or preserved at too dear a rate. " There are evils in the lot of nations, as " well as of men, between which *wisdom* has " only to make *its election of the least*," [*Wisdom* had then, nothing to do in the choice of peace.] " In the abstract, peace is al- " ways preferable to war; but, in the course " of events, the latter may become a lesser " evil than the price which a continuance of " peace may demand; and certain we are, " that it is not in the nature of Englishmen " to purchase the greatest national blessing " by any sacrifice of the national honour " and independence. By such a conduct, " indeed, we should only embrace a delu- " sion, and should have voluntarily paved " the way for our own disgrace and downfall. " —While we reason thus, we wish to be " understood as reasoning merely hypotheti- " cally, and from the first impression which the " parent conduct of the French government " excites. We still hope it has moderation " and justice enough to listen to a remon- " strance on the part of a government equal- " ly independent as itself, against such " monstrous aggressions as it threatens to " practise against the people of Switzerland. " —We believe that this subject has occu- " pied for some time the attention of our " cabinet, and we cannot but express our " hope that such a remonstrance will be " made as may convince the Chief Consul, " that however desirous we may be of pre- " serving peace, we are *not yet* prepared to

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"submit to any glaring acts of violence and "injustice. The honour, the dignity, the "safety of the country, seem to us to de- "mand some interference on our part in be- "half of the Swiss, and we leave it to the "wisdom of our Government to decide in "what manner that is best and most effec- "tually to be done. Whatever they may "determine upon in vindication of the ho- "nour, and in support of the rights of their "country, they may rely upon it will be "warmly seconded by the energy and the "patriotism of all descriptions of His Majes- "ty's subjects."

We regret exceedingly, that our limits will not permit us to enter into an examination of this precious state-paper. It must be deferred till our next.—It will be perceived, by the postscript, that the Swiss people have again beaten the troops of the Usurpers.

POSTSCRIPT.

Lausanne, Oct. 4.—Yesterday evening an action took place upon the whole of the line. The Helvetic army was put to the rout by the insurgents, and fell back in disorder upon Moudon.

Lausanne was this morning under the greatest alarms, it was even thought advisable to remove the seat of Government to Geneva, when Citizen Rapp, an Adjutant-General of the First Consul, was on a sudden observed to arrive.—He went to the Senate, accompanied by Citizen Verninac, the French Minister, and delivered to the Senate a proclamation, addressed to Buonaparté to the eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republic, dated St. Cloud, the 8th Vendémiaire.

The proclamation being read, General Rapp acquainted the Senate, that he was going to Berne to make the same communication to the insurgents. He accordingly set out a few minutes after. It is asserted, that should the Bernese refuse to obey the summons of the First Consul, General Rapp has orders to declare to them, that the French government will send 40,000 men into Switzerland.

The Senate issued the following decree, for publishing the proclamation of the First Consul:

The Senate having heard read the declaration of the First Consul of France, dated St. Cloud, the 18th Vendémiaire, brought this day by General Rapp, the tenor of which has already preceded, decree:—That they receive with the most lively gratitude this new testimony of the good wishes of the First Consul, for the Helvetic people, and that the Senate will conform to the contents of the said declaration, as far as it relates to them. A notification shall be given of the present decree to all the authorities, as also to the commanders of the troops who have armed against the government.

The Executive Council yesterday appointed the chief of brigade, Wonderweid, commander in chief of our troops, in the room of Gen. Andermatt.

According to letters from Basle of the 4th of October, the unexpected news of a French army being collecting in the neighbourhood, produced so alarming a sensation, that couriers were immediately dispatched to Berne, Zurich, and Schwytz, to apprise their leaders of this important event.

Oct. 5.—We learn that the confederate Swiss did not enter Moudon till yesterday evening at five o'clock. Bachmann's right wing arrived yesterday night, before Yverdun. As to the upper country, it does not appear that any thing has happened on that side. They say that Pilichoor is in the Bernese army.

It is now eleven o'clock; still no news: we hope that General Bachmann will not reject the proclamation of Buonaparté; yet prudence requires that we should be prepared for all events. The *générale* is beat, and troops sent to the heights that command Lausanne. In the official report of the battle, the government say, that their force was only 14 or 1500 men, and that the patriots had 6,000. The defeat was complete, and the retreat in great disorder.

Basle, Oct. 4.—A report is just now in circulation, that the French general, Ney, who is to have the chief command of the troops collecting upon our frontiers, is arrived at Huninguen. A deputation is to be sent to him, to inquire into the object of his mission.

Strasburgh, Oct. 6.—The passage of troops to the frontiers of Helvetia by the two roads which lead to Basle, continues with great activity. Other troops from the department of Mont Tonnere are in full march for the same destination. The chiefs of the corps are charged to take care that their troops, after their arrival on the frontiers of Helvetia, do not meddle in the internal affairs of the country.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Com. St. Domingo,* 481. *Russian New Minis.* 485. *Switzerland Civil War,* 485. *Soci. of Ship-Own. Pro.* 489. *Ship-Builders,* 492. *Let. from Mr. Cobbett to Ld. Hawkesbury on the New Disp. with France,* 493. *Diet of Schwitz,* 510. *German Indemnities,* 511. *Grand Master of Malta,* 512. *New Orleans,* 512.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

COMMERCE OF ST. DOMINGO.

The following decree, together with the annexed list of vessels at Cape François, on the 24th of August last, will give the reader a tolerably correct notion of the present state of the commerce of St. Domingo.—The country to which the ships belong, and the nature of the cargoes, being specified, will be found very useful to the political œconomist.

ST. DOMINGO.

Head-quarters at the Cape, Sept. 2.—In the name of the French government, the commander in chief, Captain General, decrees as follows:—Art. I. After the 1st of Vendémiaire, year 11, (Sept. 23, 1802), no other merchandize or articles of provision, except those specified in the annexed list, can be imported into the colony by foreign ships: none can be exported by the same ships, but molasses, syrup, spirits and rum, dye woods, and wood for cabinet-makers, guiacum, coffee, and provisions or merchandize of every kind, imported by the French merchants.—II. After the same period, the duties on the merchandize and provisions specified in the annexed list, imported into the colony by foreign ships, shall pay at the rate of 10 per cent. duty *ad valorem* in the colony, according to a tarif, which the colonial prefect shall settle every three months, from the medium prices of the preceding three months, in the open ports of the colony. The duties on colonial productions which, according to the permission granted by the first article, shall be exported in foreign vessels, shall pay, over and above, one half more than those exported in French ships, according to the tarif annexed to the decree of the 3d of Messidor last, (June 22). These productions shall pay, besides, the war tax, established by the decree of Messidor 25, (July 14). Productions and merchandize arising from the French commerce exported from the colony in foreign ships, shall pay no duties.—III. All merchandize and products not specified in the annexed list, imported by foreign vessels, are prohibited, reckoning from the 1st of Vendémiaire, year 11, (Sept 23, 1802). The captains of foreign vessels, which arrive in the open ports of the colony before that period, shall be allowed to land their merchandize, on lodging a declaration at the custom-house. Those which arrive in the open ports of the colony after Vendémiaire 1st (Sept. 23) until 15th Brumaire next (Nov. 6) inclusive, shall be allowed to land the unprohibited goods they have on board. In regard to those prohibited, they shall lodge a declaration of them, and shall be bound to produce them on their departure, under the pain of their vessels being confiscated. After the 15th Brumaire (Nov. 6) vessels, whose cargoes are not entirely composed of non-prohibited merchandize and productions, shall not be admitted into the ports of the colony. Those not coming within the case of being admitted, which shall procure admission by false declarations, or which, after having been obliged to leave the said ports, shall be found effecting or trying to effect a fraudulent landing, shall be confiscated as well as the cargoes.—IV. Nothing in the present decree shall affect that of Messidor 5, which exempts from all duties, till the 30th of Frimaire, year 11, (Dec. 21, 1802) oxen and mules imported into the ports of the Cape, Port Républicain, des Cayes, and Jacmel. All the dispositions of decrees relating to commerce and the customs, not contrary to the present decree, are also maintained.—V. The colonial prefect is charged with carrying the present decree into execution.—Signed—*Leclerc.*

List of the merchandise and productions, the importation of which, by foreign ships, is permitted, on paying a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, viz. beer, bricks, coals, cables, and cordage, train oil, spermaceti oil, pitch, tar, rosin, &c. essence of turpentine, oats, barley, maize-flour, rice, biscuit, salt beef, salt pork—hams, sausages, &c. are not comprehended under this denomination; salt butter, codfish, bacaga, &c. salted mackarel, dried herrings, pickled herrings, shads, codsounds, pickled mullets, stockfish, live cattle, horses, mules, asses, hogs, sheep, ducks, fowls, turkeys, geese, timber for building, &c.

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List of French and Foreign Ships, in the Road of the Cape, on the 24th of August, 1802, copied from the Register of the Custom-House.

French.

L'America, from Bourdeaux, sailed this day for Curaçoa.
L'Aim. Antoinette, do, dry goods and provisions.
L'Apollon, Dunkirk, do
L'Aim. Française, Havre, do
L'Alerte, L'Orient, do
L'Africain, Marseilles, do
L'Alexandre, Bourdeaux, do
L'Alliance, Marseilles, do
L'Anne, Dunkirk, do
Marguerite Rose, Bourdeaux, do
Le Consolateur, L'Orient, do
Les Deux Jumeaux, Bordeaux, do
L'Erinna, do do
Hohenlinden, Brest, do
L'Harmonie, Marseilles, do
Le Jeune Lilly, do do
La Josephine, do do
Le Juste, Havre, do
La Julie, Saint Malo do
La Justine, Havre, do
L'Iris, Marseilles, do
Les Amis, Bourdeaux, do
La Marianne, Brest, do
La Maria Theresa, Nantes, do
La Magdeleine, Saint Malo, do
La Minerve, Bordeaux, do
La Maria Theresa, do do
Le Neptune, Nantes, do
La Ninette, Marseilles, do
La Penelisse, Havre, do
Le Prudent Felix, Marseilles, do
La Poule, Bordeaux, do
La Rosalie, do do
Le Succès, Brest, do
Le Saint Pierre, Marseilles, do
Les Six Amis, Bourdeaux, do
Le Tancrede, Havre, do
Le Tyrtée, Marseilles, do
L'Union, L'Orient, do
La Ville de Marseilles, Marseilles, do
L'Amitié, do do

Foreign.

Mercury, New York, flour and dry goods.
Mechanic, Middletown, sailed this day for Middletown.
Mary, Newbury Port, sailed for Newbury Port.
Aurora, Charlestown, ballast and passengers' trunks.
Elk, Baltimore, planks, perfumery, flour, &c.
B. Holland, Philadelphia, dry goods, flour, and wood.
May Flower, Savannah, perfumery and timber.
Vigilant, Washington, wood, planks, fish, &c.
Betsy, Newbern, wood and perfumery.
Friendship, Savannah, timber and perfumery.
Lydia, New York, provisions and timber.
Eliza, do, dry goods, provisions, and coals.
Talbot, Baltimore, dry goods and iron ware.
Polly, Edgartown, wood and salt provisions.
Suky, New York, gum guiacum.
Spartan, Baltimore, dry goods and provisions.
Hermon[illegible] planks, flour, and candles.
[illegible] &c.
[illegible]

Catherine, do, earthem-ware, china, and meal.
Adventure, do, staves and chairs.
Charlotte, Charlestown, meal, tobacco, and pork.
Polly, Edentown, perfumery and salt fish.
Atlantic, New York, dry goods and flour.
James, Philadelphia, timber, flour, nails, &c.
Tippoo Saib, Savannah, timber, chairs, flour, &c.
Neptune, Portland, timber, salt provisions, and butter.
Eliza Ann, New York, salt provisions, engravings, and provisions.
Good Intent, Middletown, dry goods and salt provisions.
Shepperdess, New York, dry goods, meal, and wood.
Henry, Middletown, planks, soap, and candles.
Harmony, Washington, perfumery and flour.
Louisa, St. Thomas, dry goods, nails, and herrings.
Sophia, Baltimore, perfumery, herrings, and meal.
Reserve, New York, wood, meal, and various provisions.
Alexandrine, St. Thomas, dry goods.
Flora, Norfolk, planks and provisions.
Mariner, Portland, planks and provisions.
Sally, Washington, staves, roots, and meal.
Elizabeth, Wilmington, staves, flour, and herrings.
George, Philadelphia, ready to sail for Fort Dauphin.
Fame, Boston, staves and provisions.
Experiment, Edentown, planks, perfumery, butter, and herrings.
Hope, New York, planks, iron, and provisions.
Elizabeth, do, flour, wine, and provisions.
Cornelia, Boston, staves and provisions.
Hiram, Savannah, dry goods and salt provisions.
Aurora, Swede from Bourdeaux, ready to sail for Charlestown
Horizon, Newbern, staves.
Lydia, Philadelphia, meal, cheese, paper, &c.
Franklin, Boston, dry goods, salted provisions, and wood.
Experiment, New York, staves and dry goods.
Tartar, Philadelphia, rum, soap, wine, shoes, &c.
Agenoria, Savannah, staves, flour, and tobacco.
Lydia, Providence, planks and various provisions.
Mary, Savannah, planks and perfumery.
Diamond, New York, staves and dry goods.
Lydia, Portland, dry goods.
Potowmack, Baltimore, flour and staves.
Hyram, Savannah, staves, roots, &c.
Eunice, Boston, dry goods, provisions, &c.
Peomingo, Baltimore, wood and dry goods.
Colombia, Savannah, staves, earthen and glass ware.
Constellation, Newbern, staves and fish.
Fisher, Charlestown, flour and salted provisions.
W. Wright, Norfolk, dry goods and provisions.
Caroline, Savannah, staves and tobacco.
Wm, Turkish Islands, salt, nails, and perfumery.
Trial, Salem, salt provisions, flour, tobacco, &c.
Kanty Bay, New York, ready to sail for Port-au-Prince.
Angélique, St. Thomas, dry goods.
Experiment, Middletown, wood and biscuit.
Ethanallen, Baltimore, herrings, nails, wood, and earthenware.
Maria, New York, planks, perfumery, and chairs.
In all 115 vessels.

Copied from the Register of the National Custom House at the Cape, this 24th of August, 18[illegible]

Guitty, Director of the Customs.

(A true copy) *Leclerc*, General in Chief.

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St. Petersburgh, Sept. 24.—The great changes that were expected have now taken place. The whole administration of affairs has received as it were a new form; and the beneficial consequences of the new organization are so evident, that the joy of the public is universal. The place of Procurator-General, in which was concentred the whole internal administration of the empire, is abolished; and every branch has its proper minister, who is responsible for all the acts of his department. By these means all business is much simplified, whereas before it was difficult to know to whom to apply. The senate is also regulated in another manner. The substance of the proclamation, concerning these changes, is as follows:—"All the affairs of the empire are divided into eight departments, which are filled by the following persons:—1. Minister of War—General of foot Waesmitinof, hitherto Vice-president of the Military College.—2. Marine Minister—Admiral Mordwinof, hitherto Vice-president of the Marine College.—3. Minister of Affairs—Count Alexander Woronzof, with the title of Chancellor.—4. Minister of Justice or Procurator, or Attorney-General—the present Privy Counsellor Derzhawin.—5. Minister of the Interior—the present Privy Counsellor Count Kotschuby, hitherto first Member of the College for Foreign Affairs.—6. Minister of Commerce—the present Privy Counsellor Nicholas Rumantzof, who had the same title before.—7. Minister of Finance—the present Privy Counsellor Count Wasiliof, hitherto Imperial Treasurer.—8. Minister for Public Education, and Popular Instruction—the Privy Counsellor Count Sawadofski, hitherto Chief of the Legislative Committee, and formerly Chief of the Normal Schools.—Many of these ministers have assistants appointed for them.—To Count Woronzof, the Privy Counsellor Prince Adam Czartorinski; to Count Kotschuby, the Privy Counsellor Count Paul Strogonof; to Count Wasiliof, the President Gurjet; to Count Sawadofski, the Privy Counsellor Musawsef."

Under the department of the Minister of Public Instruction, are placed the Academy of Sciences, the Russian Academy, all the universities and schools. Besides a Committee is formed to examine into the state of the schools in the whole empire, under the direction of Count Sawadofski, and consisting of the following members:—Prince Czartorinski, Count Severin Potocki, Major General Klinger, Major General Chitrof, and Messrs. Oseretzkofski and Fuss, Members of the Academy of Sciences.

Lausanne, Oct. 8.—On the evening of the 6th the following convention was concluded, and yesterday morning the ratifications were respectively exchanged at Montpreveyres.

Convention for an Armistice concluded between the General of Brigade Wonderweld, charged with powers to that effect from the Helvetic Government, and Colonel Hermenschwand, authorised to the same effect by Baron Bachmann, the General in Chief of the Confederate Swiss Troops.

Art. I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic troops and the Confederate Swiss troops; and if hostilities do recommence, it shall not be until twenty-four hours after the return of general Rapp to Lausanne.—II. The line of demarcation for the confederate troops shall proceed from Moudon, on the left by Thierrens, Prayers, Cronay, Neiden, Yvonend; on the right from Moudon, the line shall pass by Chavannes, Breals, Sarsans, Lovorens, Dompierre, Vilard-Bramard, Sedeilles, Chattoney, Vilard-Imbon, Toray, Legrand, Firax, Marnaud, Montogny, Norayax, Pontaux, Grollay, Corbaz, Pensiers, Barbareche—from this point the line shall ascend the Sarine to Grandfrey, and pass beyond the Uberville, Bueglen, and Martelach. It shall then proceed up to the Gerine, by Ergerbach, as far as its source, and shall afterwards follow the summit of the mountains of Planfayon, as far as the frontirs of Schwartzenburg, whence it shall turn towards Bellegarde, follow the chain of the Hahnatt which descends to Rougmont, and thence shall continue in direct line to the frontiers of the Valais.—III. The Helvetic troops shall not advance more than within a league of that line of demarcation.—IV. The suspension of arms must be general, and such, that the two armies shall each detach troops to reduce, if necessary, those who, on either side shall act against their chief.—V. If the town of Fribourg capitulated before the armistice of the 5th October came to the knowledge of general Auf-der-Maur, it shall be occupied by the Confederate troops.—VI. If general Bachmann approve this convention, the reciprocal ratification shall be exchanged at the farthest to-morrow at noon, and sooner if possible.—VII. Until then hostilities shall be suspended on both sides, agreeable to the convention of yesterday, between general Von-der-Weld and Colonel Herrenschwand.—VIII. If any difficulties arise respecting the present Convention, Commissioners shall be appointed on each side to settle them.—*Done at the Head-Quarters at Lausanne, Oct.* 8, 1802.

This convention having been ratified by the general in chief of the Confederate troops, the printing and publication have been ordered by the Prefect of the Pays de Vaud.—The town of Fribourg surrendered yesterday to the Confederate troops. The battalion of militia quartered there was disarmed, and sent to the Pays de Vaud. It arrived yesterday at Lausanne. It is supposed there will be some discussion respecting the capitulation of the town, founded on the 5th article of the armistice.

Oct. 9.—Yesterday evening a report was suddenly sent abroad, that a column of the Confederate army was on its march against Ball and Vevy. There were consequently dispatched from hence immediately a few companies, who on that very night contrived to reach Vevy. We were apprised, however, this morning, that the whole was a false alarm, occasioned by the motions of a part of the insurgent army, which now occupy Fribourg, and who finding themselves in too great numbers to be lodged in that town, felt themselves under the necessity of procuring cantonments in the neighbouring communes.

The last letters received from Berne give room to hope that the Canton of Berne, as likewise the Cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, will accept the mediation of the First Consul. But it is much to be feared that the small Cantons will adopt the mad resolution of making an obstinate resistance; and it is therefore with the most anxious impatience that the answer of the Diet of Schwitz is hourly expected. The arrival of general Rapp at Berne produced the deepest sensation in that city:—the popular leaders seemed to be struck with consternation when they were made acquainted with the object of his mission. But what more particularly embarrasses them at the present moment is, how to devise means to keep themselves masters of their troops, and how to disband them without running

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the risk of involving the same disorder that attended the disbanding of the Bernese army in 1798.—The following address was transmitted to the French minister:—*In the name of the greater part of the Communes of the Pays de Vaud.*—

The horrors of a civil war had reached their highest pitch: the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of the Swiss. The Pacificator of Europe was desirous that these calamities should cease; he cast an eye of benevolence upon the unfortunate Helvetia, and more particularly upon this canton: it is his wish that we should be happy; that we should be free. We shall be so! Be pleased, Citizen Minister, to accept the acknowledgments of the sincere gratitude of the municipalities of .....: and likewise those of the inhabitants of these communes.—The name of Buonaparté can only be pronounced with admiration and gratitude by our posterity, as it is now by ourselves.

(The signatures follow.)

According to a letter from Zurich, a body of from five to six thousand peasants have made themselves masters of that town, and abolished the provisional government therein established. This news requires confirmation. The town of Fribourg has also re-established itself upon the footing of its former constitution. The day before yesterday a council of 100 assembled together, and appointed, after the example of Berne, a committee of 10, wholly composed of the most zealous partisans of the ancient aristocracy.

Oct. 10.—Citizen Rapp, the Adjutant of the First Consul, is returned hither from Berne. He has concluded a new armistice of four days with the Bernese, during which they are to disband their troops. The Diet of Schwitz has dispatched a courier to Paris. It is expected that the Helvetic government will also disband without delay the militia of the canton of Vaud, in order to conform themselves to the proclamation of the First Consul.

Basle, Oct. 9.—The members of the Helvetic Diet assembled at Schwitz, have agreed on a plan of a constitution which they have addressed to all the cantons, and of which the following are the articles:—Art. I. Switzerland forms one Federal Republic, under the denomination of the Helvetic confederation.—II. It is divided into cantons.—III. Each canton to govern itself according to its own will, and to exercise in its own territory all the rights of sovereignty which it exercised under the ancient regime.—IV. The towns shall not enjoy any prerogative over the country, both one and the other to participate in the administration of justice, of the police, and in the internal government of the canton.—V. The government of one canton cannot publish ordinances prejudicial to another canton: those who break through this regulation to be denounced to the Diet.—VI. The government of each canton to name a deputy to the Helvetic Diet. The deputies remain in office until their constituents think proper to recal them. They are indemnified by the canton.—VII. The Diet is permanent, it deliberates on war and peace, and on the conclusion of such treaties of alliance and commerce as the general interest of the confederation may call for. It is authorised to repeal and annul the ordonnances of the cantonal governments, which are prejudicial to the Helvetic confederation, or to any of its cantons.—VIII. Every deputy, member of the Diet, is obliged to conduct himself, upon the discussion of an important object, particularly of treaties peace, commerce, and alliance, according to the instructions of his constituents.—IX. The Diet chooses, from among its members, a president and a secretary, who continue in their functions for three months and are always re-eligible.—X. The president of the Diet receives the envoys of foreign powers, and signs the deliberations of the Diet, which are counter-signed by the secretary. The protocol shall be signed by every member.—XI. The Diet appoints the Helvetic envoys to foreign powers, and recalls them.—XII. In case of a war, or threat of attack, the Diet settles the contingent of troops, and the amount of the sums which each canton is obliged to furnish. The arsenals of the cantons are at the disposal of the Diet. It appoints the generals, and removes them, as also the inspectors of the militia in time of peace. Each canton is obliged to exercise in arms and military evolutions, a contingent of the militia, which, however, is not to perform any effective service, in time of peace, and receives no pay.—XIII. All the Swiss are soldiers. None can exercise the rights of citizenship, nor be received into the corporations of artists and tradesmen, nor exercise a profession, nor marry, unless he has a musket, a sword, and a pouch. The government supplies the poor with arms. In extraordinary cases the cantonal government may order the disarming of the citizens. The expenses of war are charged upon all the cantons in proportion to their respective means.

A private letter states, that signals have been established from Lausanne, as far as Versoix, for the purpose of giving immediate notice to the French corps of 4000 men, stationed at Versoix, to enter Switzerland in case the Diet of Schwitz should refuse to obey the summons of the First Consul.—The 27th September was a day of great rejoicing at Schwitz, on account of the opening of the Diet. It was composed of Deputies from all the cantons, except Fribourg and Leman. Aloys Reding made a speech upon the occasion, and was appointed president.

Oct. 9.—*Extract of a Letter from Basle.*—The First Consul's aid de camp, Citizen Rapp, has passed through this city on his way to Paris, after having notified to the eighteen cantons the proclamation of the First Consul. It is reported that they were at first inclined, at Berne, to submit to the intervention of the First Consul, but that they afterwards changed their opinion, and that Citizen Rapp has received not a very satisfactory answer. We also learn, that those who distributed the proclamation of the Chief Consul in the Canton of Berne, have been looked upon in a very unfavourable manner by the new authorities, and that several individuals have been arrested upon this ground, and sent to the prisons of Arbourg. The Diet of Schwitz has addressed a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Switzerland, dated 30th September, of which the following are extracts.—"The moment is at length arrived when the Swiss nation can freely and openly express its will, with regard to the political constitution which it may think proper to give itself." After speaking in terms of just reprobation of the government which has just been destroyed, it proceeds thus:—"The period is come, in which order and peace is to be restored. Those who dare to disturb either, shall

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receive severe punishment. A few examples will undoubtedly be sufficient to open the eyes of those who still suffer themselves to be misled, and to deliver them for ever from the snares of their perfidious leaders. Even these last may be gained when they see, that far from wishing completely to re-establish the ancient order of things, however happy it might formerly have been, it is now destroyed—irrevocably destroyed. The most careful attention will be employed, as well in the establishment of the general constitution, as in the formation of particular institutions: and care will be taken neither to lose sight of the changes which have occurred in the nature of things, nor of the wishes which these changes may have given birth to. Every thing will be done that is consistent with reason to give general satisfaction. It is by such conduct that Switzerland can shew itself worthy of the benevolent intentions which were evinced towards her by two great neighbouring powers, who by the 11th article of the treaty of Luneville, stipulated that she should have the right of regulating her own constitution. That Divine Providence which has conducted us through so many storms to such a miraculous state of happiness, will also grant us its assistance in the accomplishment of this great work, and will lead us through those painful trials, to that happy and peaceful state, the influence of which was felt even beyond our ancient boundaries."

DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday, the 20th inst. his Majesty held a Levee at St. James's.—The presentations were:—Earl Dartmouth, (sworn in Lord Steward of his Majesty's household), at the Levee for the first time, since his appointment; Lords Duncannon, Sen. and Jun. were severally introduced by their father, Earl Besborough; the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Legge, Canon and Prebend of Windsor, from the Prebendary of Canterbury; his Excellency Charles Cameron, late Governor of the Island of Malta; Mr. Franco, accompanied the Earl of Winchelsea; Count Schach, Captain of the Royal Danish Life Guards (Horse), had the honour to be presented, by Mr. De Glyden Palm, the Danish Chargé d'Affaires; and Captain Sotheron of his Majesty's Royal Navy.

After the Levee his Majesty held a Council of the Ministers, and then left town for Kew.

Society of Ship-Owners of Great-Britain.—On Thursday, the 30th of September last, a Special General Meeting of Ship-Owners was held, pursuant to public Advertisement, at the London Tavern, to take into consideration the draft of a Petition to Parliament, for the repeal of the Tonnage Duty, agreeably to the resolution of the general Meeting of the 22d of June last, and on other business of importance—*John Hill*, Esq. was in the chair.

The *Secretary*, Nath. Atchison, Esq. reported, that he had, since the last general meeting, received several letters from the Ship-Owners at the out-ports, expressive of their determination to co-operate in the general design of the Society.—The Chairman said, that the Petition presented to the House of Commons last Sessions was to shew that the Ship-Owners did not accede to the principle of the tax. It had been intimated to obviate the arguments made use of when the tonnage duty was first proposed, that because the Ship-Owners had not resisted the Convoy Duty, which the minister alleged was the same in principle, it therefore followed that the Ship-Owners ought not to object to the Tonnage Duty. The Chairman said, that he would not then trouble them with many observations on the subject which they had so amply discussed at the last general Meeting. It was undoubtedly stated by the Ship-Owners, that at the time the Tonnage Duty was brought forward, the shipping interest was in a depressed state. The Committee, to prove the truth of their allegations, had adopted one criterion, namely, the number of ships on sale at the particular period alluded to, when it was found, upon investigation, that there were about 160 for sale in the River Thames only; that a far greater number was unemployed, and in want of freights; and that those which were freighted were obliged to act on such terms as could not leave any profit to the owners. It was the business, he said, of the meeting, to consider whether the alteration favourable to the shipping of the country, which, they had been taught to expect, had taken place; or whether the shipping still continued in the same depressed state in which it appeared when they applied to the minister. He thought the Duty on Tonnage might be considered in two points of view—its justice and its policy. To make it just, it was necessary that the object of taxation was in such a state, as to bear the proportion assigned to it. With respect to its policy, it was worthy consideration, whether the shipping of this country, which had been uniformly the object of bounty and encouragement, should now be deemed an object of taxation—for it had been formerly the policy of the Legislature to give encouragement to British shipping; and the whole civilized world was sensible of its effect; he trusted no man felt it more strongly than the minister. He was equally sensible, that if the Ship-Owners could convince the minister of the injustice or impolicy of the tax, he would not hesitate one moment to promote its repeal. This meeting was therefore to consider how that desirable object was likely to be best effected. He was, however, confident, that they would receive from the minister that attention which the importance of the subject merited. He therefore thought it unnecessary for him to expatiate further on the subject.—The Secretary then read the draft of a petition to Parliament for the repeal of the duties on tonnage, and oil, and skins, the produce of the British fishery, which had been previously agreed to by the Committee, by which it appeared that those duties were extremely oppressive. That British shipping, from many causes independent of those duties, still laboured under very great depression, so that the most injurious consequences to the empire might be feared, if the duties on tonnage were continued to be imposed on British shipping. That the principle of these duties militated directly against the spirit of the acts which had been enacted by the Legislature of the country for the increase and encouragement of its shipping and navigation; and it was apprehended the inevitable consequences of the operation of the continuance of those duties would be the still farther depression of British shipping; and also tend to weaken the means of the maritime defence of the country, and accelerate the departure of multitudes of British seamen from their native land, and that at a time when the other maritime powers were most sedulously employed in adopting measures for the

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increase of their shipping and navies, and also when the shipping of Great-Britain had fallen in their value from 30 to 40l. per cent.—*Mr. Hurry* observed, that he conceived the arguments which had been made use of by the Committee at their interview with the minister were unanswerable; that the shipping interest was as much depressed at the present time as it was at that period; and as the tonnage duty was adopted as a tax of experiment, he trusted under those circumstances it would be abandoned. He therefore conceived it would be advisable to urge an interview with the minister.—*Mr. Akenhead* said, it was his intention to have noticed the subject; and he was of opinion it was proper to obtain an interview with Government, as a fair opportunity had been afforded of trying the expediency of the tax, which unfortunately proved to be very injurious to the Ship-Owners, of which he had proofs which were indubitable.—*Mr. Robinson* remarked, that from the assurances made when this subject was under discussion, he flattered himself the measure would be abandoned, as the shipping interest continued to be as much depressed as at that period.—*The Chairman* said, that the polite attention which the minister had shewn to the Committee on their former application, entitled him to every mark of respect. He therefore intimated the propriety of applying for another interview with him, previous to their making an application to parliament; and from the candour with which he received their observations, and from his great regard to the interest of the country, he had no doubt but he would give the subject every possible consideration.—The following resolutions were then entered into: *Resolved unanimously*, That the petition now produced and read be signed by the ship-owners present, and afterwards left at the bar of Lloyd's Coffee-house, for signatures, and that the same be presented to parliament early in the next session.—*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the committee to adopt such measures as may appear to them most likely to give effect to the intended application to parliament for the repeal of the tonnage duty, and that the resolutions of this meeting be transmitted to the ship-owners at the outports.—Afterwards a *serious discussion* took place, and several *resolutions* were entered into, expressive of the sentiments of the *ship-owners*, of the conduct which had been observed by the ship-builders in the termination of the recent differences between them and their men, and *strongly disapproving* of the *principles* which seem to have led to the conclusion of those disputes.

At a meeting of the committee of ship-owners, held at Will's Coffee-house on the 7th inst. the following resolutions, on this latter subject, were ordered to be published:—*Resolved*, That the ship-owners present at this meeting do highly disapprove of the manner in which the ship-builders have, for some time past, submitted to their workmen, who have lately committed acts of violence dangerous to the community, and destructive of those principles of subordination which ought always to be maintained between employers and their workmen; and they likewise observe, with very great regret, the manner in which the recent disputes between the ship-builders and their men have terminated by the masters treating with deputies from large bodies of their workmen, who, it appears, were combined together for illegal purposes.—*Resolved*, That the ship-owners present at this meeting do likewise disapprove the sentiments expressed in a letter signed T. Noakes, who is secretary to the committee of ship-builders, and was published in the Public Ledger, wherein it is stated "that the *ship-builders*, in justice to "the *ship-owners*, had placed themselves in the "situation of *mediators* between the two interested "parties," that is, *their* workmen and the *ship-owners*, who think it necessary to declare, that they conceive it to be the indispensable duty of the ship-builders to keep their men in due subordination; to prevent illegal combinations amongst them, and to exercise the right of employing and discharging such men as they may think proper, and that the ship-builders ought to prosecute, with the utmost rigour of the law, such of their men who may endeavour by threats, or acts of violence, to deter others from working and performing their duty who are so disposed; and in case the existing laws are inadequate to check in their origin such outrages, or to suppress them in their progress, the ship-builders owe it to the public, and it is a duty incumbent upon them to apply to the Legislature to remedy such serious and growing evils.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Vienna, Sept. 22.—Her Royal Highness the Grand Dutchess of Tuscany died here on Sunday last, the 19th inst.

Whitehall, Oct. 19.—The King has been pleased to present the Reverend Andrew Melville, Clerk, to the Church and Parish of Logie, in the Presbytery of Cupar and County of Fife, void by the death of Mr. Robert Bogie, late Minister there.

BANKRUPTS.

Brotherton, John, Manchester, grocer.—Brome, William, Melford, Suffolk, stay-maker.—Heatley, Andrew, Bishopsgate-street, broker.—Davis, Henry, Portsea, merchant.—Lawrence, James, Eltham, Kent, baker.—Puckett, John, Weymouth, merchant.—Isdell, Nicholas, Hambledon, Southampton, surgeon and apothecary.—Robinson, Samuel, Sheffield, scissor-smith.—Loggin, William, and Slater, Robert, Newgate-street, linen-drapers.—Taylor, John, Manchester, merchant.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Marriages.—The Rev. Mr. Moore, Rector of Sowden, Devon, to Miss Donnithorne, of St Agnes, Cornwall.—Captain Poyntz, of the Royal Navy, to Miss F. Brace, of Hambledon.—On the 31st of August, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, by the Bishop, the Rev. John Inglis, his only son, to Miss Cochran.—On Thursday, at Dudley, the Rev. Robert Crockett, to Miss Maria Hawke.

Deaths.—On Thursday, in Upper Brook Street, Col. Gilbert Ironside, late of the East-India Company's service in Bengal.—On the 6th ult. at Paris, Col. Alex. Malcolm, late of the 7th Reg.—Lately, in the Island of Jamaica, Richard Chadwick, Esq. of the 85th Reg.—On Saturday, the Rev. R. Sumner, Vicar of Kenilworth and Stoneleigh, in Warwickshire.—On the 30th ult. at his seat at Dalquin, in the County of Galway, the Right Hon. John Birmingham, Lord Baron Athenry, premier Baron of Ireland.—On Tuesday, at Canterbury, Lieut. Wm. Fraser, of the 1st Reg. of Life Guards.—On Tuesday, at Bath, Major Brooke.—At Bombay, the 16th December last, Lieut. Thos. Poole, 1st Bat. 1st Reg. Nat. Infantry.—At Bath, aged 74, Granado Pigott, Esq. of Abington Pigott, in the County of Cambridge.

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STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	181½	—	—	—	180½	79½
3 pr. C. R. An.	67⅛	—	66⅜	67⅜	66¼	66⅜
3 per C. Con.	67¼	—	67⅛	68	67⅛	67⅛
4 pr C. Cons.	84	—	83½	84	83⅛	83⅛
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100⅛	—	99⅛	100⅛	100⅛	100
Bank L. Ann.	19⅞	—	19⅞	19⅛	19⅞	—
Dº S. 1778 & 9	4⅛	—	—	—	—	4⅛
5 per Ct. 1797	100⅛	—	99⅜	100¼	99½	99½
Omnium ...	10 dis	—	10¼ dis	9¾ dis	10½ dis	10½ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 2	2 us.	Leghorn 51¼
Dº, at sight	11		Naples..... 48½
Rotterdam	11 3	2 us.	Genoa 47¼
Hamburgh	33 4	2 us.	Venice, livres piccole effective per £. ster.
Altona....	33 5	2 us.	Lisbon..... 68
Paris 1 day	23 15		Oporto..... 67
Paris.....	24	2 us.	Dublin..... 11⅜
Bourdeaux,	24 3		Bilboa..... 36¼ Dº
Cadiz	36¼	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol. p.
Madrid ..	36¼	effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	48s to 63s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 273s
Rye.....	30 .. 34	Hay per load....	80 .. 147
Barley.....	23 .. 25	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	42 .. 44	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats.....	14 .. 22	Veal	4s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Pease (white)....	43 .. 47	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	32 .. 35	Tallow	4s. 1d.
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 54	Av. of Sugar pr cw	34s.9¾d
Seconds.....	43 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	43 .. 50	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
10	Frost Fine	NE		30,25		50	
15	Frost Fine	NE	NE	30,2	30,18	46	57
16	Frost Fine	NE	NE	29,95	29,93	46	56
17	Frost Fine	NE	W	29,65	29,62	37	51
18	Showery.	W	SW	29,53	29,52	50	57
19	Rain.	SW	SW	29,42	29,31	50	60
20	Fine.	WSW	W	29,48	29,63	47	54

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,—It was on the 14th of October, 1801, a year ago this very day, that I commenced, with your lordship, that correspondence, which, with some trifling intermissions, has continued to the present hour. At that time, my lord, you, as "the happy instrument in obtaining *the blessings of peace*," were the object of the praises of that same base and stupid rabble, and of those dastardly myrmidons from the General Post-office, who insulted me and my family, and who demolished my dwelling, because I refused to join in their hired and infamous exultations. Relying on the baseness of the nation for support, certain that the acclamations of ignorance, selfishness, and disaffection, would drown the voice of sense, honour, and loyalty, you, your colleagues, and your advisers, then cast a supercilious sneer on the efforts of those, who had the honesty and resolution to oppose the measure on which you confidently depended for the preservation of your power and of the emoluments connected therewith. Under such circumstances, in the hey-day of your diplomatic career, in the midst of your golden dreams, it would have been absurd for me to hope to obtain a hearing from your lordship, and much more so to make any, even the slightest, impression upon your mind; *now*, however, for reasons too obvious to mention, I think, I may entertain such a hope; and, in this persuasion, I, with more than common alacrity, resume the pen for the purpose of communicating to your lordship my sentiments on the present awful situation of our public affairs.

Ever since the signature of that treaty, to prepare the public mind for the dangerous consequences of which has been my constant endeavour, the political writers and the public prints under the immediate influence of your lordship and your colleagues have insisted, that peace had, contrary to the expectations and to the predictions of its opposers, proved to be a wise and fortunate measure, that its benignant effects were visible in every department of the state, that its blessings would continue to increase as the goddess expanded her golden pinions, and that the nation had "*good reason to expect a long succession of years, undisturbed and unoppressed by the clangour and the expenses of war*;" but now, these writers have, all at once, abandoned their pacific system, and are become the advocates of energy; they talk of resistance, and even venture to pronounce the tremendous monosyllable *war*. I may well say *all at once*, for the opposite side of the page of the True Briton, which communicated to us your first acknowledgement of the hostile and dangerous designs of the Chief Consul, the opposite side of that very identical piece of paper, contained (under the title of *View of Public Affairs*) a strong reprobation, mixed up with *quantum sufficit* of malignity and abuse, on all the noblemen and gentlemen who had imputed to him such designs, and who had insisted, that, from the restless ambition of his co-operators as well as himself, the duration of peace must be very short, or must be lengthened out by such further sacrifices as would inevitably produce the entire, and almost immediate, subjugation of this country. The *cause* of this sudden and astonishing change, is, it is pretended, *the recent declaration of Buonaparté to the Swiss, and his evident intentions with respect to that people and their country*. This pretext may, probably, be sufficient to satisfy the supple followers of any and of every administration, the blind

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approvers of every measure, the paltry time-serving politicians of the day: me, my lord, it does not satisfy. It is a deception, a low trick to disguise the real grounds of dispute, and to shelter the makers of the peace from the censure which must fall on them when those grounds are known. My object is to strip off this disguise; to show, 1. That, if the interference of Buonaparté in the affairs of Switzerland be, in any case, an adequate cause of war, yet, seeing what has passed, it is grossly inconsistent and absurd for this country to make war on him on that account; 2. That the independence of Switzerland is a mere pretext, and that other dangers, greater and more pressing, are the real cause of the present hostile language and attitude; 3. That these dangers have arisen out of the peace, that they were foreseen and foretold by those who opposed the peace, who were contradicted by the ministers, and who were censured, ridiculed, and abused by their ignorant and servile partizans; 4. That any remonstrance to France, in behalf of the Swiss, on the part of this country, will be totally disregarded, or will produce nothing more than a suspension of the evil, or will re-kindle the flames of war, and that, in either case, the fatal consequences of the peace will be equally conspicuous.

1. The alleged grounds of the present misunderstanding with Buonaparté have been thus stated, in the ministerial papers. "*The cause of Switzerland* is a *common one* "with every power that is not a voluntary "slave to the influence of France; and "*a resistance to the system at present pursued* "*by Buonaparté becomes a duty with the rulers* "*of every free country.*" The jealousy and apprehension of this nation are, we are told, justly excited by "the unwarrantable con- "duct of Buonaparté towards the people "of Switzerland—a people interesting to "every British heart, from the simplicity "of their manners, the independance of "their principles, the rectitude of their "conduct during the war—the injuries they "have sustained—and, *above all*, from *the* "*new tyranny with which they are threatened.* "—If, "says the writer," "we feel thus "interested for them as men—as English- "men—as friends to *our* country, are there "not *still higher considerations* which call up- "on us to interfere *for the preservation of* "*their independance?*"—The Swiss being "a "people *interesting* to every British heart," the "*simplicity of their manners*," the "*in- dependence of their principles*," the "*rectitude* of their conduct *during the war*," and the "injuries they have sustained," are points which I shall, probably, touch upon hereafter, but which, important as they are, are certainly less so than that "NEW *tyranny*, "*with which the Swiss are threatened.*" To prevent this new tyranny from taking place, and to preserve the independence of Switzerland, by resisting the interference of the First Consul in the internal affairs of that country, are, then, the alleged grounds of our present misunderstanding with him, and of the rupture, which may possibly take place between us. But, my lord, let us examine the practice of his Majesty's government, since its affairs have been conducted by your lordship and your colleagues, and see whether it does not forbid the world to repose too implicit a confidence in your present professions.

You concluded, my lord, the preliminary treaty with France, leaving Holland, which you affected to regard as independant, under the rule of a government created by France and under the bayonets of a French army, part of which still remains in that country; the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics, and also the farcical kingdom of Etruria, you left in the same state of vassalage, which vassalage you ratified and confirmed by the silence observed, with respect to the government of these countries, in the treaty of Amiens. With respect to the Cisalpine republic, indeed, the interference of France was still more glaring, and was attended with circumstances peculiarly aggravating. Buonaparté sent for certain persons of that country to Lyons, where he new-named the republic and formed for it an entire new government, of which he put himself at the head, having under him a vice-president, who is to do no act of government without his orders, thus rendering the country neither more nor less than a colony of France; and this was done, too, during the negotiations of the definitive treaty, to the conclusion of which it proved to be no obstacle. But, to come still closer to the point, was not Switzerland the country for the independance of which we are now to risk a war, was not the very Switzerland herself, left, by the treaty of Amiens, not only under a government imposed upon her by France, but under *the very same government*, which, the people having cashiered it, Buonaparté is about to re-instate? For me, my lord, or for any of the oposers of the peace, to condemn the proceedings of the Consul with respect to Switzerland, would be both just and consistent; *we* might with propriety ask his

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what right he has to interfere in the internal concerns of an independent country, with a view "to prescribe to the people "the form of government which he chooses "they should live under." But, I should be glad to know, with what face your lordship and your colleagues can remonstrate with him, and, if he despises your interposition, with what face you can call upon the people of England to forego the, as yet, but half-tasted "blessings of peace and plenty," and to encounter the "hardships and horrors of "war," merely for the purpose of preventing the restoration of a government, which you not only left in existence, supported by French troops, but the lawfulness of which you tacitly acknowledged by a treaty, the ink of which is hardly yet dry!

Would to God, that, for the honour of England, you had only *tacitly* sanctioned that *principle of interference*, which you, at last, find it necessary to oppose! But, my lord, 'till the preliminary and definitive treaties between England and the republic of France are annulled, 'till we have restored Ceylon to the Dutch and Trinidada to Spain, and have repealed our "*statutes*" for the government of Malta, we may profess to abhor, we may cry out against, this abominable principle, but we must excuse the world if they compare our railing to that of sister *Jeanne à la grille*, and tell us, that when they, too, are satiated with sin, they will join us in the work of repentance.

The nations of Europe remember, and will long remember, the ministerial boastings with respect to the islands, which we received from France, belonging to Holland and Spain. That act, that clever trick, which was so much applauded by the parliamentary wise-acres, by that numerous crowd of "well-meaning men," who so ably and so boldly cried *aye* for the peace, and who are so passionately fond of "*safe* "politicians" like your lordship; that act, like a guilty conscience, will stare us in the face at every step we take, will unstring our nerves in every enterprize, for asserting the independance of any country, not excepting our own. "Though" said the Editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review, (Vol. I. p. 221,) "Though, in the very face of "the preliminary treaty, we find, that it is "exclusively a treaty between Great-Britain "and France; yet, by one of its articles, "does France take upon herself to give "away, and does Great-Britain condescend "to accept from her hands, two possessions belonging to free and independant "powers, who were not parties to the "agreement: Ceylon, the property of the "Dutch, Trinidada the property of Spain. "But, could it possibly have escaped the "attention of Lord Hawkesbury, that, by "this very act, he gave a complete sanction "to that jacobinical principle, on which "the gigantic usurpations of the regicide "republic of France have been founded; "that he admitted her right not only to "prescribe laws to her allies, but to dispose of their territories, at her pleasure? "—*A right, which, possibly, this nation may, "ere long, be called upon to dispute*; but, "with what confidence or with what effect, after such an admission, our readers "will easily conceive! In short, there required no other proof, than this one act, "of the perfect incapacity of his lordship "to fulfil the important duties of his high "station." The *concluding* inference, my lord, however unwilling I may be to insist on its justice, certainly derives considerable support from the sound reasoning and political sagacity displayed by this writer, who, in the month of October, 1801, while his brother reviewers, some from ignorance and others from servility, were joining in the exultations of the peace-loving rabble, had the wisdom to foresee, and the honesty and courage to foretell, that the article of the treaty, of which I am here speaking, would be productive of precisely that evil which it has already produced.*

There are two ways, in which France interferes with other states, one *by seizing on part, or the whole, of their territory*, the other, by *dictating to them a form and mode of government*, in both of which we have participated; in the former, though we did not absolutely lay violent hands on Ceylon and Trinidad, yet, upon the old maxim, that the receiver is as bad as the thief, we have our full share of the guilt belonging to the transaction; and, in the latter, we are equally culpable with France with respect to Malta, unless the world, justly regarding us, in this instance, as the involuntary tools of France, should pardon our crime in compassion of our ignorance and cowardice. A hopeful alternative, my lord! But, be your lordship assured, that the world will not show even this compassion towards us, and that, on the contrary, we alone shall be charged with the destruction of the antient government and order of Malta. By lending the name of England to this shameful act

* The same sentiment was also stated by several members of parliament. See, besides, Cobbett's Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace, p. 153.

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of interference, to this flagrant violation of the first great principle of public law; by making her give so unequivocal a sanction to the insolent, the unbearable assumption of a right to alter the governments of independent states, you fully and formally confirmed that doctrine, which the republicans of France invented for the purpose of invading the liberties of mankind, and for the still more nefarious purpose of destroying the principles of morality and religion. In justifying the late war, how many hundred times did your lordship and your present colleagues refer to the famous revolutionary decree of the 19th of November, 1792! But that decree, insolent as it was, was not so insolent as that part of the definitive treaty, which relates to the forming of "statutes" for Malta. That decree very kindly informed the people of every state, that, if they wished to change their form of government, France was ready to assist them. But, with respect to Malta, no questions were asked; a new government was imposed, without the least reference to the wishes of either the governing or the governed. And thus did Great-Britain end a war, which she began for the purpose of resisting this audacious and disorganizing doctrine, not only by acceding to that doctrine, but by acting on it to an extent far beyond that, in which it was attempted to be enforced against herself!*

Is it for us, then, my lord, to rail against Buonaparté for interfering in the affairs of independent nations? Is it for your lordship and your colleagues to call on us to resume our arms for the purpose of checking such interference?

2. The truth is, my lord, that the preservation of the independance of Switzerland is, on the part of you and your colleagues, a mere pretext. For, allowing that you have repented of your great political sin, that you have "asked pardon of God and "man" for your own acts of interference in the internal concerns of other independent nations, that you now, by way of atonement, interpose against your former associate, that you not only turn king's evidence, but thief-takers into the bargain; allowing all this, and adding thereto the consideration, that you interpose to check not only this single instance of encroachment in Buonaparté, by the whole system, which, if not checked, must finally embrace this country too; yet, I should be glad to know what has occurred in the affairs of Europe to render the independence of Switzerland of so much more importance to us than the independence of any other of the countries, in whose internal concerns Buonaparté has interfered since the conclusion of the preliminary treaty. The independence of Switzerland is certainly of importance to England; but it is not of importance to her merely on account of the "*simplicity of the manners* and the *independence of the principles* of the Swiss, much "less on account of the *rectitude* of their "conduct *during the war*" (of which the less is said, at this time, the better): these are considerations, which, admitting the facts to be true, might have weight in deciding the opinion of the philosopher or the moralist; but we must look for other and far different considerations, on which to justify a war; and, will your lordship pretend to say, that either the interest, the honour, or the safety of this country, is essentially connected with the independence of Switzerland? Will you pretend to say, that the interference of Buonaparté in the domestic affairs of that country is more dangerous to us than his creating and governing the king and kingdom of Etruria, than his presidentship of the Italian Republic, than his incorporation of Piedmont, than his new distribution of the titles, the dignities, the power, and the dominions, of the kings, the electors, and princes of Germany? Will you, my lord, with the map of Europe and the Custom-house returns open before you, attempt to persuade the people, that Switzerland, of all the whole Continent, is the only spot, on which France may not seize without endangering the interest and the safety of England?

This is an attempt, however, in which I will not say, that you would not obtain a momentary success; but, like the "experi-"ment" of peace, it would soon fail you, and would compel you to have recourse to other shifts more analogous to "existing "circumstances." The "simplicity of "manners, the independence of principle, "and the rectitude of conduct," which are so "interesting to the heart of every Eng-"lishman," would all be forgotten before the end of the first campaign; "*peace* and "a *large loaf*," would be rung in your ears by the very same mob, on whose clamours you depended for stifling the voice of those, who had honesty and honour enough to oppose the measure, which has produced your

* This was strongly urged, in both Houses of Parliament, during the debates on the treaty, by several noblemen and gentlemen, particularly by Lord Folkestone, who anticipated the very dilemma, in which we are now placed.

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present embarrassment. Besides, my lord, are you not aware, that Buonaparté can, at any moment, deprive you of all the support, which may, in any case, be expected from this popular affection for the Swiss? His proclamation, though insufferably domineering and insolent, though tyrannical as to its means, is very loose and equivocal as to its end. He does not say, that he will incorporate Switzerland with France; he does not say he will make it obey a government of his framing; he does not even say, that he will insist upon the re-instalment of his creatures, whom the people have just turned out. He can, therefore, without any relaxation of authority, without any derogation from his dignity, without any risk of losing the smallest portion of the terror in which he holds the intimidated world, make such an arrangement with Switzerland, as will, at once, leave him, in fact, the master of that country, deprive you of your pretext for hostility, and disarm all the popular resentment, which you may, during the existence of that pretext, be able to excite.

The *real grounds* of your present hostile language and attitude will, my lord, if I am not much mistaken, prove to be very different indeed from the interference of Buonaparté in the affairs of Switzerland. The "experiment" of peace has completely failed; your lordship and your colleagues have been baffled in all your expectations; a diminution has already been felt, and a greater is anticipated, in the commercial products of the country; France has persevered in her ambitious views, and her projects have, from day to day, become more and more alarming; she has made more conquests in six months of peace than in ten years of war; Germany and the Mediterranean now tremble at her nod; Buonaparté, like the destroying angel, has placed one foot upon the land and the other foot upon the sea, and on this country he has resolved to pour the first vial of his wrath. No offerings, no sacrifices, no intreaties, no acts of humility, of submission, or of prostration, nothing but successful resistance to his dreadful power (which has been doubled by the peace) can save us from political perdition. Not content with shutting us out from the ports of Europe, with enveloping us by his conquests and usurpations, with sapping the foundations of our government by all sorts of intrigue; not content to wait for the comparatively slow, though certain, operation of these means, he has, if I am not much mistaken, already interfered in our own internal affairs, and signified his resolution to *dictate laws* to us, in more than one instance, and particularly relative to the *liberty of the press!*

These, my lord, are the *real* grounds of your present hostile array, and grounds they are quite sufficient to have roused you long enough ago; but, the same motives, which led you and your colleagues to conclude the preliminary treaty, together with the reluctance which weak men always have to confess their errors, have restrained you from making the slightest resistance to the will of Buonaparté; and, it is well known, that your present fit of vigour has arisen from *the personal determination of his Majesty to admit of no further sacrifices of the honour and interests of his people.* This truely royal and paternal determination led you to catch the first occasion that presented itself to make a pretence of dicovering a *new* hostile and ambitious mind in the First Consul; as if such a mind were more visible in him *now* than at any time subsequent to the signature of the preliminaries; as if it were more visible *now*, than when he proclaimed himself sovereign of Italy, or when he issued his mandate to the German empire!

3. I shall now, my lord, endeavour to show, that the difficulties and dangers, which you and your colleagues have at last discovered, were *foreseen and foretold* by those who opposed the peace, who were contradicted by the ministers, and who were censured, ridiculed, and abused, by the ignorant and servile partizans of those ministers.

My lord, were I to take all the passages, in the debates on the treaty of peace, which express, either directly or indirectly, the opinion of the ministers, *that little or no danger was in future to be apprehended from the ambitious hostility of the First Consul*, I should fill a small volume: a few extracts will suffice. During the debate of May 8, on Mr. Nichols's motion for a vote of censure on Mr. Pitt, *Lord Belgrave* made a speech, from which I cannot refrain from making one short extract, not inapplicable to the present subject: —"The great struggle for our security, the "main shock of the French revolution had "been successfully resisted, when the late "ministry retired from office. Comparing "then the present period, with that of the "end of the year 1792, let me ask the House, "whether they do not feel themselves a little "more secure now, than they did at that "time? Whether they do not feel themselves very much in the situation of mariners who have just escaped the dangers of "the most tremendous storm they had ever "encountered, and who look back upon the

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" scarce subsiding waves *with emotions of calm* " *delight, and unspeakable satisfaction?* Every " man, not lost to all virtuous and honour- " able feeling, or whose intellects are not " unusually benumbed, must have felt at " the end of the year 1792, and at other " periods of the war, no common anxiety " for the fate of his king and country, " his family, his friends, and his own " safety. Now turn your eyes on your " present situation, on the vessel of the state " having now weathered the storm, and " riding in triumph and security in her na- " tive port."—I am afraid, my lord, that the emotions of calm delight and unspeak- able satisfaction, which his lordship here so elegantly describes, have been, for some time at least, strangers to the breasts of you and your colleagues, who, if you have a proper notion of your situation, must regard yourselves as being in a crazy vessel, and upon the eve of a furious tempest.—*Lord Castlereagh* is next upon my list of authori- ties:—" We have," (said his lordship, in the last debate on the Definitive Treaty), " We " have in some points failed, but upon the " whole we have attained *the security* for " which we have contended; for whether " we contended for the abolition of French " principles, which menaced our safety, as " well as that of Europe, or whether to de- " ter the enemy from venturing to attack us " at home or abroad, we have so far suc- " ceeded as to maintain our safety, and to " combat with success that malignant spirit " of the French nation, which professed to " content itself with nothing less than the " utter destruction of this country. Does " the government of France now hold such " language? Does it now, or of late, talk " of planting its banners on the tower of " London, or triumphantly waving its vic- " torious flag on the river Thames? No, for " it now speaks of this country as a land of " liberty, and looks up to it as a model " worthy of imitation, and respects it as the " French people were wont to do under the " old government.—What danger, I ask, " does there now exist of the prevalence of " French principles in this country, which " obtained for a time so many dupes and " proselytes? So long as France maintain- " ed its inveterate malignity to this country, " no security was to be relied on; the first " step, therefore, to our security was a " change of sentiment and principle in the " government of France, and therefore by " resisting the French principle which has " pervaded the progress of the revolution, " *our security has grown out of the circumstances* " *of the war*, and, in my conviction, *so far* " *are we at this day from being in any danger* " *from the designs of France, never did we en-* " *joy, at any period of our history, a more per-* " *fect state of security.* With respect to the " territorial acquisitions of France on the " continent of Europe and in America, I " am free to acknowledge, they are not " circumstances of satisfactory reflection. " But. with respect to the aggrandizement " of France, from this circumstance, at any " early period I have no apprehensions what- " ever. For if France shall chuse to aban- " don her internal interests, for purposes of " colonial aggrandizement; if she chuses to " divert from the revival of her ruined " trade, manufactures, and agriculture at " home, the only means in her possession, " she may prosecute schemes of spreading " conquest and barbarism in Europe for " some time, *but must cease to be a rival* " *from which this country has any thing to fear*, " in any point of view commercial *or politi-* " *cal*; but *cannot fail to weaken and speedily* " *ruin herself.* But, admitting the possibility " that *a future period* may arrive, *too distant* " for me to calculate, or for this House now " to reason upon or calculate, when France " may be induced to attempt such projects, " I trust, *at this moment*, no such apprehen- " sions are to be feared, as, were such a " suspicion in my mind justifiable, I should " think twice before I would agree to a con- " clusion of peace."

Now, my lord, I beg leave to remind you of what your lordship said on this subject of *security* from the *tranquil disposition* of France. The extract is taken from your speech of the 8th of May, in reply to Mr. Grey, who had, in my opinion, undeniably proved, that the government of Buonaparté was not less jaco- binical, either in principle or in practice, than that of Robespierre.—" I am asked," (said your lordship), " whether the ground " of argument, on Jacobin principles, does " not now exist in the same force and de- " gree against the government of France, " as it did when this country first opposed " it on that account? To which I will " answer, that Jacobin principles not only " do not exist in the same force and de- " gree; but, *they do not exist at all.* The " hon. gentleman has asked, if Jacobin " principles did not give birth to the present " government of France? That is not the " mode of considering the question; it is " not material to consider what gave birth " to the present government—the question " is to us, *what are its principles now?* And in " that respect, there has been *a complete*

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" *change in the government of France.* The " present government of France has published to the world a recantation of every " principle of Jacobinism, and of every other " principle from which danger was apprehended, in a manner *as satisfactory as the* " *most sanguine friend of the war, or the most* " *decided enemy of Jacobin principles, can desire.* However I may regret the fate of " the House of Bourbon, without considering whether that House was likely to be " restored or not in the course of the war, " yet if it had been for nothing more than " a restoration of that House, the contest " would not have been carried on; but the " contest here was owing to the entire " change of principles upon which the government had been carried on; all principles of established governments had " been overturned, and it would have " been at any time sufficient ground for " other countries to adopt measures for the " resistance of such principles, as being " utterly hostile to all government whatever, they being in their nature calculated to overturn all constituted authorities. I may be asked, however, what " I think of the recantation which has been " made of those principles, and whether " I think they give evidence of a recurrence to ancient principles? To which " I answer, I am aware that whatever may " be the desire of persons in France, after " such a conclusion, it will be impossible " for them to set up an establishment upon " the best of models, for they must take " their materials as they find them In the " mean time full credit is due to their profession, as far as it regards foreign powers, for they have *publicly asked pardon of* " *God and Man*, and done every thing they " can to revert to the ancient established " principles of government, and their measures, in every point I have been able to " view them, have that tendency. It is an " important consideration with reference " to this peace, *how far it would be prudent in* " *this country, by a continuation of the war, to* " *drive them again to revolutionary measures,* " *where they must abandon the system of justice,* " *moderation, and peace, which they have now.*"

This was your lordship's curious set of opinions respecting the character and views of the government, with which you had been treating, and in whose capital you had had diplomatic agents for upwards of twelve months! Let us now hear your right worthy colleague Mr. ADDINGTON,—" I know nothing" (said that shrewd and disinterested statesman) " in the circumstances of the " present time—I know of nothing in the " disposition of the government of France, " nor in the disposition of the person at " the head of the government of France, " *that warrants any apprehension, the peace* " *now concluded may not last as long as any* " *peace, which this country ever made at any* " *period of her history.*"

Such, my lord, were the opinions of the solid, steady, cautious, " *safe* politicians," in opposition to which I could now quote those of *every* nobleman and gentleman, who spoke against the peace, but, for want of time as well as room, I must content myself with an extract from the speech of Mr. Windham, delivered on the 4th of November, *before* the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and even before we had heard of the affair of Elba or of the Italian republic.—" Notwithstanding (said he) some " lofty talk which we heard of dignity and " firmness, and which I shall be glad to see " realized, and a happy quotation, expressive of the same sentiments, from my " honourable friend not now present (Mr. " Pitt,) the real amount of what was said, " seems to be little more than this:—that " France has, to be sure, the *power* of destroying us, but that we hope she will " not have the *inclination*;—that we are " under the paw of the lion, but that he " may happen not to be hungry, and, instead of making a meal of us, may turn " round in his den, and go to sleep. (p. 2.)

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" Here it is then, that I must advert again " to that topick of consolation, (miserable " indeed must our state be, when such are " our topicks of consolation,) to which, " in order to make out a case not perfectly " hopeless, we are willing to have recourse " and which, more I believe than any reliance upon our wealth, does really support us, in the situation to which we are " reduced. This is the idea, that from " some cause or other, from some combination of passions and events,—such as " no philosophy can explain, and no history " probably furnish an example of,—the " progress of the revolution will stop where " it is: and that Buonaparté, like another " Pyrrhus,—or rather like that adviser of " Pyrrhus, whose advice was *not* taken,—" instead of proceeding to the conquest of " new worlds, will be willing to sit down " contented in the enjoyment of those " which he has already.—Sir, the great objection to this hope, to say nothing of its " *baseness*, is its utter *extravagance*. On " what possible ground do we believe this?

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" Is it in the general nature of ambition? " Is it in the nature of French revolutionary ambition? Does it happen commonly " to those, whether nations or individuals, " who are seized with the spirit of aggrandizement and acquisition, that they are " inclined rather to count what they possess, than to look forward to what yet " remains to be acquired? If we examine " the French revolution, and trace it correctly to its causes, we shall find that the " scheme of universal empire was, from the " beginning, that which was looked to as " the real consummation of its labours; " the object first in view, though last to " be accomplished; the *primum mobile* that " originally set it in motion, and has since " guided and governed all its movements. " —The authors of the revolution wished to " destroy morality and religion. They " wished those things as ends: but they " wished them also, as means, to a higher " and more extensive design. They wished " for a double empire; an empire of opinion " and an empire of political power: and " they used the one of these, as a means of " effecting the other. What reason have " we to suppose, that they have renounced " those designs, just when they seem to " touch the moment of their highest and " fullest accomplishment? When there is " but one country, that remains between " France and the empire of the world, " then is the moment, when we choose to " suppose that all opposition may be with- " drawn, and that the ambition of France " will stop of its own accord.—It is im- " possible not to see in these feeble and " sickly imaginations, that fatal temper of " mind, which leads men to look for help " and comfort from any source rather than " from their own exertions."

This, my lord, was the language of a real statesman, who had the sagacity to perceive the dangers, into which you had plunged his country, and whose mind, far above all the paltry considerations of popularity and place, revolted at the idea of disguising his sentiments, though the peace-loving rabble stood ready to pour on him a torrent of abuse. This speech which the meek Wilberforce called " *madly* opposing " the wishes of the nation for peace," which the respectable Gillray caricatured as " *a dream*," and which the sprightly Chalmers (safely sheltered from chastisement by a tenfold shield of contempt) styled " *the* " *ravings* of *despair* and of *foolishness*;" this speech, my lord, will remain " as a testimony against you unto the people " and unto the world, as long, at least, as Buonaparté, or his successor, shall be pleased to suffer a pamphlet in the English language to be read, which may not, perhaps, be many months longer.

And, on this subject too, my lord, where will you and your colleagues look for a justification? Buonaparté has, if we are to believe the True Briton, " *insisted upon the alteration of our laws respecting the liberty of the press.*" And, to say nothing of the *tone* and *terms* of the treaty of peace; has he not had the most direct encouragement to make this demand, not only from the servile language the public prints known to be under the controul of government, but from the declarations of those who supported the peace, particularly of the late Attorney General (now Lord Ellenborough), of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt, and your lordship? I have not room, my lord, to insert extracts from the speeches, to which I now allude, but let any one refer to them, and deny, if he can, that the sentiments they contain relative to the manner in which Englishmen should speak of Buonaparté and his government, furnish the strongest possible presumption, that the demand, which has now been made, would be readily complied with. Nor was this demand *unforeseen* or *unforetold* by those who opposed the peace. Lords Spencer, Grenville, Carlisle, Mr. Grenville, Lord Temple, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Windham, and Dr. Laurence, in particular, most strongly and justly reprobated the abject tone, which it was attempted to impose upon the Parliament as well as the press. Every member of Parliament must recollect *the language* in which the late Attorney General censured Mr. Elliot for daring *to doubt of the sincerity and the pacific intentions of Buonaparté*; nor can any one have forgotten the silence of ministers on the affairs of Lundberg and Lauriston. On this topic, my lord, I must beg leave to be indulged with making a short quotation or two from my own publications. By looking over the pages of my Letters on the Peace and of the Political Register, your lordship will find that I and my correspondents have given you, " precept upon pre- " cept, precept upon precept; line upon " line, line upon line; here a little and " there a little; that you might not go and " fall backward, and be broken, and snar- " ed, and taken." The danger to the real and useful freedom of speech and of the press was early foreseen, and was thus anticipated:—" The press of Great-Britain and " that of America are the last refuge of the

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" liberties of the world; and we may be " well assured, that no exertion of strata- " gem or force will be spared to stifle their " inquiries. In America, the accomplish- " ment of this object will be very difficult; " but, however humiliating the acknow- " ledgment, we sincerely believe the diffi- " culty will be less in this kingdom, a be- " lief in which we are persuaded our rea- " ders will participate, when they observe " the language of those English prints, " which are under the influence of the mi- " nistry, and when they are informed that " silence, with respect to Buonaparté, has " already been, by authority, imposed on " the Journal de Peltier. To suppose, that " the liberty of the British press is at last " to be destroyed by the person, whom " Lord Hawkesbury so lately styled " a " Corsican Adventurer;" to suppose, that " we are no longer to find protection in " those courts, which have ever been the " safe-guard of ourselves and the admira- " tion of the world; to suppose these things " possible is, in some sort, to renounce one's " nature; but, so humble, so base, are we " become, and such is our propensity to " sink, that it is beyond the powers of the " mind to conceive the depth of degrada- " tion to which we shall finally descend." —*(Political Register, Vol. I. p.* 221, *March* 6.) —Again: " If we examine into the means, " which France has made use of, in the " subjugation of those countries, which are " now smarting under her lash, we shall " find, that, in every instance, her progress " has commenced by the enslaving of the " press. The press is a powerful instru- " ment; she, of all nations, best knows its " force, and she, therefore, wisely takes " care, that that force shall not be employ- " ed against herself. The British press, of " all others, she dreads most. Buonaparté " is much more afraid of this press than he " is of the Pope, or the Goddess of Rea- " son, or even of Mahomet, zealous as " he is in the Mussulman faith. He has " emitted his venom on all those, in this " country, who have ventured to question " the moderation of his views and the sin- " cerity of his professions, and has given " us no very unintelligible hint, that such " disbelief may, ere long, be followed with " chastisement. It is in the nature of up- " starts to be presuming; and it cannot be " denied, that the experience which Buo- " naparté has already had of our baseness, " is well calculated to encourage his pre- " sumption. The gross violation, the open " and daring defiance of our laws, commit- " ted with impunity by the bearers of the " preliminary treaty, was, we fear, the be- " ginning of a series of acts, under which " the constitution of England is destined to " perish."—*(Political Register, Vol. I. p.* 317, 318.)—God, in his mercy, forbid, that these apprehensions should be realized! but, that they did not spring from that " *madness*," that " *despair* and *foolishness*," which Messrs. Wilberforce and Chalmers ascribed to the opposers of the peace, will *now*, I think, my lord, be acknowledged by yourself. They were the offspring of a watchful attention to the *tone* and *terms* of the treaty, and of an anxious solicitude for the salvation of my country: to that humble and trembling tone, to those disadvantageous and disgraceful terms, to our subsequent acts of servility, to these, and to these *alone*, my lord, is to be imputed the audacious demand, of which I have here been speaking, and which your lordship will affect to attribute to a *new* hostile and ambitious mind in the Consul.

Having now, my lord, shown, that the affair of Switzerland is a mere pretext for your change of language and conduct, that other causes have produced this change, and that these causes were foreseen and foretold by those who opposed the peace with Buonaparté, I should now proceed to shew, that, though the Consul, aided by the advice of the English faction now at Paris, may find the means of avoiding hostilities for the present, without any relaxation of his authority over us, and though you and your colleagues may, from some compromise with him, take credit for vigour which you do not possess, and upon the strength of that credit make concessions ten times more essentially important, yet that, in a short time, we must have war with France, or must quietly submit to her yoke; and this would lead me to consider how, in case of a new war, the peace will have changed our position for the worse; and also how that war is, according to the present appearances, likely to be conducted and likely to terminate.—But this, my lord, is " high " matter," and shall therefore be addressed to a high character.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

London, Oct. 14, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head we have many things, which we would wish to notice, but which we must postpone for want of room. Switzerland, which, from the use that our ministers are making of it, is become the prin-

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cipal object of public attention, has, it would appear, from advices received yesterday, yielded to the mandates of Buonaparté. "The Diet of Schwitz has adopted all the "articles of the proclamation of the First "Consul of France, the official account of "which has just been received by his Aide "du Camp, Rapp, and the Helvetic go-"vernment will return to Berne the day "after to-morrow, under the escort of the "first Helvetic demi-brigade."—This news is dated at Lausanne on the 13th, and is taken from a Paris paper of the 18th instant. It may be false, or, at least, premature; but, we think there is little doubt, that it expresses what will prove to be the result, and, if so, what becomes of the interposition of our courageous ministers? What becomes of the pretext, under which they hoped to disguise the real ground of that state of hostilities, on which, from far different causes, they are, or will soon be, compelled to enter? Buonaparté will, we think, settle matters in Switzerland in a manner that will leave the English government no just ground of complaint; as to Germany, he will, most likely, make such a concession as will satisfy the Emperor, or, at least, the philosophical counsellers by whom that monarch is surrounded; and, with respect to Malta, we cannot imagine, that the Emperor of Russia, notwithstanding the change which has taken place in his ministry, will attempt to interfere, and thereby forego all the advantages which he at present derives from the friendship of France, merely for us, for us who turned our back on his overtures for obtaining an indemnity for our own faithful ally.—The grand secret of state, in this country, seems, of late years, to have been the finding out false pretexts for every important measure of government, particularly the measures relating to war; and it is really a subject of curious speculation to guess at the ground which ministers will next take, if that which Switzerland offered has already slipped from beneath them.—*Nous verrons!*

According to advices from Ratisbon of the 8th inst. a "*supplement*" to the plan of indemnities had then been drawn up by the French minister, and had been approved of by the Russian and Prussian ministers. It is stated, that the first plan has, in this new instance of Buonaparte's paternal care, undergone considerable changes, some of which are said to be known, but they are not stated. The official communication of this supplement, will, it is supposed, by the French papers, "put an end to the numerous claims "and complaints, with which the deputation "has been tormented for some weeks past." That is to say, it will for ever shut up the mouths of those who have been robbed and insulted by this execrable act of tyranny.

The election of Prince Ruspoli, to be Grand Master of the Order of Malta, is now, by those very London prints which abused the opposers of the peace, discovered to be contrary to the treaty; and these same prints have also discovered, that it was *impossible to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty respecting Malta.*—So said Lord Grenville, and his lordship founded his assertion upon the facts which are now acknowledged to have existed at the time. He said the order, by the new regulations, was "impoverished in "finance, degraded in reputation, and that "it must soon sink into a gang of low, "needy, and unprincipled adventurers;" and so *now* says word for word, the public prints which abused his lordship for his observations.—Whether *we have a right to hold the island* is another question.

We hear nothing further of the embarkation of troops for New Orleans; and, it is not unimportant to observe, that the suspension of this enterprize is rather a corroborating proof of Buonaparté's apprehending hostilities with this country. In that case, to take possession of Louisiana would be highly imprudent, as it would assuredly throw the Americans into our scale; whereas, by abandoning the project of colonizing Louisiana, or by delaying it for some time, France is certain of securing the neutrality, and, perhaps, of purchasing the co-operation, of America, whose present rulers are by no means friendly to England, and whose people of all descriptions, are boiling with indignation at what they term "the *malignant* and *vindictive* policy of the British "ministers," in *putting the French on their back, in order to render them more attached to Great-Britain*, but which, in reality, was no *policy* at all in the British ministers, but merely an argument invented by that solid young man, that "*safe* politician," Lord Hawkesbury, purely for the purpose of defending his own conduct. The solid young lord never dreamt that his speech would be read across the Atlantic! So much for the "*safe* politicians."

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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Contents.—Duke of Kent, 513. Washington and La Fayette, 516. Mr. Addington 521. Note at Ratisbon, 522. Manifesto at Corfu, 523. Diet Schweiz Aug. 523. Swiss Proclam. 524. Let. Fr. Min. 525. Let. Fr. and Am. Min. 526. Suppl. Indem. 528. Let. to Lord Hawkesbury, 532. Sum. Pol. 540.

DUKE OF KENT.

In the Register of the 14th of August last, I took occasion to repel certain calumnies, which Mr Heriot, the Editor of the ministerial paper called the True Briton, had published against his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, relative to his Royal Highness's government of Gibraltar. Having myself lived, for several years, near the seat of the Duke's command in America, having had an opportunity of seeing the garrison of Halifax just before his return to England, and having, from my own observation as well as from the accounts which I was daily in the habit of hearing from some of the most respectable persons at Halifax, contracted the highest degree of admiration of his conduct in every department committed to his charge, I felt not a little indignation as well as surprize at seeing his Royal Highness assailed with so much malignity, in an English print, and in a print, too, well known to be supported with the public money. I endeavoured briefly to state the grounds of Mr. Heriot's misrepresentations, and promised to take some future opportunity of speaking more in detail on the subject; a promise, which I am now about to fulfil.

On the arrival of his Royal Highness at Gibraltar, the garrison exhibited a scene of drunkenness, irregularity, and drunkenness, that shocked every stranger to behold. The streets daily swarmed with crowds of drunken soldiers; the inhabitants were often most wantonly and grossly insulted, and hardly a week elapsed without violence being offered to some of the women, generally attended with the most aggravating circumstances. In a few weeks after the Duke's arrival, some soldiers of the 54th regiment were convicted on the clearest evidence of having violated two Spanish women at noonday, in the sight of several of the inhabitants, who were prevented from rescuing them, by the bayonet of the very centinel near whose post the deed was committed; to such a pitch was licentiousness carried. Every officer and soldier, when not on duty, dressed as he chose; the soldiers were in the constant habit of working and carrying water for the inhabitants, and the money thus acquired, was immediately spent in drunkenness and debauchery, to the great injury of their health and morals. Nothing like system or regularity prevailed in any one point, either in dressing, exercising, or manœuvring together. An account of these abuses had for some time reached England, and, from his conduct in America, his Royal Highness was chosen as one of the persons, who was most likely to restore order and subordination in the garrison. He was sent out to reform, and he certainly has justified the choice that was made, as in less than five months time, he has effected one of the most complete, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished. Order and tranquillity are restored, drunkenness is most completely abolished, the health of the troops is so much improved, that except the remains of the Egyptian opthalmia, there are not twenty sick men in the garrison. The different regiments are now neatly and uniformly dressed, according to the King's regulations, and in point of marching, exercising, and manœuvring, the garrison is now certainly equal, if not superior, to most regiments in the service. To complete such a reform without some necessary examples, would have been impossible, but no officer could have brought it about with less punishments. None but crimes of magnitude have been punished with flogging, lesser offences have been invariably commuted into a certain number of days solitary confinement or labour on the public works. With respect to the inhabitants, they certainly now enjoy a degree of protection and security, both in person and property, that they never before experienced. No person can insult or injure them with impunity; and the laws of England are administered with as much impartiality and justice as they are in Westminster Hall. On His Royal Highness's arrival, no police of any kind existed, and the trade of the place was burthened with a number of impolitic and oppressive fees, the whole of which he has completely abolished. Salutary regulations have also been adopted by

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His Royal Highness, respecting the public markets, the butchers, bakers, carmen, wine houses, &c. and all those points, on which so much of the comfort and prosperity of every town depends. Regular canteens for the troops have been established near every barrack in proper hands, where they are supplied with unadulterated wine, and all the lower class of wine-houses, which were a sink of profligacy and debauchery, have been shut up, though in so doing his Royal Highness has very considerably diminished the emoluments of the government, which chiefly arose from duties upon the wine sold in the wine-houses. The beneficial effects of his Royal Highness's measures, have already begun to be most sensibly felt; population has exceedingly increased since his arrival, property has risen considerably in value, and the trade of the place is in a most flourishing state.

Mr. Heriot's conduct, in attacking a personage, who, on so many accounts, ought to be, and is, so dear to the heart of every loyal subject of his Majesty, cannot fail to excite the indignation of the public; but, odious as it is in itself, it is infinitely more so, when the *motive*, the low, selfish, vindictive motive of it is known.

At the time when his Royal Highness went out the last time to America, as Commander in Chief, Mr. Heriot's brother, who is settled at Quebec, was Clerk of the Cheque to the Ordnance, and, at the same time, Deputy Storekeeper-General to the Army. As the two employments, for very obvious and very forcible reasons, appeared to be incompatible, his Royal Highness found it to be his duty to insist upon Mr. Heriot's brother resigning one of them, which was, however, left to his own choice, and he, in consequence, gave up the latter appointment. Previous to this, the True Briton had, on all occasions, been the loudest and foremost in praise of the Duke's character and conduct; but, since, it has never mentioned his name with approbation. Mr. Heriot's brother discovered great anger, not unaccompanied with some grains of insubordination and insolence, at losing one of his employments, and Mr. Heriot himself, from his late malignant insinuations respecting his Royal Highness, may be fairly supposed to have entered into all his brother's feelings.

To superficial observers it may appear wrong, that a hungry expectant should be sent out to Canada to occupy two places, either of which would have yielded a very comfortable maintenance and a very suitable reward, for an invalid military officer, or, would, if bestowed on some worthy native of the province, have secured to his Majesty's government the attachment of a family, probably numerous in itself and extensive in its connexions; but, to those who examine the thing more closely, it will appear, that two places, nor even twenty places, would be too many for any one, recommended by Mr. Heriot, whose virtues, I am sorry to say it, seem, by persons in general, to be but very imperfectly known. The envious world think only of the revenue which this man receives, they do not, or will not, consider how dearly he earns it: they do not consider, that what he does, no other man with a soul in his body would condescend to do. In this light it is that *the Postmaster-General* seems to have viewed his merits; for, since his brother was required by the Duke of Kent to give up one of the army places, he has been appointed Postmaster-General in Canada, and that too, in direct opposition to his Royal Highness, who had recommended another person to that station.—But, what is the recommendation of the Duke of Kent compared to that of a Secretary of the General Post Office, *who is also, it is said, partner with Mr. Heriot in the newspaper called The Sun!*

WM. COBBETT.

WASHINGTON AND LA FAYETTE.

Every thing tending to ascertain the real characters of these men, who, however trifling their intrinsic greatness, have, by reason of the transactions in which they have been concerned, attained to a considerable importance in the world, merits the attention of the politician. Under this persuasion it is, that I am now induced to notice a letter, respecting these two persons, which appeared in the London Morning Chronicle of the 22d instant, signed ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

This letter, which, it would seem, the Editor of the Morning Chronicle copied from a New-York paper, but which, I am pretty certain, was published in London by desire of some one, at least, of the parties concerned, is intended to destroy the authenticity of a statement, contained in the Anti-Jacobin Review, relative to Washington and La Fayette. The Reviewer, by way of introduction to his criticism on a pamphlet of Gen. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, took occasion, as is very common, to give some little account of the author, who, in his progress to that eminent station, which he has ar-

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rived at in the United States, was found, at one time, in the American army, at the siege of York Town, in Virginia, where Lord Cornwallis put an end to the American war by a transaction bearing no very weak resemblance to that by which he put an end to the war with France.—Washington granted him terms of *capitulation*, and Joseph Buonaparté did no more.

But, to return to my revolutionary heroes: the Anti-Jacobin Review stated, in substance, that, at the storming of the two British redoubts, at York Town, La Fayette, with the approbation or connivance of Washington, ordered Gen. HAMILTON (then a Colonel), as the officer who was to command the attack of one of the redoubts, *to put to death all those who might happen to be taken in the redoubt*; and that Colonel Hamilton and his American soldiers, through motives of humanity, forbore to execute the order.—Such was the statement of the Anti-Jacobin Review. Let us now see Gen. Hamilton's contradiction.

"*New-York, August* 10, 1802.—Finding "that a story, since propagated under cir- "cumstances which it was expected would "have soon consigned it to oblivion (and "by which I have been complimented at "the expense of Generals Washington and "La Fayette), has of late been revived, and "has acquired a degree of importance by "being repeated in different publications, "as well in Europe as America, it becomes "a duty to counteract its currency and in- "fluence by an explicit disavowal.—The "story imports in substance, that General "La Fayette, with the approbation or con- "nivance of General Washington, ordered "me, as the officer who was to command "the attack on a British redoubt in the "course of the siege of York Town, to put "to death all those of the enemy who "should happen to be taken in the re- "doubt; and that through motives of hu- "manity I forbore to execute the order.— "*Positively and unequivocally I declare, that* "*no such or similar order, nor any intimation* "*or hint resembling it, was ever by me receiv-* "*ed, or understood to have been given.*—It is "needless to enter into an explanation of "some occurrences on the occasion alluded "to, which may be conjectured to have "given rise to the *calumny*.—It is enough "to say, they were entirely unconnected "with any or either of the two Generals "who have been accused.—*A. Hamilton.*"

Now, as it was I who communicated, to the Editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review, the information, on which the statement, here so flatly contradicted, was made, it is a duty which I owe to that editor and to the world, to produce the authority, on which my information was founded. I could here appeal to every candid American, at all conversant in the history of the war, whether he has not always understood the facts now in question to be true; and, I could declare, upon my word and honour, that two persons (whose names I shall not, for their sakes, now mention), who were officers in the American army at York Town, have, more than once, given, in my hearing, a statement perfectly similar to that which Gen. Hamilton now contradicts: in fact, the circumstance is as generally known and believed in America as any one circumstance of the whole war. But, in a case where the character of any man is at stake, neither private conversation nor public report and general belief, is sufficient. My authority is *a History of the American Revolution*, written and published under circumstances, of which I shall speak, after extracting the passage alluded to.

"The redoubts, which were advanced "about 200 yards on the left of the British, "greatly impeded the progress of the com- "bined armies. An attack on these was "therefore proposed.—To excite a spirit of "emulation, the reduction of the one was "committed to the French; of the other to "the Americans. The light infantry of the "latter were commanded by the Marquis "de la Fayette; and the service was allot- "ted to a select corps. The Marquis said "to General Washington, 'The troops "*should retaliate on the British, for the cruel-* "*ties they have practised.*' The general "answered, 'You have full command, "and *may order as you please.*' The Mar- "quis ordered the party to remember New "London,* and to retaliate, *by putting the* "*men in the redoubt to the sword after having* "*carried it.* The men marched to the as- "sault with unloaded arms, at dark, on the "night of the 14th, passed the abatis, and "palisades, and attacking on all sides, car- "ried the redoubt in a few minutes, with

* This *remembering of New London* was a paltry excuse of the vindictive Fayette, for his bloody purpose. There was *no killing of* PRISONERS at New London. The *battle*, indeed, continued after the British troops were in the fort, but it only continued, because the Americans kept firing upon our troops from the windows of the barracks; and a negro was shot in the very act of conveying fire to the magazine, over which there were a great number of British officers and soldiers. No man was killed at the storming of this fort, *after resistance had ceased.*

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"the loss of 8 killed, and 28 wounded. "Lieut. Col. Laurens personally took the "commanding officer. The colonel's hu- "manity and that of the Americans, so ef- "fectually overcame their resentment, that "they spared the British. When bringing "them off as prisoners, they said among "themselves, 'Why! how is this? *We "were ordered* to put them to death.' Be- "ing asked by others, why they had not "done it, they answered, 'We could not, "when they begged and cried so upon their "knees for their lives.' About five of "the British were killed, and one major, "one captain, one ensign and 20 privates "captured. Col. Hamilton, who conduct- "ed the enterprise with much address and "intrepidity, in his report to the marquis, "mentioned, to the honour of the detach- "ment, *that incapable of imitating ex- "amples of barbarity, and forgetting recent "provocations, they spared every man that "ceased to resist.*"

Now, upon the origin and character of the work, from which this extract is taken, the justification of the statement in the Anti-Jacobin Review will wholly depend. The extract is made, then, from the History of the American Revolution, contained in the *American* edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica: for the reader to be fully convinced, that the authority is purely of American growth, he need only be informed of the following circumstances, which, were they even not at all connected with the present subject, are very well worth knowing.

The Encyclopædia Britannica was republished, in the city of Philadelphia, by Mr. Dobson, who commenced it with a very extensive and respectable subscription. It was delivered in half volumes, the first of which appeared in 1793, or early, perhaps, in 1794, and, under the letter A, it, of course, contained a history of the American revolution; but not the same history of that event, which is to be found in the English edition, and which, *not being favourable enough to the Americans*, was laid aside, and another, written by a vile English renegado, substituted in its place. This man, as is customary with persons of his description, entertained, still entertains, and has, on all occasions, discovered, an implacable hatred against his lawful Sovereign and native country; yet, when the overflowing of his gall came to appear in print, it was [illegible] to be half bitter enough for some of [illegible] subscribers. A great number of whom consulted together, and deputed certain persons, amongst whom was the provost of the university, to inform him, that the account of the American revolution, pulished by him, "would not do;" and that, if he did not cancel it, and admit in its place another account written by them, or some one or more of them, they would withdraw their names from his subscription, and do his work all the injury in their power. Dobson is a very good and a very sensible man; but his all, and more than his all, was involved in the success of his Encyclopædia. He had no alternative, but submission or ruin. He chose the former; and as the half volume was already published and issued, he was obliged to take this third version of the story, print it, sew it up, and send it out to all his subscribers, with a direction to them to cancel the account already in the half volume, and to put this new one in its place. From *this* history it is that the above extract is taken.

The British public, to whom General Hamilton has, through the Morning Chronicle, appealed, must now decide between the general's present declaration and the statement of the Encyclopædia, which statement the general has suffered to pass *ten whole years uncontradicted*. The general will not, I am sure, pretend, that he *never saw* the statement in the Encyclopædia. That work was subscribed to by the President, by every member of the Congress, by all the state governments officially, and to my own knowledge, *by General Hamilton himself*: The particular article here cited, of the work, has, moreover, been reprinted, in a small volume *for the use of schools in America*, and, in this form, it has gone through several editions. If, then, it does contain a "*calumny*" on Generals Washington and La Fayette, if General Hamilton be "*falsely "praised at their expense*," the *calumny* and *falsehood* rest upon *American* shoulders.

As to *the fact*, I am, for my part, fully persuaded, that the statement of the Encyclopædia is, in this respect, strictly true; and I ascribe the contradiction of General Hamilton to nothing more than a desire of removing from himself the imputation, which the Jacobins of the United States are now preferring against him, *of building his fame upon the ruin of that of General Washington*. How far public reasons may, in the present critical situation of affairs in that country, tend to tolerate such a motive of action, I shall not pretend to say; but, I know, that,

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as a public writer here, and particularly as the person who communicated the statement to the Anti-Jacobin Review, it is my duty to prevent, as far as in me lies, the propagation of any thing tending to destroy the validity of that statement, and to varnish over the characters of Washington and La Fayette. WM. COBBETT.

The following letter we copy from the Morning Post. For the honour of the country, we hope, that the suggestion of the writer is true. We shall, however, be obliged to any correspondent, who can ascertain the fact.

"Sir,—I cannot refrain from expressing the surprise which I, in common with many serious persons, your constant readers and well-wishers, feel, at your having been so far imposed upon as to admit into your paper, that burlesque account of a Ball at Reading, in which Mr. Addington is made to have addressed to the company, after supper, a speech in praise of the peace *, and of the neighbourhood of Reading, which really one should think too absurd to have been for a moment mistaken for genuine.—Political hostility fairly justifies some degree of liberty with facts, and some good-humoured laugh at personal foibles or vanities. But surely, Sir, the friends of Mr. Addington have a right to complain that you push this license rather too far, when you suffer your paper to be made the vehicle of a misrepresentation so gravely and circumstantially stated, as not to betray itself even to the discerning, for (what it must be) a *joke*; and at the same time so very disparaging to the good sense and good taste of the gentleman who is the object of it, as necessarily to cover him with ridicule in the eyes of all plain men, who take what they read as literally true.—Mr. Addington may not possess first-rate talents: he may have made a peace not the very best that ever was made, nor apparently likely to be the most lasting. But he is not a man to commit so gross a blunder as in a public harangue, certain to be printed in all the newspapers, and circulated throughout the whole Empire, to pay "the people" the compliment of being the authors of the peace, just at the moment when the people are beginning, however unreasonably, to feel themselves heartily ashamed of it: or to call public attention to the "vigour of government," at a moment when, I am sorry to say, the most timid and pacific are heard asking each other in the streets, whether France could venture to trample upon us and upon Europe, as she is now doing, if Great-Britain had a government with "the vigour of a "Flea?"—It is utterly incredible that Mr. Addington's good sense should have been betrayed into so ridiculous a *contretemps*; even if it were possible (which assuredly it is not) that his good taste could suffer him to enter into a defence of his Administration at a Ball Supper; or, by way of contributing his share to the amusement of the evening, to repeat an old House of Commons' Address in his solemn way, before an audience of dancing Misses, and Negus-swigging Fiddlers.—I trust, therefore, to see a formal contradiction of the paragraph in your next paper.—I am, Sir, your's,

A Lover of Truth and Decorum.

Reading, Oct. 8.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note given in to the Deputation of the Empire by the French Legation, relative to the new general Plan of Indemnities.

The undersigned Minister Extraordinary from the French Republic to the German Diet, has received of the Austrian Plenipotentiary the *Conclusum* which the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire voted in their sitting of the 8th of September, with the reserve of further modifications which might be adopted in the plan of Indemnities contained in the declaration of the mediating powers of the 30th of Thermidor (18th of August). He has likewise received the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, which, by subsequent Conclusa, have been transmitted by the deputation to the ministers of the mediating powers for their consideration. The undersigned, in concert with the Imperial Russian minister, has carefully examined these, and having now received the final instructions of the mediating powers in consequence of the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, that have been transmitted to them either immediately or by their ministers, he has the honour to present to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, for its immediate and definitive acceptance, the additions made to the declaration of the 18th of August, as now modified, completed, and amended; additions conformable to the fulfilment of the treaty of Luneville, and the principles by which the two powers have been guided in their interference and mediation. He flatters himself that the deputation will acknowledge with gratitude this new proof of the attention of the mediating powers to the welfare of the German Empire. It will likewise see how useful have been the representations which its members have made with equal zeal and patriotism. The

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* Besides describing himself as "the instrument "in the hands of Divine Providence for procuring "to the nation the blessings of peace," he is said to have told his auditors, that the most disagreeable circumstance of his elevated situation, was, the obliging him to reside at a distance from them, amongst whom he spent so many happy days.

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undersigned, however, cannot with sufficient force remind the deputation, how great is the pressure of circumstances, and of how much importance it is, that, by a speedy and final decision, the German Empire may enjoy the effects of the friendly sentiments of the mediating powers. The deputation will certainly not forget that the term (of two months) prescribed by the said powers for the fulfilment of the public hopes, is nearly expired.—Ratisbon, 16th of Vendémiaire, (8th of October).—*La Forêt.*

[A Note exactly similar was delivered in at the same time by Baron Buhler for the Russian Legation].

Manifesto of Count Mocenigo, Minister Plenipotentiary, on his arrival at Corfu.

"The Emperor of all the Russias, my august Master, informed of the troubles which have disorganized the Republic, and being deeply affected by learning the evils to which you have been abandoned by anarchy, has formed the generous resolution of re-establishing among you order and tranquillity. My august Sovereign, faithful to the treaties by which he has engaged to guarantee your political existence, has sent me to co-operate with you in his name, and to restore peace among you. I therefore invite all the inhabitants in general, and individually, to second me, with all their power, in this enterprize. The land and naval forces which you see assembled, will unite their means to your's. They are destined to promote the reign of public tranquillity, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to the government, and to protect the inviolability of its members, and that of all property, both public and private. I am furnished with sufficient instructions and full powers. Manifest dispositions favourable to the establishment of public order, by abjuring all hatred; range yourselves under the protecting ægis of his Imperial Majesty, and you will obtain an assurance, by means of his powerful intervention, of maintaining your independence, your safety, and general felicity. This is the only price that my august Sovereign requires for all his beneficent intentions; and for myself I seek for no other reward for the care which I shall constantly employ, than that of having contributed to this end with all the fervour of my zeal.

(Signed) "*Count George Mocenigo,*
August 21, 1802. Plenipotentiary."

Answer of the Diet of Schwitz to the Proclamation of Buonaparté.

"Citizen First Consul—The Proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of Sept. by Citizen Rapp, your Adjutant-General, arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October.—We could have wished that the letter we took the liberty of sending you, General First Consul, on the 30th of September, could have reached you sooner; it contains a faithful exposition of the present state of Switzerland. Permit us to send you inclosed a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably. It will prove to you that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the result of a spirit of party, and that the Swiss nation has no other object in view than to make use of the right which she claims of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants—a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself, to ensure her by the treaty Luneville.—Switzerland would long since h been tranquil, if the members of the Helvetic vernment, those obscure metaphysicians, had c sulted the real state of affairs, instead of ob nately attaching themselves to theoretic attemp as erroneous as they are expensive.—The v lence with which they have tried to impose th system upon the democratic cantons, the ci war they have organized to attain their end, rected at first against those cantons, then aga all Switzerland; the unexampled severity w which they have done it, have produced a disc tent equally general and just, and a determi and avowed will to shake off this unsupporta yoke.—It is not then, General First Consul, affair of party—it is the sacred cause of hu nity, it is the general wish of a whole nat which has given us our power and our instructi of a nation which you yourself wished to free, which has been ill-treated and irritated, cont to your intentions.—Yet that nation, we re ourselves guarantees, will never abuse the lib it claims. The Swiss have nothing more at h than to attain a state of repose, in which, u the shield of a mild and just government, e inhabitant may enjoy his property and existe We are convinced that we shall arrive at that sential object of all social order, from the mo our will and our efforts shall be no longer fet ed.—General First Consul, all Europe admire you the supreme head of an immense power empire, which, without doubt, according to y own views, will be directed to the good of hu nity; your magnanimity assures us, that you not make use of it against a people who only sire what you have made them hope, and only wish what they believe themselves au rized to do by yourself.—Penetrated with ete gratitude, the Swiss nation will do its endea to deserve the good will of the French gov ment; and will fulfil all the duties which are posed upon it by the desire of cultivating neighbourhood.—It is with the most distingu ed respect that we remain, General First Con

"*The Deputies of the Helvetic Di*
"*Schwitz, Oct.* 8, 1802."

Proclamation of the Council of War of Swiss League to their Brothers in arm Dated Basle, Oct. 12, 1802.

Friends and brothers, when you separ yourselves from your wives, your children, fathers, and your friends, to conquer for children, liberty, independence, and prospe you abandoned with alacrity and courage cottages, and your flocks. This idea, "the "of our fathers is with us, and protects gave you force to brave all the dangers, an despise the fatigues of war. You quitted songs your mountains and your valleys, to into the field and defend the cause of liberty your country. The Almighty blessed your and heard the just wishes of a nation *known by its rectitude*, and which had armed for its lib and independence. Our enemies, our opp sors, the *soi-disant* Helvetic government, wit feeble party, have been chased almost to frontiers of the confederate Cantons.—But thers and friends, we have received a noti tion, that if we did not by our conduct proofs of an entire confidence in the First Co

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of the powerful nation of France, who has caused a declaration to be made by his Envoy, General Rapp, to our fathers assembled at Schwitz, that he wishes to interpose as mediator in the war which we are carrying on against the odious Helvetic government, we should be compelled to it by the victorious arms of the French warriors.—Brothers, friends, confederates, who among us could conceive the thought of menacing ourselves with the numerous and experienced armies of France? No, friends, no; *we wish to await peaceably the determination of the First Consul*, and with that order, that moderation, and that discipline, which have hitherto guided your steps, you will receive, we are convinced, the orders of your superiors, of your general; and even, if it should be necessary, you will return to your residences, in order that our country may not be exhausted by the entrance of foreign troops; that we may not be deprived of the scanty harvest of this year, which we hoped to consume with our children; and that we may not be plunged into indigence and misery. It is only the Helvetic government, directed by its passions and its private interest, that could call in the aid of foreign troops; we, who took up arms only for our country and tranquillity, have no need of troops to attain our object. But, relying on our conduct, we dare to hope, that *the First Consul of France, who has guaranteed our independence*, and who has been deceived by false reports, will, as soon as he shall have been informed of the true state of things, *take measures, which will secure our honour, and the prosperity and independence of our country.* May the Almighty deign to grant this, who has caused us to make an important step towards our future happiness, and crowned our arms with his benediction.

Copy of a letter from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to MR. DE CETTO, *the Bavarian Minister at Paris, relative to the affairs of Switzerland.*

Paris, Oct. 15, 1802.—Sir, The relations of neighbourhood which exist between Bavaria and Switzerland, and which ought to render yet more secure the new acquisitions which his Electoral Highness has made in Germany, call for his particular attention to the late events of which Helvetia has been the theatre. That country has long been divided. The influence of intrigue and money, has hitherto prevented the government which had been established by the suffrages of the majority of the people, from becoming firmly established, and acquiring the power necessary to its preservation.—Whilst the opposition was confined to insidious and obscure menaces, the First Consul did not think it his duty to interfere in discussions to which circumstances, and the influence of the general peace of Europe, promised to put an end. But at length the enemies of the Helvetic people assumed a more open opposition. Blood was shed, and Helvetia was menaced with ruin.—In this fearful conjuncture of affairs, the wishes of all demanded the mediation of the First Consul. The party even who had taken up arms against the government, led away by the opinion of men who had deceived them, now saw the necessity of soon claiming the mediation of France.—The continental powers, neighbours of Helvetia, could not view without fear, the remote consequences of a disorder, the focus of which was established in that country; and in this state of affairs, the humanity, and the interest of France, and of Europe, demanded of the First Consul that he should desist from acting upon the determination which he had taken, not to intermeddle in the affairs of Switzerland. He has spoken as a mediator and a friend, and Helvetia has been pacified. The people have returned to their homes. Those simple and just men, seeing that they had been abused, have menaced with violence the chiefs who sought to slander France, and who in their public acts were permitted to outrage her. General contempt now does justice to their clamours.—Such, Sir, are the facts which I have thought it my duty to communicate to you. The First Consul did not wish to abandon a country which stands in need of the friendship of France, and which, without the benefit of her influence, would have passed in a short time through all the horrors of anarchy under their ancient yoke, which they had so happily broken.—But at the time that he recognized the necessity of assisting the Helvetic nation to fix at length for itself, and in an irrevocable manner, its constitutional destiny, he did not cease for a moment to recollect, that the more perfect independence ought to be the basis of its constitution. The right of organizing a government which Helvetia has acquired, is one of the glorious results of the war which France supported against the most powerful armies of Europe, and of the treaties by which that war was terminated.—It is because Helvetia holds this right by the victories and the benevolent policy of France, that the First Consul wishes now to protect the exercise of it, and to prevent a handful of turbulent emigrants, deserters from foreign armies, who wished to carry fire and sword into their country, from succeeding in their attempt to deprive of their rights the greater part of their fellow-citizens.—It is not by such men that the treaty of Luneville can be invoked as to what respects Helvetia, but by the larger portion of the people whom they wished to oppress, and whose independence is guaranteed by that treaty. Are these men so estimable, or so important a part of Helvetia, as Argovia, the Pays de Vaud, and the Bailiwics formerly subject, whose political rights were guaranteed by France, not only in the treaty of Luneville, but in all those which, since the war, have strengthened the ancient ties between France and Helvetia?—There are those who seek to spread a report that the Helvetic Republic may be led by a spirit of imitation to establish with the First Consul those relations which unite him to the Italian Republic. But this idea is very far from the intention of the First Consul, who is inimical to all such determination, and whose formal intention is to assist in the organization of Switzerland, only for the purpose of ensuring to that country an absolute independence.—I am persuaded, Sir, that you will be extremely desirous to transmit to his Electoral Highness the communications which I have the honour to make to you, and of which there is no necessity for me to appreciate the importance.—Receive the assurance of my high consideration.—

(Signed) *Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*

Letter of the French and Russian Ministers to the Directorial Minister at Ratisbon.—Dated Ratisbon, Oct. 15, 1802.

As the principles inseparably connected with

the distribution of the indemnities in the declarations made in the name of the mediating powers, on the 18th of August last, and reproduced with modifications, which they consented to in the general plan of the 8th of October, ought to be entirely comprehended in the *Conclusum*, which the extraordinary deputation is about to form immediately: In regard to the whole, the undersigned (minister extraordinary of the French Republic, and the minister plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia) take the earliest opportunity of proposing, after the enlightened reflections made to them by several of the sub-delegates, that the eleventh of these principles be announced in the following manner: —Eleventhly, the preceding dispositions render of no avail the pretensions which existed, both to the territories become French, and to those which existing to property given in the room of others on the Left Bank of the Rhine, shall not be produced, examined, and settled in an amicable manner within the course of a year. —This mode of expression, which at first seemed sufficiently explicit, according to the term fixed in the twelfth principle, for every transaction whatever, expresses better indeed the provident intention of the mediating powers, and corresponds better to the solicitude of the deputation for the general good.

(Signed) Laforet. Baron de Buhler.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Corfu, Aug. 30.—The Secretary of the Russian Legation, M. Nemerofski, yesterday killed himself in his own apartments. He discharged two pistols into his body. His manners had conciliated the esteem of every body, and particularly of his Excellency Count Mocenego, the Russian Plenipotentiary.

Leghorn, Sept. 29.—Their Majesties the King and Queen of Etruria arrived here on the 26th, and the next morning embarked with the young Prince on board the Princess Louisa, of 120 guns, and at eleven o'clock the whole Spanish squadron sailed with a fair wind for Barcelona. They were saluted at their departure with 101 discharges of artillery from this fortress.

Ratisbon, Oct. 8—The Supplementary Declaration has not yet made its appearance officially; but yesterday, a courier from Paris having arrived the day before, it was fully approved of in a conference between the envoys of Brandenburgh, Bavaria, Wurtemburgh, Hesse, and Mentz. It contains many additions and changes: the Maltese Order now loses all its indemnities, and the Tutonic Order receives several; Mentz receives a million of revenue, partly from immediate territory, which will now include Ratisbon and Wetzlar, and partly from the revenues of mediate foundations. Solms Braunfelt receives a voice in the Council of Princes. The six remaining Imperial cities will continue a college, but without having a vote on peace and war. Hesse Cassel receives no further indemnifications, but a considerable addition is made to those of Wurtemburgh, as for example, the Abbey of Sconthal, assigned in the former declaration to the Count of Limingen-Westerburgh, the territory of Comburgh, near Schwabish, Hall, &c. Brunswick, in consequence of the possession it receives in the bishopric of Osnabrug, will either cede a tract of land to Mecklenburgh, or pay yearly a sum of money.—In the 12th sitting of the Deputation of the Empire, on the 5th October, the various claims and remonstrances were again taken into consideration. The Elector of Treves gave in a similar memoir to that delivered by the Archbishoprick of Cologne. It was stated, on the part of the Archduke Ferdinand, that the revenue of the Duchy of Modena was 1,500,000 Imperial florins, while that of the Brisgau was only 104,119 florins.

Oct. 10.—Yesterday in the 13th sitting of the Deputation, the new plan of indemnities was presented. The Deputation will immediately take it into consideration. Brandenburgh, Bavaria, Wirtemburg, Hesse Cassel, and Mentz, have already approved the general plan.—It was said and expected that this would be merely a supplementary plan to that given in on the 18th of August, but the supplementary matter is inserted in the former plan, so as to form an enlarged general plan of indemnities. It contains thirty-four sections, and is printed in four sheets. It will be seen from the following extracts that the Grand Duke of Tuscany receives by it no further indemnification.—Sect. 1. contains the indemnifications of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which are the same as in the former plan, only that it is determined that the county of Neuburg, on the left side of the Inn, with all its territorial and seignorial rights, shall be united to Bavaria.—Sect. 2. Bavaria shall receive the town and suburbs of Passau, together with all that appertains to it beyond the Inn and the Iltz, and a circle of 500 klafters from the extreme end of the said suburbs; as also the Abbeys of Waldsassen and Eberach, with exception of all rights, properties, and ecclesiastical revenues, which lie in the city and territory of Augsburgh.—Sect. 3. Prussia receives all the rights and property of Mentz, in Thuringia, as also the Abbey of Kappenberg. The rest of the Bishopric of Munster, which is not given to Prussia, is alloted to several princes.—Sect. 4. To the King of England and Elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, for his claims to the county of Sayn Altenkirchen, Hildersheim, Corvey, and Hoster, and his rights and property in the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, and in the territory of the latter, as shall be hereafter particularly stipulated, and for the cession of the district of Wildshausen—the Bishopric of Osnabruck. To the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, the Abbeys of Gandersheim and Helmstadt, under condition of paying a constant rent of 2000 florins to the Princess Amelia of Dessau.—Sect. 5. The Margrave of Baden receives likewise the Nessian districts Lichtenau and Wildstadt; the Abbeys of Reichenau, Oeheningen, the provostship and Chapter of Odenheim, and the immediate and mediate rights and possessions which depend on the public establishments and corporations on the Left Bank of the Rhine, and to the south of the Neckar.—Sect. 6. The Duke of Wirtemburgh receives likewise Schonthal, Camburg, with their sovereignties, as also Rothminster, Heiligenthal, Obristenfeld, Holzhausen, Margareth-hausen, and all the abbeys, convents, and chapters in the same, on paying certain constant rents to different princes.—Sect. 7. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel receives for his claims to Corvey, the Mentz districts of Naumburg and Neustadt, and the town of Geirhausen, under condition of paying a constant rent of 22,500 florins to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rothenburg. The Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt,

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for surrendering certain rights on the cities of Wetzlar and Frankfort, and some Hessian districts, receives the Duchy of Westphalia and different districts of Mentz, subject to a constant rent, &c.—Sect. 18. Nassau Dillenburgh, the late Hereditary Stadtholder, receives the abbeys and provostships of Hoffen, St. Gerold, Banderen, and all the chapters, provostships, and convents situate in the territory assigned him.—Sect. 25. The Seat of Mentz shall be transferred to the cathedral of Ratisbon, and the dignity of elector, archchancellor and primate of Germany, shall be perpetually united to it. His metropolitan jurisdiction shall extend over the old ecclesiastical provinces of Mentz, Cologn, and Treves, as far as they extend on the right bank of the Rhine, and excepting the territory of the King of Prussia. The Elector of Mentz receives the principality and city of Ratisbon, and Wetzlar, with the title of a county.—Sect. 27. The College of Imperial Cities shall for the future consist of the free and independent cities of Augsburgh, Lubeck, Nuremburgh, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburgh. They shall possess their respective territories in full sovereignty and jurisdiction. They shall also enjoy a perfect neutrality in all wars of the Empire, and shall be always exempt from any military contribution, ordinary or extraordinary; and in all questions of war or peace, shall be entirely and necessarily dispensed from acceding to the resolutions of the Empire; they shall also separately receive the following indemnities, &c.

Augsburg, Oct. 14.—The Chancellor of the Bishop of Passau, M. de Rademacher, has repaired to Ratisbon, to solicit the Deputation of the Empire, not to separate the city and fortress of Passau from the rest of the bishopric. It appears, moreover, that representations have been made by the mediating powers, to engage the Court of Vienna to withdraw its troops from the city and bishopric; already the Prince Bishop has notified to the Magistracy of Passau, that the presence of the Austrian troops will not be of longer duration, and that it had no other object by the military occupation of the country, than to prevent it from being dismembered.

Paris, Oct. 15.—It is said that the Minister of the Interior is to accompany the First Consul in the journey which he is about to make to Havre, Rouen, and Cherbourg, which is expected to take place very soon.

Ratisbon, Oct. 15.—The Deputation of the Empire held yesterday its fifteenth sitting—Mentz and Hesse-Cassel voted for the new plan of Indemnities; the majority is consequently in favour of that plan. Bohemia, Saxony, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, have not yet voted.—The Deputation have not yet agreed to a *conclusum*; they wait till the Minister of Bohemia has received instructions from Vienna.—The Russian Legation here has received instructions to accede to the alterations in the second plan of Indemnities, as sent from Paris.—The Russian and French Ministers gave in another note to the Deputation of the Empire on the 13th, containing some emendations of the 11th article of the new plan of Indemnities; at the conclusion they again earnestly recommend to the Deputation to vote a *conclusum* on the plan.—Many reclamations have already been given in against the new plan of Indemnities. The most remarkable of these, is that of the Deputy for the Electorate of Hanover, relative to considerable advantages granted to the City of Bremen, and especially the grant of the district and territory of Vegesack, which is claimed as territorial property of the Electorate of Hanover.

Lausanne, Oct. 16.—We learn from Berne that the army of the Confederates has just been disbanded. There is now consequently no obstacle to the return of the government to that city. The first Helvetic demi-brigade marched from hence yesterday morning, and will arrive to-morrow evening at Berne. The Senate decreed in its last sitting, that all its members should assemble together at Berne on the 18th. The Executive Council will not set out till to-morrow.

Berne.—Colonel Rapp has traversed Switzerland; he has found the towns and villages a prey to misfortunes—the dismal attendants of civil war. His presence calmed every alarm. The bodies assembled have been dispersed.—The 1st and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades are on their march to form the garrison of our city. The arrival of the Senate is announced for the day after to-morrow. Deputies from all parts of Switzerland are about to proceed to Paris.—We begin to hope that our revolution, which has been continued and renewed annually for eight years, is approaching its end. Let us at length enjoy every thing good and useful it promised; and let the government under which we are destined to live, not signalize the triumph of any party, and be consecrated by the union of all its citizens.—Weak as we are in comparison of the surrounding powers, can we pretend to an honourable independence, a peaceful neutrality, if we continue divided!—The sentiments of the whole Helvetic people are united in these three wishes:—1st. A Constitution in which the oligarchy may never re-appear, and which at the same time may ensure the equality of the citizens—the equality of our eighteen cantons—the equality of the five religions which the different parties of Helvetia profess! 2d. A Constitution suited to the diversity and inequalities of our territory, by which Underwald, Berne, Lausanne, and Basle, may be governed according to the local circumstances, languages, and manners peculiar to them.—In the last place our third wish, no less national than the other two, is, to see maintained, in their whole integrity, our ancient relations with the French people, and the men who are in the pay of foreign powers, deprived of all their influence. In the bosom even of a general conflagration, its real interest is to remain neuter: this will never be that of a Bachman and a Vatteville, who since their infancy have served those powers which are enemies to France. If war should again be kindled up in Europe, and if, as was the case with the King of Sardinia and the Republic of Venice, neutrality should to us become impossible; the alliance of France would be our only wish, our justest and dearest interest.—There is not one of us who does not think the Swiss united to the French, will always defend with glory our mountains, and render impenetrable to the enemy our plains and our large towns, such as Zurich, Berne, Soleure, Fribourg, Basle, and Lausanne.—In a word, there is not one of us who is not sensible that our political system ought to be that of our fathers, who, through a love for liberty and for their country, were always intimately connected with France.—If any man, born in our territories, does not participate with us in this

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opinion, he does not think like a real Swiss. He abandons himself blindly to affections foreign to the interests of his country.—The cry of rallying around the nation is equality among the cantons, the independence of Helvetia, and concert with the French Republic.—*Moniteur.*

Berne, Oct. 17.—The Deputies which our Provisional Government sent in order to consult with the Diet of Schwitz, respecting the steps that ought to be taken in the present situation of affairs, have returned: they have brought an order to General Bachmann, to disband the Confederate Army. Yesterday and the day before, the contingent troops belonging to the smaller Cantons returned home. Those belonging to Schwitz carried with them an Helvetic standard, which they took in the battle of the 3d inst. The levies of troops which were ordered in several of the Cantons, have been suspended. General Auf-dermaur passed through this city a few days ago, on his way to Schwitz. General Bachmann is here with his staff. Citizen Guadolphe, Secretary of Legation to Citizen Verninac, has invited the Commission of Ten to re-assemble, and has made some important propositions to them. Yesterday General Rapp gave a grand dinner, at which General Bachmann and his staff were present. The Helvetic government are not yet arrived here.

Basle, Oct. 18.—The troops belonging to Basle, which were ready to march on the first signal to join the Army of General Bachmann, are to remain here until farther orders. It is said that the Diet of Schwitz will govern the Republic until the government is definitively organized, and the Members of the Central Government, who are to return to Berne, have given in their resignations. —The 1st and 2d Helvetic half-brigades ought to have arrived by this time in this city. The troops on both sides are to be disbanded.

DOMESTIC.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

BANKRUPTS.

Annesley, Abraham Levy, Chiswell-street, merchant.—Augarde, Francis Joseph, and Francis Joseph Alaicant, Oxford-street, hosiers and hatters. —Clark, Daniel, Liverpool, master mariner.—Britt, William, Loddon, Norfolk, shopkeeper.—Peach, Robert, Wakefield, York, woolstapler.—Jowet, Joseph, Rothwell, York, coal miner.—Wheldale, William, Oxford-street, linen draper.—Nix, James, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, breeches maker.—Hodgson, Luke, Cow-lane, apothecary.—Cawthorn, Samuel, York, grocer.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Marriages.—On Tuesday, at Totteridge, Hants, the Rev. Thos. Cope Marsham, vicar of Kew and Petersham, to Miss Maitland.

Deaths.—On Friday, at his house in Duke-street, Westminster, Dr. Arnold.—A few days since, at Kew, George D'Auber, esq. late Captain of the 11th Light Dragoons.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	179
3 pr. C. R. An.	66⅛	—	—	67⅛	—	66⅞
3 per C. Con.	67⅛	—	—	68⅛	—	67⅛
4 pr C. Cons.	83¼	—	—	83⅜	—	83¼
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100	—	—	101	—	100¼
Bank L. Ann.	10⅛	—	—	10 11/16	—	9 11/16
D°S. 1778 & 9	4½	—	—	—	—	4½
5 per Ct. 1797	99⅜	—	—	—	—	99½
Omnium	10¼ dis	—	—	9 dis	—	10¼ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 2	2 us.	Leghorn		31½
D°, at sight	11		Naples		43½
Rotterdam	11 3	2 us.	Genoa		47½
Hamburgh	33 4	2 us.	Venice, 54 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
Altona	33 5	2 us.	Lisbon		68
Paris 1 day	23 15		Oporto		68
Paris	24 2	2 us.	Dublin		12
Bourdeaux,	24 3		Bilboa		86¼ D°
Cadiz	36¼	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol.		p.
Madrid	36⅛	effective			

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	43s to 62s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 273s
Rye	33 .. 35	Hay per load	86 .. 150
Barley	23 .. 27	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt	44 .. 47	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s. 6d.
Oats	14 .. 23	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 4d.
Pease (white)	44 .. 49	Pork	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)	33 .. 35	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack	50 .. 58	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33s.10d
Seconds	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	18s.10d.
Coals per chal.	43 .. 49	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

Days.	M'sage	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
21		Windy.	w-s	wsw	29,75	29,74	53	57
22		Rain.	sw	sw	29,65	29,65	55	59
23		Fine.	w	sw	29,63	29,63	54	57
24		Rain Fair	sw	sw	29,61	29,51	56	60
25		Rain.	sw	sw	29,55	29,28	50	51-5
26	●	Showery.	sw	sw	29,3	29,28	50	58
27		Fog Fair	nw	nw	29,35	29,42	47	52

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,—Previous to the discussion of the "high matter," of which I spoke to your lordship, at the close of my last letter (p. 510), previous to any remarks respecting the necessity of a total change in the war-politics of the country, it is incumbent on me to show, that the evils and dangers, which I attribute to the policy hitherto pursued, do really exist, which, I trust, I shall do, to the entire satisfaction of your lordship, in discussing the 4th, and remaining proposition of my former letter; to wit: *That, though for various reasons, the present dispute with France may not terminate in open hostility; yet that, in whatever way that dispute is accommodated for the present, this nation must, ere long, be at war with France, and that the peace will then be found to have produced an irretrievable injury to our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign.*

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Those who have paid attention to the progress of French encroachment, will not need to be reminded, that the subjugation of every country which she has enslaved, has been preceded by several previous quarrels and accommodations; by the alternate use of which she has very seldom failed to accomplish her ends. This is the course she will endeavour to pursue with us. It is, indeed, the course she has actually entered on, and which, till within these few weeks, has been attended with uninterrupted success.

The check she has met with has arisen from the personal determination of His Majesty, rather than from any remains of resistance in your lordship and your colleagues, who will be overjoyed to find a plausible pretext for avoiding hostilities, a pretext with which you will most probably be furnished. The affairs of Switzerland will, as I observed in my last letter, (Register, p. 501) be settled without your aid, and in such a way as to leave, to the present ministers at least, not the smallest ground of complaint against the First Consul. The attempts, which Buonaparté has made to interfere in the internal concerns of *this* country, as well as his insolent endeavours *to degrade our Sovereign*, may be given up, or, at least, so far receded from, as to furnish the ministers with an excuse for a reconciliation; and, as "the falling out of "lovers produces a renewal of love," which is generally attended with some fresh token of affection and constancy, I think it very probable, that the token, on this occasion, may, on our part, be the island of Malta. Indeed, I have not, as yet, heard any argument on which ministers can defend their conduct in retaining Malta. Russia and Prussia have, it is asserted, refused to guarantee the new arrangement respecting this important island, and Spain has, perhaps, acted contrary to our meaning, though not against the letter of the treaty, in confiscating the property of the Spanish *Langues*. What then? The two former were only *to be invited* prospectively to *accede to the stipulations*. If they did not choose to do so, the obligation between the parties, who did *definitively* contract, remains. Cards of invitation were to be sent to the powers of Europe, but, as some one observed at the time, what if they should not think the pic-nic entertainment of the order of St. John to their taste? The theatrical amusements of Malta must proceed, though we, as subscribers, may bear the greatest proportion of the loss. We have, at Amiens, agreed, that Malta shall be what we choose to call independent, and restored to the Order of St. John on certain conditions. France and Great-Britain are to be only two of the guaranteeing powers, if they please. What, then, has the Order of St. John to do with Buonaparté's interference with Switzerland, and Holland, or with any other instance or instances of his ambition? If the grand master (supposing him to be legally chosen) should demand the island at our hands, and if the troops of the King of Naples should arrive to garrison it, we are positively bound to evacuate the place, not to France, but to the Knights. How, then, can we keep it consistently with good faith? *

Strange as it may appear, my lord, there are not wanting persons to contend, that the arguments, made use of by the opposers of the peace, will justify ministers in retaining Malta. To those who make no distinction between *right* and *might*, this way of reasoning may appear perfectly satisfactory; but to those who do make such distinction, it will, I imagine, appear exactly the contrary. The reasons urged by the opposers of the peace applied well to the situation of things *previous* to the peace, previous to the signing of a solemn treaty by which Malta was to be surrendered; but, how can those reasons be construed to justify the retaining of Malta now, merely by way of counter-balancing the power which France may acquire by means of Holland, of Switzerland, or of new ports on the coast of Africa, if such she has obtained? But, if there be any other just cause of quarrel, the whole treaty of Amiens, under which alone any authority can make a valid title against our *possession* of Malta, will be null and void; and *Germany* alone presents directly such a cause of quarrel. There England has, and has always had, an immediate interest. England has been, for more than a century,

* The sprightly Mr. Chalmers, with whose *weighty* defence of the peace, the mail bags were crammed for several weeks, has the following most delightful passage respecting Malta:—"Our moderation has concurred with our policy, in restoring Malta to its true owners. By placing it prudently in their hands, under *a most powerful guarantee*, we have counteracted the state, who was ambitious to possess it, under whatever title. *In our hands, Malta had been an enormous expense, without any perceivable profit.*"—Yet, this island, which is an "enormous expense, without any perceivable profit," is now, we are told, to be retained by way of balancing the continental and other encroachments of France! The inconsistencies, the flat contradictions, the downright absurdities, into which the makers and defenders of this peace have fallen, are without end.

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a guarantee of the constitution which, to this moment, exists there. She is party to various treaties, (not yet cancelled) with the House of Austria, confirming that constitution; and the Electorate of Hanover has a connexion, of the most intimate kind, with the united kingdom. The ministers have (in the True Briton of the 25th instant) insisted, that the ambitious strides of France, particularly when "they tend to weaken "and distress those nations, who either are "at the present moment, or are most likely "to become in future, the allies of the "British Empire, must be considered as *a "breach of the treaty we have entered into*, "which, it must be evident, virtually implies, that, whilst the peace continues, "no material change shall be effected by "France, in the relative state of Europe." This, to be sure, is supremely inconsistent and ridiculous, as coming from the lips of those men, who, even *during the negotiations at Amiens*, suffered Buonaparté to make himself the head of the Italian Republic, and to name Piedmont the "twenty-seventh "military division of France;" who concluded that treaty, leaving French troops in Holland and Switzerland, and without making any stipulation for their removal: nor am I sure, that any of the continental aggressions of France can be fairly construed into *a breach of the treaty of Amiens*; but there may be good cause of war without a breach of any positive compact, and that Buonaparté's mandate to the Emperor and Empire of Germany is such a cause no one can entertain a doubt. Yet, my lord, even here, where the best possible ground for a war presents itself, there is an obstacle in the way, which the ministers will be very glad to find an excuse for declining to encounter. The conduct of Buonaparté, with respect to Germany, may merit all the epithets which has been bestowed on it; his views may be even more wicked than those ascribed to him; but, it will, in any and in every case, as relating to this transaction, be very difficult to separate the Consul of France from the Emperor of Russia; every remonstrance addressed to the one will apply equally well to the other; and, unless some alteration of system, which the change of ministry in Russia may, *possibly* produce, should take place, it is very clear, that all attempt at resistance, on our part, would be vain, unless both the Emperor of Germany and the Swiss could be brought to co-operate with us, and of this there is not now the most distant hope.

These reasons, my lord, together with the dread of the mortification, the shame, the utter confusion, which an open rupture with France would, so soon after the peace, and with our position so materially changed for the worse, bring upon you and your colleagues, will lead you most eagerly to catch at every opportunity for patching up an accommodation; and Buonaparté, unless his plans against us are perfectly ripe, which I think they are not, will not be inclined to hasten a state of things, in which he must foresee that the present ministers cannot preserve their places. Any change of men, without a change of measures and of principles, would not, indeed, be greatly injurious to his projects; but, he must be well persuaded, that no set of men are less likely to oppose his will, than those from whose trembling hands he extorted the release of Napper Tandy; a persuasion which will, probably, induce him to enable them to meet the parliament with something like a promise of a continuation of "the blessings of peace."

But, my lord, whatever be the manner, in which the present dispute may terminate, peace with France, under her present rulers, it is impossible for us long to have, unless we purchase it by an absolute submission to her. I do not mean a figurative, but a literal submission, a real *bonâ fide* surrender, not of those undefinable abstract possessions called liberty and independence, but of our tangible property, our gold and our silver, our household stuff, our persons, and the land that we walk upon.

From the first dawn of the French revolution to the present hour, the great, the leading object, of all the successive rulers of that country has been the destruction of England: not her humiliation, not her impoverishment, but her political destruction, as the means of facilitating their scheme of universal empire, a scheme towards the accompliahment of which they have, with our good aid, made more progress during the last six months than during the whole of the ten preceding years.

"*Universal empire*" (says an excellent writer on the conquests and ambition of France) "is, in itself, an extravagant ex-"pression, and was so even in the proudest "days of ancient Rome; but, let it be "taken in this confined sense, that there "exists a nation, who expect to unite the "greatest part of Europe in an empire "almost as extensive as the Roman, or, "at least, as the empire of Charlemagne; "in such a sense it is not an impossible

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" object." So far from its being an *impossible* object, it is an object already nearly, if not quite, accomplished. The population of Europe, according to the best authorities, does not amount to 140 millions of souls: the dominions which the French now include under the name of *France*, contain, according to a census recently taken, upwards of 35 millions, that is to say, more than one-fourth part of the whole population of Europe. Add to this the population of the states, which they hold as vassals, and which are, to all the intents and purposes of power, a part of the empire of France, and you will find, that the aggregate population of this empire amounts to upwards of seventy-five millions of souls, more, in *number*, than one-half, and, in point of *influence*, moral and physical, particularly as directed against England, more than *two-thirds*, of all Europe.

Nor do the republican rulers, my lord, by any means, disguise their intentions. The "safe politicians," such as Lords Castlereagh and your lordship, had, indeed, at the time of concluding the treaty of Amiens, discovered in the government of France, a return to principles of *moderation* and *justice*, and the still "*safer* politician," Sir Edward Law, seemed to think that Mr. Elliot should incur the censure of the House for making that moderation and justice *a matter of doubt*; but, whatever might be the professions, or the circumstances, which you might have heard or perceived at that time, your opinion has been furiously shaken by subsequent events, and by the present professions of Buonaparté and his co-operators. The act which announces the union of Piedmont with France, informs us, that the Piedmontese were the first to open their gates to "the *conquerors of the world*." Paris is, in the title of a work just received from thence, called "the *metropolis of the world*." Another work, published at Paris, and entitled *The greatest act of Buonaparté*, has the following passage:—"All the "powers of Europe are weakened, disconcerted, and no longer able to defend themselves: around him the universe is silent ". . . . . Under the reign of Augustus, "*universal peace* was the fore-runner of *a more sublime empire*: under the Consulship "of the august young man, it prepares the "way for its restoration. I could push the "comparison still further; I could shew "you *the mistress of the world*, embracing all "nations in one common tye, uniting all "interests in one common center; all diversities of manners and of languages assimilated; *all nations subordinate to the* "*great nation*: a young hero, absorbing all "factions, combining all by the energy and "address of his own character, accomplishes "the great work. . . . Such was the moment fixed on, by the Saviour of the "world, for the introduction of an unknown light. That light, after eighteen "centuries, suddenly and totally extinguished, again breaks forth: . . . the comparison between the two epochs is too "striking, the features too strongly marked, "the affinity too evident to our senses, not "to be discovered by the most inattentive "observer. . . . . To new model "the almost dissolved elements of civil society; to unite in one common bond, the "various ties dissolved by the dreadful convulsion; and *on the basis of the great republic to raise one universal republic—this is the great work of the present day!*" Buonaparté himself, has, in terms by no means equivocal, expressed the same notion: "The "*English*, the *French*, the *Germans*, the "*Italians*, &c. living under the same civil "code, &c. are all members of *one family*, "and those men who wish to kindle war "amongst them, are advocates for *civil* "*war*."

To dissipate the alarms excited by intimations of this sort, weak and pusillanimous persons believe, or affect to believe, that if the French really entertained such a project as I am now speaking of, they would keep it a secret from the world. Such a belief, however, is clearly contradicted by a long train of operations and events, at which we need not at all wonder, when we consider the natural tendency of such a system, when regularly and indefatigably pursued. A project of conquest if attempted to be put in execution the moment its conception is first announced to the party to be conquered, has to encounter not only the physical difficulties of the enterprize, but also the whole weight of the alarm and indignation, which the first mention of it naturally excites; but, after telling a people, that they must and shall be your slaves, give them time to cool, to think and talk about your intention; let the idea become familiar to their minds; let them once regard the thing as possible, and put them if you can under the guidance of a ministry, who shall teach them to weigh subjugation and the "blessings of peace" against independence and the "horrors of war." This is the course which the French have pursued, and which has hitherto, in no one instance, that I know of, failed of success. And yet we affect not to hear, or, hearing, not to understand, or, understand-

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ing, not to believe, the audible, the plain and positive declarations addressed by this nation to ourselves! To professions of peace and amity, on the part of the republicans of France, we listen with all that eagerness and ecstasy, with which the silly girl of sixteen imbibes the protestations of her seducer; but, as to their menaces, their denunciations of vengeance, of chastisement and of destruction, we are, or affect to be, perfectly incredulous. In this respect, reason upon reason, warning upon warning, have been bestowed on us in vain: experience, which is said to make fools wise, has, on this score, left us as foolish as it found us: we are absolutely incorrigible, and our incorrigibility, I am sorry to say it, arises from precisely that passion, which is at once the most disgraceful to ourselves and the most favourable to the projects of our enemy: a base passion, made up of selfishness and cowardice, leads us to affect an ignorance of what we dare not encounter: like chickens at the approach of the kite, we hide our heads and our eyes from the danger which we have not the courage to resist; and, like those timid animals too, we shall *feel* the blow, though we are determined not to see it.

This hostility against us, not of Buonaparté or any other individual, or of any particular faction or sect, but of the whole mass of French republicans; this settled hostile purpose against us, this resolution to destroy us, cost what it will, whether of time, or of money, or of lives; this end, to which all other projects are subservient, to which the encroachments in the Mediterranean, in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Germany, must be considered merely as means; this it is which we must resist with success, or implicitly yield to. There is no medium: those who, with a due mixture of folly and of malice, exclaimed against "*eternal war*," will soon perceive, probably, that they are destined to something still worse. They must now beat France, or become the subjects, that is to say, the slaves of France. Nor is there much time for deliberation. A twelvemonth will see us completely bound hand and foot: already are we partly surrounded, cooped up and cramped by our pursuer: his net is drawing over us, and unless we instantly cut it with the sword, our future struggles will be in vain.

However, my lord, to leave the defenders of the peace no room for cavil, I am content, in considering a new war in connection with the effects of the peace, to take the question upon the ground of the *existing dispute* between the governments of England and France. This dispute has prevented the interchange of ambassadors, it has put a stop to the execution of that part of the treaty of peace, which, on our side, remained unexecuted; it has occasioned a new armament, even before all the alacrity of ministers to reduce us to a state of helplessness, was able completely to disarm us; it has had, on the feelings of the nation, on the speculations in commerce and in the funds, on the "capital, credit, and confidence" of the country, all the effects of a war, determined on by both parties, but not actually declared. The political blindness and imbecility of those, by whom the peace was made and defended, is, therefore, as fully proved by *the present state of things*, as if the fleets were at this moment engaged in the Bay of Biscay, or, as if Buonaparté's marauders were sacking the city of London.

Thus situated, then, it behoves us, my lord, to enquire into *the change which these six months of peace have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign*. But, this part of the subject I am reluctantly obliged to postpone to my next. In the mean time, I have the honour to remain, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

London, 25th Oct. 1802.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Events of importance follow each other so quick, that it is absolutely impossible for our reflections to keep pace with them.—The Swiss have, as it was natural to expect, submitted to France. There are persons, who are still credulous enough to think, that the submission is only of a temporary nature, and that a new resistance will soon break out. Alas! "we are become great *hopers*," hopers in every thing but in our own exertions! Let any one look at the answer (p. 523) of the Diet of Schwitz (which was, by the *lovers of peace*, thought, at first, to be a fabrication of the French); let him look at the proclamation of the Council of War of the Swiss League (p. 524); let him look at Talleyrand, the honest Talleyrand's letter (p. 525) to Mr. de Cetto, and then let him believe, if he can, that the submission of the Swiss is of a *temporary* nature. The letter of Talleyrand, which, impudent and insolent as it is, the makers and defenders of the Peace of Amiens cannot, with any reason or justice complain of, is addressed to the "*neighbouring powers*." And can the wiseacres complain of this? Did they not want to be rid of continental connections? Did they not say that we were "*too honest*" to

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have connections with any of the continental powers? Buonaparté appears to have believed them, and seems to have determined to guard their morals from all danger of continental corruption.—No, no; it is not a *temporary* submission, but a submission which is never to cease, till the republic of France is once more engaged and overcome. "Holland, *Switzerland*, and the whole of "Italy, are provinces subservient and tributary to the empire of France; they recruit, "pay, and clothe her armies, they enrich "her generals and her commissaries; her "ambassadors are the legislators, the ministers, the real sovereigns, the absolute "despots, of those states, which your lordship and your colleagues wish to regard "as *independent*. These states are all cut "off from every relationship with one another, except the yoke which is their "common portion. *What resistance, my lord, "can they now make against her will? Their "murmurs would be instantly drowned in their "blood, and the hour of their revolt would be "that of their destruction.*" (Cobbett's letters on the peace, p. 75.) These times and circumstances were, then, foretold? Indeed, he must be an idiot, who could not have foretold them.—The manner in which Buonaparté has settled with the Swiss precisely corresponds with our expectations, as expressed in the preceding sheet, (p. 501.) That pretext for quarrel is, however, it seems, abandoned, on the part of our ministers, who have now taken a new ground, whereon to make their stand. This is, *the union of Piedmont with France*, together with the recent proceedings *in regard to the island and order of Malta*. With respect to Malta we shall say nothing, till the grounds of complaint are specified; but, as to *Piedmont*, can Lord Hawkesbury and his colleagues, can the defenders of the peace, can the approvers of that ruinous and disgraceful measure, can those whom that measure plunged "into a tumult of exultation and a delirium of joy"; can these, or any of these, have the assurance to complain of Buonaparté for uniting Piedmont with France? "Your "friend, the consul, my lord, has been, on "the subject of Piedmont, more communicative than you. He has lately told the "French, and has left this cowardly country to hear it at second hand, that "*Le "Piedmont forme notre 27e division militaire!*" "without another word! without any apology for the seizure, or any apprehension "of the displeasure of the monarchies of "Europe in consequence thereof!"—(Cobbett's letters on the peace, p. 53. published in October last.) And, shall we now affect to be surprised at what has *lately* taken place? Shall the "ministers of peace and plenty," the "*safe* politicians," be allowed to avail themselves of the union of Piedmont with France as "*a ground of quarrel which could not be foreseen!*" As a proof of "A NEW *hostile* "*mind in the First Consul!*" We trust not: we trust, that there will not be wanting men of independence and of spirit, to ring in their ears those re-iterated, those irrefragible proofs of their imbecility.—There is, too, something of a *commercial* nature appertaining to Piedmont, which has, we believe, greatly assisted in inducing the sages of Downing-street to shift the pretext for their hostile purposes from Switzerland to the former country. The Norwich wiseacres, the constituents of patriot Smith, the lovers of "peace and a large loaf," have discovered, that the peace, which they so yearned after, and which they embraced with such ecstasy, has produced very little increase in the size of their loaf, while it threatens a great diminution of it, at no very distant epoch, by the total destruction of their communication with Italy, and particularly with Piedmont, which furnished the most valuable part of their trade. Could the effects be confined exclusively to *them*; could *they* suffer without any danger to our country in general, and to his Majesty's throne in particular, how sincerely should we rejoice at the grasping and unchecked ambition of Buonaparté! "And why?" say the men of candour; "what good does it do to re-"mind the world of the language and con-"duct of those who rejoiced at the peace?" —What *good!* what *good!* What good does it do, then, to proclaim, to record, or to punish, any folly or any crime? Why cashier the coward? why crop the perjurer? why hang the thief? "Aye, but the peace "is made, and it cannot be unmade." So is the theft committed, and it cannot be uncommitted.—The fact is, all the well-meaning, quiet, mighty good sort of men, who wish the folly and the turpitude of the peace to be forgotten, have themselves to answer for some degree of that folly or that turpitude, and they disapprove of our censure, for reasons precisely similar to those, which induced the mob of Burdett to clamour against the Bastile.

It is now discovered that we must *sink without continental connexions*; but where is the power who will venture to connect itself with the makers of the peace of Amiens? with those men, who, as far as depended on them, rivetted the chains of the conti-

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nent? With those very men, whose parliamentary supporters have publicly declared them to be "*too honest*" to have any connexions with the continental powers? With the men, the "too honest men," who received Ceylon and Trinidad from the hands of Buonaparté, and who sent the Stadholder to seek, (for sacrifices made *to us*,) an indemnity in the plunder of our German allies? Where is the power who will deign to connect itself with a nation governed by ministers like these?—Let it not be imagined, however, that we are ever anxious about a *mere change of ministry*. We have certainly no *private* end which would be answered by such a change; and, as to the public, it would derive very little, if any, benefit from a change of *men*, unaccompanied by a radical change, not only of measures, but of notions and of principles. We must have war with the Republic of France, or we must become a province, a military division (le 28e division militaire), of France; but, if that war is to be conducted upon the same principles, or rather the same *no*-principles, that the last war was, we, for our parts, think it a matter of perfect indifference *who are the men*: the "respectable" sire of the Clerk of the Pells, or even the Clerk of the Pells himself, on whom the simpletons of Reading have just bestowed the honorary title of Captain of Volunteers, would lead us under the yoke as well as any body else.

The affairs at the Diet of Ratisbon have assumed an aspect somewhat new; but, as will be seen by a reference to the official papers (p. 522,) and to abridgement of the supplementary plan of indemnities (p 528), which, however, we do not give positively as authentic, nothing decisive has yet been done. One article of news from Ratisbon, if it be true, is of great importance; that is, that the *Elector of Hanover* has objected to the supplementary plan.

We wish for some good from the change of ministry at St. Petersburgh; but, we want the evidence of some act to give us any reliance on aid to be expected from that court. M. Markhoff is still at Paris; and the *last* note given into the Diet at Ratisbon, must have been approved of by the new ministry. These circumstances, particularly the latter, leave little foundation for hope from that quarter. It is possible, that the Emperor of Russia may yet be withdrawn from the politics of France; but we do not think it very likely at present; and, unless it be done soon, it will be very difficult to do it at all.

The Mediterranean is now the interesting scene. Buonaparté certainly has an intention to make some bold push in that quarter; and we should not wonder to hear, by-and-by, that his fleet has sailed from Toulon, while he, by the tour which he is about to make, fixes our attention on the sea-ports of the channel. The Mediterranean is open to him. Minorca and Elba are in his hands; our force in Egypt is reduced to a mere nothing; a few days fortunate sailing will again put his army in possession of Egypt, and that country, once re-possessed, will never again be evacuated, though another Lord Hawkesbury should obtain another stipulation to that effect. The re-occupation of Egypt by the French would be a just judgment upon this country, the people of which illuminated their houses for the treaty, by which their ministers most shamefully affected to obtain the evacuation, at the very moment when they knew that the enemy had capitulated, and who expressed no sign of joy, or of praise, when that capitulation was officially announced! A more striking instance of baseness and ingratitude was, perhaps, never exhibited by any nation in the world. When they regarded the evacuation as a boon granted by France, they were frantic with delight, they hugged the bearer of the tidings, they became his cattle, his beasts of burden, they licked the hem of his jacobin garment; but, when, a few days afterwards, they found that this same good had been obtained by the valour, the perseverance, the almost unheard of hardships, of His Majesty's army, the base wretches seemed to sicken at the sound; not a single shout of approbation, not a candle was lighted, on this account, in the whole kingdom of Great-Britain, except at the office of the Porcupine news-paper! Such a nation cannot stand! The example, the scandalous example, was, in both these instances, set by His Majesty's ministers; who, to celebrate their own disgraceful peace, expended thousands upon thousands of the public money, but, for the glorious campaign, by which Egypt was re-conquered, *not a single penny!* Of all the acts of an administration which has led us from disgrace to disgrace, this, in our opinion, was the most shameful.—It will take a great deal to wash us from these stains.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Reading Ball,* 545. *Let. Amsterdam,* 548. *Ext. M. Chron.* 554. *Tr. bet. Fr. Prus. and Bavaria,* 559 *Note M. Hugel,* 560. *Lugano,* 561. *Ligurian Rep.* 561. *Switz.* 562, 563, 564. *Ext. from the Moniteur,* 565 *Summary of Politics,* 568. *Switzerland,* 569. *Royalists,* 570. *Ext. Mr. Pitt's Speech,* 574.

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

Naturally desiring to make our connexions as extensive as possible, for the sake of intelligence, we are happy that the article, which we copied from the Morning Post, relative to Mr. Addington's ball at Reading, has procured us a new correspondent, and we hope for a continuation of his favours. Mr. Tietenser will permit us just to hint, that he seems to have taken up the matter a little too seriously, though his anger is highly honourable to his feelings of friendship. Upon one point we cannot forbear expressing the very great satisfaction which we have received from the following letter. It would have been an unpardonable mockery and profanation, a cant of hypocrisy no less foolish than impious, had Mr. Addington in the most distant manner, represented the treaty of Amiens as a blessing from Divine Providence, at the very moment, when he was on the point of declaring, that, after an experiment of less than six months, he himself finds that treaty to be incompatible with our safety and independence; and instead of a blessing, to be one of those visitations of divine wrath, by which the destruction of a fated people is sometimes prepared, through the instrumentality of the weakest and most contemptible creatures among them.

Reading, Nov. 2, 1802.

Sir,—As an inhabitant of Reading, and a friend of the minister, whose "respectability" has been repeatedly testified even by you, certainly not one of his greatest admirers, I call upon your justice to allow me a corner of your next number, in consequence of a letter in your last, which you professed to have copied from the Morning Post.

The conduct of that newspaper, Sir, with regard to Mr. Addington, has been particularly unjustifiable. It has been marked by that kind of unfair license which the pretended "*Lover of Truth and Decorum,*" with so much reason, whether he meant it or not, has censured and condemned. Not once or twice only, but almost perpetually, it has been made "the vehicle of grave and "circumstantial misrepresentations." What a strange liberty was taken, not only with the name of that gentleman, but with that of a whole fraternity of worshipful men, no longer ago than last Michaelmas day. Did not that editor, for two or three days together, fill half his columns with notices and paragraphs about a goose feast at Apothecaries' Hall, in honour of Mr. Addington and the peace? And when this was formally contradicted, in a paper dated from the ball itself, had he not the impudence, in opposition to this grave authority, to forge a contradiction to that contradiction, and sign it with a long string of fictitious stewards? Of a piece with this, was another silly attempt, which was made about the same time, from the same quarter, to impose on the credulity of the public. When the state of Europe required all the attention and vigilance of our cabinet, and every body knew that they were constantly meeting; when Mr. Addington's assistance was indispensably necessary to his worthy colleague Lord Hawkesbury, in settling the commercial arrangements that were to secure our navigation and trade from the insidious machinations of our rivals on the other side of the water; when, I will take upon me to say, Sir, that no minister, the most careless of his duty, much less such a minister as Mr. Addington, could have stirred from Downing Street even to Richmond Park, a ridiculous story was malignantly told, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, forsooth, was amusing himself with playing the part of the lowest Custom-house officer, chasing Kentish smugglers, and seizing moonshine, mundungus, and smouch. To be sure there was much affected praise of his generosity in giving up his proportion of the good things which thus fell to him, but this I have not the smallest doubt was meant as a sly allusion to the Clerkship of the Pells, which he so prudently secured for our present young captain. Well then, could you have supposed it? After all this unwarrantable indulgence of fancy, a plain, literal, harmless fact, which was witnessed by hundreds, is to be called into question. How can the reader of that prostituted

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journal know, in future, what to believe, or disbelieve? For my part I can hardly credit that it has so extensive a sale as it boasts!

Suffer me now, Sir, to consider a little the mock arguments that are produced against the reality of our late ball. It is represented, truly, as a gross blunder to pay the people the compliment of being the authors of the peace "just at the moment "when they are beginning to be heartily "ashamed of it." A pretty sort of blunder indeed! On the contrary, if it be true, that the people really are beginning to be ashamed of the peace, I cannot conceive any finer stroke of policy, than for Mr. Addington, at that very moment, to persuade them, if he can, that it is not his shameful work, but their own. As to the coarse sarcasm levelled at the "vigour of the present go-"vernment" I shall only say, that I trust no man of common sense will value it three skips of a "flea." Mr. Addington's speech, however, is said to have been a repetition of an old House of Commons address. Perhaps it may, Sir: it sounded, I confess, to my thinking like something I had read. Did the writer imagine then, that we are such country bumpkins at Reading, as to be ignorant that what is called an address of the House of Commons is the language of the minister himself? And pray what language should a man use but his own? Aye! but truly it was bad taste to talk on such a subject to "an audience of dancing "misses and negus-swigging fiddlers." As if, truly, the young ladies whom this anonymous assassin (I wish they had him within the reach of their nails) so flippantly calls "dancing misses," had nothing to do with the subject. War, Sir, almost to a proverb, makes husbands scarce; and surely the ladies of Reading, like all others, may be allowed to feel a little interest in a peace. The other part of the audience, to which an objection is captiously made, are necessary persons at a ball, and if they swigg negus only, they are likely to keep themselves sober, which is not the case with the noisy, riotous crew, hiccupping out pricked port and brandied sherry at the Shakespeare Tavern; to whom certain parliamentary seceders are in the habit of addressing those harangues, that for ten years together, have been so ostentatiously detailed in the Morning Post.

You expressed a desire, Sir, to ascertain the fact respecting our ball. It was simply this. The Doctor (I mean the father of my friend Mr. Addington) had a great number of patients, of a certain description, as is well known, in this neighbourhood; and no doctor ever sent out more cured, whatever malicious people may say. Some of these, wishing to show their gratitude, first started the idea of paying a compliment to his son, on the occasion of the preliminaries of peace. The ratification, however, not coming as was expected, the moon, which governs all these meetings with us in the country, was a little too much in the wane for that month. Parliament met, and the definitive treaty hung on hand till the season for balls was past. At the commencement of the present season, the persons who had first set it on foot, thinking it better late than never, resolved to pay the compliment to Mr. Addington, at a time when he was perfectly at leisure to be present. This, Sir, is the plain unadorned tale. The account which has been given, I can seriously assure you, is substantially true: only I must correct one trifling error. Mr. Addington is too good and religious to have so lightly taken the name of God in vain. With his known candour, he said that he was an humble instrument, not in the hands of Divine Providence, but of Mr. Pitt's prudence. The origin of the mistake is a little ludicrous.

I hope I have not been too harsh in my comments upon the pretended *Lover of Truth and Decorum*. His letter is dated from this place. It is unpleasant to mention names, where there is not positive proof; yet I cannot help hinting that there is, not a hundred miles from this place, a certain unpopular character, commonly distinguished all over this country by the name of *Massacre*; and we are very well informed here what visitors were at his house at the time. For my own part I shall not conceal myself under a feigned signature. My name and family have been long publicly known in this place. I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

J. Tietenser.

TO THE EDITOR.

Amsterdam, 26th Oct. 1802.

SIR,—About 14 months ago, I was informed by a friend at Paris, that the British Ministry were upon the eve of concluding a peace with the French Consulate. Alarmed at the terms, I wrote, on the 1st day of September 1801, a letter, wherein I sketched out the then visible consequences that were inevitably to ensue—the said letter was inserted in the Times of the 23d September, under the title, "*Reflections on a Peace with*

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France." If you will, Sir, take the trouble to read it over, you will, I presume, allow, that I had some knowledge of the characters with whom your ministers were negotiating; and you will then perhaps excuse the liberty I take in addressing to you the few following remarks upon the *present* state of affairs.*

MR. EDITOR,—For this some time past, particularly since the armed insurrection in Switzerland, we have been amused with the grumbling, shouting, and howling of John Bull; all the late cordial confidence in the Prime Consul, seems to have rusted into distrust and jealousy; that pacific republic, which, but the other day, was held out by the British Ministry in the midst of a deluded Parliament, as on its knees before the altar of Jesus Christ soliciting reconciliation with God and man, is now, in all your public papers, represented in its *natural* Jacobin attitude. Pray, Sir, by what supernatural power has this wonderful change in the construction of John's eyes been brought about? We dare swear, that, from the innermost recesses of Buonaparté's soul, to the public demeanour of his meanest subject, there is not a hair-breadth of change, neither in the *religion*, *morality*, nor in the *politics* of France, since the 26th Oct. 1792, to this 26th Oct. 1802. In 1792, the *creed* of every Frenchman in France, was, "*que "les rois sont dans l'ordre moral, ce que "sont les monstres dans l'ordre physique.*" The Jacobin Club canonized Ankerström for having delivered the world of one; and decreed, that the *Divinité* was the author of the *droit de l'homme*, by which code all kings should be extirpated. The first position is, Sir, the creed of nineteen twentieths of the people of France at this moment; and Buonaparté has assumed to himself the honour allowed to the *Divinité* in the third.

To see in all your London papers long chapters upon the terrors of Buonaparté, upon the opposition of the French to his measures, upon the bravery and patriotism of a deluded rabble in Switzerland, and upon the present military spirit of Austria, sickens common sense! It is extremely distressing to see, that that deadly ignorance which pervades every country on the continent of Europe, should have overshaded Great Britain also! Do, Sir, for the sake of your country, tell your men charged with its preservation—that no man was ever more master of his own household than Buonaparté is master of the French Republic. A *parole d'ordre*, will, at any moment, raise the nation in a mass; and march them to murder Swiss, Germans, Turks, Russians, or even their friend Mr. Addington, without a grumble; nor will officer, soldier, peasant, or mechanic, ever ask or care where they are going nor with whom they are to fight. Instead of being satiated with revolution and war, both are become necessary aliments to that ferocious community. The Swiss rabble do not merit the sympathy of their neighbours, nor if they did, could any power or powers save them, if the Consul has a mind to subdue their country. Austria is no longer a military power; that country has neither government, money, nor bread: the Austrians and Hungarians must either turn out and new-model their present ministry, or that ministry will deliver them into foreign subjection.

What we have here stated, are real and *bona fide* facts: and if Lord Hawkesbury has different information, he is imposed upon. His lordship's diplomatic agents abroad are, with few exceptions, poor insignificant gentry; their reports cannot be depended on—they have no means of obtaining information. In friendly countries, while there were countries friendly to Great Britain, your missions, for many years, especially during the revolution, have been generally filled with men who have given to us foreigners very ridiculous ideas of John Bull. We might refer you to many gentlemen on his lordship's diplomatic list, who could give the most unequivocal testimony, that, had there not been a premeditated plan to insult the several sovereigns of Europe, and to hold up John Bull as a most indecent animal to the derision of foreigners, they had never been sent out of their country.* Ignorance,

* Before we received this intimation, our attention had been directed to the *Letter in the Times*, and, from its language and sentiments, we at once concluded, that it was written by our valuable correspondent "SWENSKA," through whose means we were enabled to communicate to the public the projected new division of Germany, ten days before the ministers themselves were acquainted with it. (See p. 129.) The same correspondent obliged us with another letter (See p. 355.), which contained some excellent remarks.—His letter in the Times we shall re-publish in our next sheet.

* These remarks, though severe, are but too well founded. What are, with some very few exceptions, our present, or, indeed, generally, our late diplomatic corps? Are they like the diplomatic corps of any other nation? The powers of Europe send *great men* as ambassadors; men fit to be ministers *at home*. America sends the leading members of her *Congress*; her chief justice, her governors of states; in fact, the *greatest* men in the country, instead of the *least*.—It was an even chance whether CHARLES BELOE, Esq. was employed

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mean ostentation, immorality, and awkward *espionage*, are the leading characteristics of British *modern* diplomacy: they can give you no account of foreign states, for foreign statesmen cannot have any confidential intercourse with men whom common decency obliges them to despise. Your ministers at home, as well as their agents abroad, run after and cringe to men; they know nothing of real circumstances. If the Emperor change a *laquais*, or Madame Buonaparté take a new chamber-maid, all the roads of Europe are covered with British couriers, and a dozen of frigates are set off without provisions, to announce to the world the prevalence of the *British party* in all the cabinets of Europe! Poor old England! are you now come to that? Your existence depending upon the change of a Russian secretary! Mr. Editor, if you thought some of your little folks would not be angry, you might perhaps render a service to your countrymen, if you told them, that the political existence of the British Empire depends upon *changes nearer home*.

Mr. Editor, we foreigners consider the situation of Great-Britain, as she stands in relation to Europe and America, to be as follows:—At the commencement of the revolution Great-Britain stood high in the opinion of the world; all other powers looked up to His Britannic Majesty as universal umpire in all their disputes. Mr. Pitt's armed mediation in the Russian, Swedish, and Turkish quarrel, being thwarted by that Westminster *patriot*, Mr. Fox, (which produced the final partition of Poland, to the eternal reprobation of that political demagogue), diminished for a moment the reputation of the British Government. Their interference against the French, and their paltry mercantile quarrels with the Neutral States, rendered the British Ministry unpopular on the Continent, until the French Revolution assumed its hideous attitude; then the terrified world turned towards the British standard and looked to Mr. Pitt. America, at one time, only waited his orders to declare against France,* by which St. Domingo would have been for ever secured to England, without Mr. Dundas's *twenty millions* of money, and without the ten thousand men, who so ingloriously perished under the medicaments of General Maitland's surgeons.—The lesser Northern States of Europe solicited, begged, and prayed to be taken under your protection—the demands of Prussia were rational, fair, and necessary; those of Russia, such as every person who knows any thing of such matters knew that you could not oppose. It was therefore, the duty of a British Minister to have co-operated with those powers, against the common enemy of all legitimate government. You had the trade of the world in your hands, and all the European settlements abroad under your guns; you might have distributed them as best suited your interests; and you could have guaranteed your distribution, by keeping a sufficiency to maintain your navy: you had Malta, it was an effectual barrier between France and Russia; you had the Cape and Surinam which secured to you Hindostan and Brazil. And what could France have done? burst her bowels by the venom her stomach could not otherwise have vented. So you stood, Sir, at the head of the civilized world, every government in it, ready to receive any rational proposition from the Court of England. —How do you stand now, Mr Editor?—A *deserted insulated nation*; in the opinion of every reflecting man—doomed to inevitable destruction, and pitied by nobody. The outworks of your country in the hands of your mortal enemies, and your colonies under the guns of those works. Requiring an annual income of more than 30 millions, and depending on the trade of those very colonies for that sum; requiring an annual supply of several millions of foreign corn, and your enemies holding the keys to all the granaries. The necessaries of life at a price which must sooner or later prevent entirely the exportation of your manufactures; and your public credit depending upon the uniform in which the sharp sighted Mr. Merry may chance to see one of Buonaparté's household servants. And the British ministry will pretend to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland, or of any other country!! Do, for heaven's sake, Sir, advise them to be quiet and civil. By the genius of Buonaparté, and by the contempt which Europe and America bears for Great-Britain, conjure them to be quiet.—Where, in the name of common sense, has the peace left you a point of attack? Are Buonaparté's settlements to be surprized as those of the King of France

in breaking my windows, or in representing His Majesty at some foreign court! The means and motives, which lead to the admission of the far greater part of the members of our diplomatic corps, would form a most curious and diverting collection of anecdotes in low life.—EDITOR.

* For the truth of this fact the Editor can vouch; and the neglect of such an opportunity was amongst the great blunders of the war.—The co-operation of America offered, perhaps, no *harvest* for Mr. Dundas's labourers.

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and States General were? And are not every one of your foreign possessions at his discretion, in spite of all the powers you can muster? You say the army of St. Domingo are all dead. They were very obliging to conquer that great country before they got sick. Mr. Merry found in Buonaparté's intercepted letters, that the army of Egypt was eaten entirely up by the monsters of the Nile; and upon that able translator's authority, Mr. Canning proclaimed the glad tidings in the House of Commons. Perhaps the ambassador may have written to Lord Hawkesbury (for he writes plenty) that now is the time to recover St. Domingo *. But, say you, Austria will join us; and Alexander will open his eyes! Sir, Austria being governed by men something like your own, that court is capable of any folly, and of more than mere folly; as to Alexander's eyes, it is better you would *take care of the objects on which they are fixed* than confide in their being shut.

Mr. Editor, if you will preserve old England, 1st. Put English blood, old English honesty, candour, and courage, at the head of affairs. 2d. Offer to Russia your co-operation in securing to her those possessions and commercial channels which she must have, and which she will take independent of you, and laugh at John if he grumbles. Make a fair and reasonable proposition to America. These two states secured, not by your gold nor contemptible intrigues, but, by national interests, you may still secure the British empire, and confine France within certain given bounds. But by no other means nor combination of powers will you be able to resist the universal coalition which France and Russia are arming against your dominions.

Pray, Mr. Editor, give us Hollanders your opinion candidly on one question, to wit: If the terms of the treaty of Amiens had been laid before the British Parliament and British public, *before* they were accepted and sanctioned by his Majesty's Ministers, do you think that *any one member* of that Parliament or public would have advised his Majesty to accept them? When we hear your opinion we shall be better able to judge of your fate.

Swenska.

* Had Gen. Abercromby come home he would have told another story—and so will perhaps the Governor of Jamaica, when Buonaparté thinks proper to send him over.

Remarks on the Article in the Moniteur (see p. 565), extracted from the Morning Chronicle of the 2d instant.

The official Journal of the 29th contains an article the most extraordinary which we ever read under any shape even of warlike manifesto. The formalities of dispatching an ambassador to our court, to maintain a peace so lately concluded appear to have inspired an effusion of malignity against the British nation, in which the whole fury and frenzy of the revolution have been reduced into a quintessence, intended as it were as the final instructions and *vade mecum* of the representative of his Consular Majesty. The rage and hostility which, according to the rules of diplomacy, should have been laid up in *instructions secretissimes* are here divulged in the official Journal. If General Andreossi has any instructions to do his utmost to maintain the peace, they must have been communicated in the private audience with his sovereign!

This document, we are strongly inclined to think, is from the pen of Citizen Hauterive, a person high in the office of foreign affairs. It is an abridgement of a pamphlet he published two years ago. It is impossible to imagine more falsehood, more contempt of truth, perversion of history, more national animosity, more absurdity, more contradiction condensed in a column and a half than this paper exhibits. It is written in a stile that seems most happily calculated to rouse the generous indignation of the people of England. If there be a man among us who could have entertained a doubt of the profound hatred which Buonaparté's government bears to the English nation;—if there be a man among us who could for a moment hear with complacency, who could for a moment be deceived by the insidious cant of friendship which has sometimes marked the levee language of Buonaparté, he must now be disabused.

The Moniteur affects to direct his invectives against the English press, but disdaining such little game, he soon advances to the assault, not only of the English ministry, but of the English nation. It is not present or late malversations that are arraigned, but the system of England for a century is attacked as low and vulgar in itself and pernicious to Europe. From King William to Lord Chatham none is spared; and, with reason, the ardour of this writer's resentment is most inflamed against those who were most successful in stemming the torrent of French ambition, and preserving

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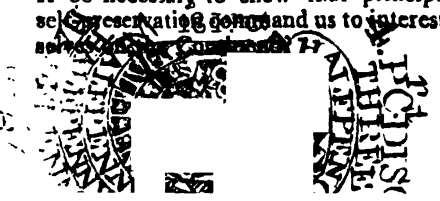
the liberties of Europe. The reproaches against the late ministry, are too just sarcasms on their wretched attempts to oppose the aggrandisement of France.

The main object of this compend of French policy towards England is, that with regard to past events, we never interfered in Europe but for its destruction; that at present we have no right to interfere at all. It states the shameful truth, that we have no allies on the Continent; and as the Elector of Hanover has adhered to the Franco-Russian plan of indemnities, it is asserted that we can have no right whatever to inquire in what manner the different powers on the Continent settle their marches, or, as Citizen Hauterive quaintly terms it, their *interets limitrophes*. "The relations of France and England are "the treaty of Amiens—the whole treaty "of Amiens—nothing but the treaty of "Amiens." So says Citizen Hauterive, and so says Buonaparté.

Whether it be true, as here asserted, that the English government "does not com- "plain," of what passes in the countries, the French governments of which it has not recognised, we shall not pretend to determine. That we have a right to complain, we assert and will endeavour to shew. If ministers in the plenitude of their submission at Amiens, chose not to insist upon satisfaction as to the state of continental affairs, even they, far less the English nation, are not precluded from insisting that the French government in time of peace shall not continue to add province upon province, kingdom upon kingdom, republic upon republic, to the dominions of the republic. We ever thought these arrangements were of more importance, even to us, than a sugar or a spice island; and if the last war had been begun, or conducted on proper principles, might have been continued for such objects—prudence, upon a fair comparison of circumstances, recommending the policy. To have continued the war in the way it was conducted, would have been madness.

But surely the intervention of a treaty, regulating the immediate, separate, local, and personal interests of France and England, cannot be supposed to exclude us from the right which independently, and contrary to all treaties, we possess, of taking precautions for our own safety, against an enemy that unequivocally points at our ruin. Can it be necessary to shew that principles of self-preservation command us to interest ourselves [illegible]



If France, aggrandizing herself at the expense of others, is only preparing to attack us with renewed force, are we bound by any separate arrangements to consent to our own destruction by acquiescing in that of our neighbours? There is a right founded in neighbourhood and common defence, which no treaty can take away, and by which all states are entitled to make common cause against common aggression.

"The western nation" (Buonaparté's anti-chamber cant is become diplomatic cant) is pacified! Pacified! as a man stunned by a blow is pacified! How comes it that General Buonaparté conceives himself entitled alone, "personally," as it were, to consult and to act for the interest of the great Western Family? Is England *foras-familiated* so completely, as to have nothing of common interest or tie of consanguinity? It surely is not because England forms an island (by the way the French, we suppose in compliment to Buonaparté, "personally," now, say nothing in disparagement of islanders) that she is cut off from any communion of interest with the Italians, the Germans, or the Swiss? Mark the consistency of Citizen Hauterive. *Stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite.* Russia has a right to interfere—Great-Britain has not; Russia is generous in her interference; but what *interets limitrophes*; what boundaries has she to settle with the French Republic? Has Russia more interest in assisting or opposing the views of France, in robbing the Emperor of Germany or preventing his being robbed, though placed at so vast a distance, than England, that is separated from France only by a ditch, as the Moniteur formally stiled the channel? Must Russia have more sympathy with the oppressed, more interest in protecting the weak, and overawing the proud, than we who see our own fate prepared in the ruin of our ancient allies? We have not recognized the Italian Republic, but are the inhabitants of so fine a portion of Italy to be quite indifferent to us, because we do not choose to recognize the extravagancies of the Consul President's desperate ambition? They are part of the Great Family, and what right has Buonaparté to rob them of their portion, their name, their character, their independence? What right has he (in defiance of the treaty of Luneville) to interfere with Helvetia, whose genuine national government he refuses to acknowledge? We do not recognize the King of Tuscany! It would have been infamous to have recognized him. We had relations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and

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when the Emperor agreed for his brother to cede Tuscany, it was for a compensation. But how has the indemnity been made good? Has not the Emperor complained of violated compact; and ought we to enter into relations with the puny, illegitimate sovereign of Buonaparté's creation, while he usurps the inheritance of the lawful sovereign with whom we had relations? Must we recognize, as France, every thing which France seizes by fraud or violence? Are we not, by our ancient relations with the King of Sardinia, entitled to ask, by what right France has robbed him of Piedmont? Did Great-Britain never interfere in the affairs of the Continent but when she had a direct territorial right? In truth, we fear that our interest in Hanover (which by the way is not necessarily an English interest) has, on some occasions, from a timid policy, led us to wave English rights and English interests. It has created a pernicious dependence, instead of inspiring a liberal interest, and we suspect had no very favourable influence on the terms of the treaty of Amiens. What direct interest had we in the war of the succession? Did Europe then think our interference degrading? Did the Emperor of Germany feel our aid destructive, when an English army saved his crown in the glorious battle of Blenheim? Although our relations with France may be narrowed by the abrogation of treaties, treaties which give us common interests with continental powers remain, and what is more, common interest, the only solid basis of treaties and of equal authority, with them remain. Guided by these we are still called upon to resist the continental aggressions of France. Destitute of allies now, the wrongs which France daily commits will be the inducements of new alliances, not giving a right, but declaring a resolution to withstand the destructive ambition of a foe, now so undisguised. If circumstances should be favourable, should powerful, determined allies seek our assistance, it would become a question of prudence whether we should join their cause, but the right could never be disputed.

Buonaparté has declared aloud the principles on which he condescends to hold relations with us. The Treaty of Amiens is the only code. Out of that record we must not travel. We must tamely view all his invasions of independent states—see him mature his schemes of aggrandisement. He has imposed sufficient barriers to our interference in fact, but it is too much to insist upon so universal an abandonment of our common right in the concerns of the Great Western Nation. — How far and where ministers remonstrate against the First Consul's proceedings, we cannot tell; but we are sure that no honest minister of England will ever so far degrade his country as to acknowledge the now advanced pretensions. Circumstances may lead us to overlook what we cannot prevent—but if we basely look on with indifference on the ruin of independent nations, our own merited ruin cannot be distant.

But it is not the late ministers only that fall under the lash of Citizen Hauterive. The "respectable Mr. Addington," the present "prudent administration," does not escape. The maritime code of this country is again arraigned; our maxims which, right or wrong, are certainly very old, are said to be unheard of, and the battle of Copenhagen, which took place under Mr. Addington's auspices, is called a massacre! We know not by what rule of judgment that battle is tried and pronounced a massacre. It certainly bore no resemblance to the massacre of the Swiss in 1798. That was, indeed, a massacre. It was unprovoked; it was murder perpetrated for the purposes of robbery—France wanted to seize the treasures of Berne, which were actually employed to pay the expenses of the expedition to Egypt. Buonaparté, indeed, should know the difference between a battle and massacre!

It is asserted that France and Russia will maintain the peace of the Continent. We hope, however, that Russia will endeavour to maintain peace, not by yielding every thing to France, but by keeping her within bounds. The policy of the present ministry of that country is not sufficiently developed, but surely this is the true policy of their country. France, and Russia too, it is said, will be able to counteract the efforts of the restless spirits to whom the policy of the newspapers is ascribed, should the influence of their libels produce the removal of our present prudent ministry! — Here is a pretty open threat against any attempt to change the ministry. We congratulate the respectable Mr. Addington on his powerful protector! We see very well Buonaparté's ideas of the men who would confine our policy to our own island, and would never interfere with his grand continental schemes —men who would look to the Treaty of Amiens, nothing but the Treaty of Amiens!

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty between the French Republic, Prussia, and Bavaria.

The First Consul of the French Republic and His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, having offered their mediation for the arrangement of the affairs of Germany, and having made known to the Imperial Diet, by their declaration of the 18th August, 1802, the indemnities which they thought should be adjudged to each Prince in consequence of the 7th article of the Treaty of Luneville; His Majesty the King of Prussia hastened to conform to the plan presented, and in taking possesion of the states adjudged to him, confined himself scrupulously within the limits assigned in the declaration. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany having on his side announced the intention of causing its different possessions to be occupied, His Majesty the King of Prussia, the First Consul, and the Emperor of Russia, have spontaneously hastened to make known to him, that it was not at all becoming that his troops should pass the limits assigned by the declaration, or that they should occupy any territory but that appointed for the indemnification of the Archduke Ferdinand.

Yet, without regard either to this declaration made collectively at Paris to the Imperial Ambassador by the minister of the three powers, nor to that which has been made at Berlin by the Count de Haugwitz to M. de Stadion, the Austrian troops have taken possession of Passau, and His Imperial Majesty has informed the Diet by his Plenipotentiary, that he would not withdraw his troops, unless the countries occupied by the other Princes were in like manner evacuated, which is an indication that His Imperial Majesty sets no value on the declaration of the mediating powers, and that he regards it as void.

In consequence, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and the First Cousul of the French Republic, engage themselves to reiterate in concert at Ratisbon and Vienna, their efforts, to cause the plan presented to be adopted by the Germanic Body, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly so far as it guarantees to the Elector of Bavaria the preservation of his possessions on the right bank of the Inn, as far as it secures to him the town of Passau.

And if, contrary to their hopes, and their united interposition, His Majesty the Emperor, taking advantage of the possession of Passau, should refuse to evacuate it within the period of sixty days appointed for the deliberation of the Imperial Diet, the governments of Prussia and France pledge themselves to combine their efforts with those of Bavaria, to secure to the latter the preservation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the possession of Passau, and the entire indemnity which has been adjudged to her.—Done at Paris, 18 Fructidor, year 10, Sept. 5, 1802.—(Signed)—*Talleyrand.*—*Marquis de Lucchesini.*—*Cetto.*

Note addressed by the Imperial Plenipotentiary to the Deputation, informing them of his accession to the Conclusums of the 16th.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty discovers, in the two conclusums that have been communicated to him on the part of the Deputation of the Empire, propositions well calculated to prepare the speedy and definitive arrangement of the objects reserved by the Treaty of Luneville for a particular convention. Always ready to contribute, on his part, with a sincere zeal to that speedy arrangement, he has in pursuance of these propositions, under a restriction, however, conformable, no doubt, to the intentions of the Deputation, respecting the administration of the objects assigned as indemnities to the Counts of the Empire, addressed without delay a letter, a copy of which is annexed, to the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Margrave of Baden; as likewise the two notes, copies of which are annexed, to the ministers of the Mediating Powers.

Ratisbon, 18th Oct. 1802. *(Signed) Baron de Hugel.*

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Constantinople, Sept. 18.—The numerous troops disbanded by Paswan Oglou, have occasioned new disturbances by their depredations in Bulgaria. Paswan Oglou has been applied to by the Porte to extirpate them.—The Grand Signior has forbidden any speculations in money, under pain of corporal punishment, and has fixed the Dutch ducats of 7½ piasters again at six, and the Austrian of 6, at 5, as before the war.—The plague has now ceased throughout the Turkish Empire.—The French chargé d'affairs, Citizen Ruffin, in a particular audience, has notified to the Grand Signior the appointment of Buonaparté to be Consul for life; and has received magnificent presents for himself, his lady, and his interpreter, Franchini.—Lord Elgin has arrived here from the Grecian islands, to which he lately made a voyage.

Vienna, Oct. 16.—The Emperor has prohibited M. De Cobentzel, Vice-Chancellor, from receiving letters addressed to him by the chiefs of the armed assemblies of Berne. His Imperial Majesty has manifested a desire that tranquillity should be promptly re-established in Switzerland, and shews a full confidence in the part taken by the First Consul, to restore repose to that unfortunate nation, to place it in a way of enjoying its independence, and resuming, at length, its rank, amongst the powers of Europe.—[We doubt this.]

Strasburgh, Oct. 18.—An attempt was made in the night between the 16th and 17th inst. to introduce into the French territory near Argolsheim, more than 100 bales of muslin, reputed English. The officers of the customs were on their guard, and a violent combat ensued, in which a lieutenant of the customs was killed, and two persons employed under him dangerously wounded: the smugglers lost, on their side, a chasseur. The conductors, however, having lost their way, the goods were afterwards seized and the persons who were with them arrested.

Copenhagen, Oct. 19.—The re-establishment of a good understanding between Denmark and the Regency of Tripoli has been purchased, it is said, for a much less price than was formerly paid in similar circumstances. The negotiations, even after the arrival of the Danish squadron before Tripoli, lasted eight days, and were only brought to a happy conclusion by the commandant, Koesod, making serious dispositions to attack the town.—The peace has been signed for six years.

Berne, Oct. 20.—Berne has deputed to the Consulta of Paris, M. M. de Mulinen, De Watteville, Demanhut, Tchaning, of Ramlinguen, and Col.

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Hanerwadel, of Leitzbourg. They will not repair to their destination but in company with the deputies from the other Cantons. General Bachmann, and the superior officers of the Confederate Army, are all gone from Berne, but it is proper to state that, that army entirely emptied the arsenal of Berne; there remain only some pieces of large calibre which could not be carried away.—The confederates, though they seemed to disband themselves, are still under arms—the Diet of Schwitz also continues its sittings.—It is said there is to be a congress at Neufchatel at the end of this month, on the subject of the affairs of Switzerland, and that it is to be attended by the French, Imperial, and Prussian Envoys.

Milan, Oct. 20.—We have received from Lugano the news, that on the arrival in that city, of the officer sent by General Charpentier, chief of the etat-major of the troops of the Italian Republic, to inform the Provisional Government of that Canton, of the dispositions of the First Consul, and the vice-president of the Italian Republic which were in conformity with them, the Government immediately acceded to them, and re-established the former authorities. All the armed force was dissolved.

Hague, Oct. 21.—The approaching arrival of the First Consul, announced here, spreads confidence and hope; it is not doubted that he will be struck with the utility of the works commenced, and of the necessity of completing them speedily. We are assured that the First Consul will make a tour of the whole coast.

Hague, Oct. 22.—Private letters from Petersburgh, of the 2d inst. state, that the ministers of France and England, residing in that capital, had presented notes in the names of their respective governments to His Imperial Majesty, in order to engage him to charge himself with the guarantee of Malta, under the Treaty of Amiens.

Ratisbon, Oct. 22.—The extraordinary Deputation of the Empire held yesterday its 18th sitting, and definitively adopted, by a conclusum, the general plan of indemnities.—Baron d'Ompteda, the Electoral Minister of Brunswick, received at the same time the official news that the Court of London had made arrangements with the French Government, relative to the stipulations of the plan in favour of the Imperial towns of Bremen and Hamburgh.

Ligurian Republic.—Genoa.—Extracts from the Registers of the Senate. Sitting of Aug. 23, 1802.

The Senate of the Ligurian Republic, considering that it is conformable to the ancient institutions of the republic, to consecrate the images of great men who have rendered it illustrious:—Considering that Christopher Columbus discovered the new world, and that Napoleone Buonaparté has pacified the old, and by the labours of his Consulta, extended the limits of Liguria, secured its most important interests, and re-organized its laws, has decreed unanimously that there shall be erected in the vestibule of the national palace, two marble statues, the first representing Buonaparté, the second, Columbus.—(Signed)—*Durazzo.—Lanzola, Sec. Gen.*

Berne, Oct. 25.—Sixteen hundred men, of the 16th demi-brigade, have occupied the city of Basle. The arrival of the French troops has strangely disconcerted the agitators, who a short time before had positively asserted that they would not enter Switzerland. The government has certain information that in the Cantons of Argovie and Soleure the people are yet labouring in a counter-revolutionary scheme, and however burdensome the presence of the French troops may be to our country, we cannot dissemble, that without them, we should be still a prey to insurrection and anarchy.—General Ney attended this morning the sitting of the Senate: he manifested the most favourable sentiments to the Helvetic Government, and assured them that he would give them every support in his power to re-establish public tranquillity. The Senate have agreed to the decree which follows. The nomination of the deputies also took place this morning. The choice fell upon the Citizens Ruttiman, Pidou, and Muller-Friedburg, a choice which must be applauded by every wise man.—In the Canton of Zurich, the system of persecution against the patriots, is carried on with the greatest rigour. Citizen Rapp set out yesterday for Basle, whence he will go to Zurich, where he will probably be preceded by some French battalions.—We are assured, that two battalions stationed in the Frickthal, have entered the Canton of Argovie, and that they are directing their march towards Zurich, of which place they are to form the garrison. We may then expect the cessation of those arrests which now daily take place. Citizen Xavier Bronuer, the author of some esteemed works, has been lately arrested, and exposed to the insults of the triumphant party. Having proved, that for more than a year, he had taken no part in political discussions, he was liberated, but he has been exiled for ever from the Canton of Zurich.

Decree of the Senate.—Having heard the message of the Executive Council, and also the report of the Interior Committee, considering that by virtue of the proclamation of the First Consul of the French Republic, each Canton may send deputies to Paris to explain their sentiments, upon the means most likely to restore order and tranquillity, and to re-unite all parties; and considering also, that this measure should be regularly executed, in order that the regularity of forms may coincide with their power of delivering their opinions freely, orders,—1st. That the national prefects of the Eighteen Cantons shall convoke, during the first week of November ensuing, on a given day, a meeting of all the members of the Diets of the Cantons of the first of August 1801; and of those who were members of the Cantons on the 2d of April 1802,—2d. These citizens, so united, shall determine whether their respective Cantons ought to send deputies to Paris, in their name, at their expense, and under these circumstances.—They will determine the number that are to be sent, and will make the nominations.—3d. The Senate does not by this measure deprive the Communes of the right of sending deputies, at their own expense, to express their sentiments.—4th. Every person named shall receive from the assembly the act of his nomination, which shall be legalized by the national prefect, and by the secretary of state for foreign affairs.—5th. The deputies shall assemble at Paris, on the 15th of November next. The further regulations which may be necessary for carrying into effect the present decree, are left to the Executive Council.—*25th Oct.* 1802.—(Signed)—The Landamman President of the Senate.—*Dolder Lauther*, and *Muller-Friedburg*, secretaries,

Rouen, Oct. 25.—The prefect of the department of the Lower Seine, has published to-day the fol-

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lowing proclamation, which overwhelms with joy the inhabitants of Rouen, who are no longer in doubt of the First Consul's arrival:—Citizens, the First Consul is to arrive in two days among you. It is to him that you are indebted for victory, for peace, for the return of morality, order, and law; it is he, whose activity, equally indefatigable in peace as in war, aspires only to follow one labour with another; who devotes every moment of his life to your prosperity. He has done more than found the empire; he has drawn it from its ruins to raise it with a firm hand to the first rank among powers; and at his voice we have seen burst from those very ruins the sources of a prosperity hitherto unknown.—The name of the hero fills the world. Foreigners hasten to contemplate him from the ends of the earth. Every where, within, without, his words have been received as the oracles of wisdom;—he is become the common arbiter of people and kings.—How happy and proud ought you to be to possess him. He comes to enquire your wants and your resources; to revive agriculture, commerce, and those useful arts for which you were formerly renowned.—His journey is a benefit, his presence a treasure; he will cast over this department that eagle eye which embraces the whole of objects, and penetrates at once all the features of them. He will discover for your posterity what would have escaped the rest of mankind.—Enjoy, then, this blessing, which so many other departments will envy you. Old men will one day repeat to their children that they saw Buonaparté. All his words will be remembered. Hence you are about to collect grand and touching recollections for futurity.—I have had too many occasions to know your enthusiasm to endeavour to awaken it. I do not prescribe to you any mode for the reception of the First Consul—and, in order that he may meet every where a reception worthy of him, I abandon you to the impulse of your own hearts.—At Rouen, in our Hotel, 24th October.—(Signed)—*Beugnot.*

Berne, Oct. 26.—The Diet of Schwitz has written a letter, dated the 11th instant, to General Rapp, to express to him their thanks for having listened to the representations of their deputies, Pfyffer and Freuler, who gave him a letter to the First Consul. The following is an extract of the note which Colonel Pfyffer wrote, on the demand of General Rapp, to whom he had given verbal assurances expressive of the sentiments of the Diet with respect to General Rapp.—"The Swiss Diet "at Schwitz has charged me to make known to "General Rapp, that they are assured the First "Consul will abandon, after he receives the let"ter addressed to him, the fatal impression which "has been attempted to be made upon his mind, "with respect to the state of anarchy and fac"tion in which he might believe that Switzerland "is at present.—If the First Consul persists in "fulfilling the verbal menaces which General Rapp "has made in his name, of sending 40,000 men "into Switzerland, I have the honour to acquaint "the General, that we shall yield to force, and "that no one thinks of contending with the power "of the First Consul; but their remain in our "possession, arms which he himself esteems—"they are, the justice of our cause, the voice of "the people and posterity.—*Berne, Oct.* 9, 1802, "*(Signed) Colonel Pfyffer, Member of the Council of* "*state.*"—In all places through which the Helvetic Government passed to return to Berne, military honours were paid them. Those which were paid them at Berne, were by order of General Rapp. The commandant of the place having refused to give orders for them, he was dismissed, and the command of the place given to Citizen Perrier.—The Diet of Schwitz sits in the open air, in the midst of a square battalion armed with lances, and the Morgenstermen. It has come to a great number of resolutions, which says a Berne journal, we cannot communicate to our readers, on account of the language used against the Helvetic Government.

Basle, Oct. 26.—The French troops which have entered Switzerland have not met with any resistance. All is tranquil in our city, where are at the present moment two French battalions, and the first Helvetic battalion of the line. There prevails, however, a great animosity between the latter, and the free corps of Basle, returned from the army of Bachman.—It appears that the numbers of French troops which have entered Switzerland on different points are not so considerable as was believed.—We are assured even that the different corps have received orders to return to their former garrisons. We know at least positively, that the 50th demi-brigade, which had arrived in the ci-devant Alsace, has received counter-orders, and that it will return, in consequence, to the environs of Mayence.

Paris, Oct. 27.—The Minister of the interior set off yesterday morning for Rouen and Havre.—(*Moniteur*),—The First Consul was to set off last night for Rouen, with Mademoiselle Buonaparté.—He will visit Havre, Dieppe, and Cherbourg. It is said that his journey will not last above ten days. The Minister of the interior, who set off yesterday, will wait for the First Consul at Rouen, and accompany him on the journey.—An English journal is about to be published in Paris, entitled The Argus; or London reviewed in Paris. The proprietors and editors of this journal, who have arrived from London, announce in their prospectus, that the "nature of their intelligence will enable them to give information respecting England, and anecdotes which the English writers have not hitherto touched upon in any of their journals."—But the reason they give for their emigration is very remarkable:—"The progressive high price of paper, the enormous taxes imposed in England on all the objects relating to printing, and above all, the constraint placed upon the press at London, have determined them," adds the prospectus, "to transport their establishment to France, and to publish their journal at Paris instead of London."

Oct. 29.—The First Consul set out yesterday morning for Rouen, accompanied by Madame Buonaparté. The object of his journey, which will take up ten days, is to inspect the important manufactures of the department of the Lower Seine.

General Andreossi, Ambassador from the republic to his Britannic Majesty, had his audience of leave on the 27th instant.—*Moniteur.*

An Organic Senatus Consultum passed on the 3d instant, contains the following disposition:—Art. I. During five years, computing from the publication of the present Organic Senatus Consultum, such foreigners as shall render, or who may have rendernd important services to the republic, who shall bring into the midst of it talents,

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inventions, or useful branches of industry, or who shall form large establishments may, after a year's residence, be admitted to enjoy the right of a French citizen. II. This right shall be confirmed by an Arrêté of the government, founded on the report of the minister of the interior, and adopted with the advice of the Council of State.—III. There shall be delivered to the applicant a certificate of the said arrêté, signed by the Grand Minister of Justice, and stamped with the seal of the republic. —IV. The applicant provided with this certificate shall appear before the municipality of his place of residence, to take his oath of fidelity to the government established by the constitution; his name shall be registered, and a minute drawn up of the administration of the oath.

By another arrêté of the 18th instant, the functions of jurymen are suspended during the present and succeeding year, in all the departments of Piedmont, with those of the Cotes-du-Nord, Morbihan, Vaucluse, the Mouths of the Rhone, the Var, and the Maritime Alps.

Extract from the Moniteur of the 29th Oct.—A part of the English journalists remain still a prey to discord; every line which they print is marked with blood. They endeavour, with loud cries, to excite civil war in the bosom of the Western Nation, happily restored to peace. All their reasoning, all their hypotheses turn on the two following points:—

1st. To invent grievances against France.

2d. To create to themselves allies with equal liberality, and thus to give their passions auxiliaries among the great nations of the Continent.

Their grievances at present chiefly are the affairs of Switzerland, the happy issue of which excites their jealous fury. It appears that it would have suited their passions much better, if that unhappy nation had been torn by civil war, and if the neighbouring powers, suffering themselves to be hurried away by the empire of circumstances, had again disturbed the harmony of the Continent.—The proclamation of Vendémiaire to *, (October 2), dissolved the knot of all these intrigues.

They appeal to the treaty of Luneville, which secures the existence of the Helvetic Republic, but it is to secure this existence, that the interference of France is indispensably necessary. Besides, of all the powers of Europe, the only one which has no right to appeal to the treaty of Luneville, is England, since it alone refused to acknowledge the Helvetic Republic. It also would not acknowledge the Italian Republic, the Ligurian Republic, and the King of Tuscany. We know that for a year past, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances of the French government, it has persisted in the same refusal in regard to these states, and the continental arrangements stipulated by the treaty of Luneville. England has no diplomatic agents, either at Berne, Milan, Genoa, or Florence.

The English government does not complain, and indeed cannot complain of what takes place in countries, the political existence of which it does not acknowledge, and with which it maintains no public relations.

The affairs of Germany excite in a still livelier manner the jealousy of that faction of periodical writers—and the bold and generous conduct which has gained to Russia and France the thanks of all the countries, all the towns, and all the princes of Germany, is a subject of grievance to these instigators of trouble.

The King of England has acknowledged all the arrangements of Germany, he has adhered to them.—It is sufficient, on this subject, to read the vote of his minister at the Diet of Ratisbon. The British cabinet, therefore, satisfied with having seen all its interests taken into consideration, and consulted, makes no kind of complaint on this subject.

The English libellists state, that the feeling expressed by the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, is not that of the English nation. But what other title could an insular power have to interfere in the affairs of Germany; and to what abject state would Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, and the Houses of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse Cassel, and the French Republic, be reduced, if they could not negotiate, conclude, and arrange their interests as neighbours, *(interets limitrophes)* without the consent of a power which has as little to do with these interests as with our diplomatic law! A power which alone disowns the rights of independent nations on the seas.—The relations between France and England are the treaty of Amiens—the whole treaty of Amiens—nothing but the treaty of Amiens.—[*Les Relations de la France et de l'Angleterre, sont le traité d'Amiens—tout le traité d'Amiens—rien que le traité d'Amiens.*] †

The allies which the party writers of London create to themselves, on the Continent, as well as their grievances, happily do not exist, but in their disordered imaginations, and in the passions of hatred and jealousy, by which they are tormented. They invoke, with all their wishes, the troops of Austria; they form and collect armies in the Tyrol, but Thugus is no more, and his Majesty the Emperor well knows, that if the power of Austria has been twice led to the brink of the precipice, it was because it twice abandoned itself to these perfidious instigations.

Far from sacrificing the blood of its subjects, which are so dear to it, the court of Vienna, immersed in debt by the payment which, with extreme good faith, it has made to England of the subsidies it received during the first three campaigns, is employed solely in lessening its expenses. Instead of repaying the money it expended for the cause of the English government, it might, with perfect justice, demand from that power 5 or 600 millions as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. Kaunitz said, in the middle of the last century, to a minister of the King of Prussia, who came to have an audience of leave, "The King your master will one day know what "a burden the alliance of England is." And if Prussia saw its frontiers invaded, its capital plundered, without sinking in utter ruin, it was indebted for it to that prince of glorious memory, and to that army which will long be quoted as a model.

Do we not hear also these furious journalists in-

* We suppose this should be the 30th Sept.

† There perhaps might be another meaning given to the clause "the whole of the treaty of "Amiens." It might perhaps bear the sense that the relations of England and France are completely comprised in the treaty. Indeed we think that sense agrees best with the context.

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voking the aid of the Russian armies? But have these Russian armies forgotten, that exposed and abandoned in the marshes of Holland, they were disowned in England; and in contempt of the rights of nations, they were not included in the exchange of prisoners. But will not the Russians, the Swedes, and Danes, long preserve the remembrance of those unheard-of pretensions which occasioned the massacres of Copenhagen?

It is beyond a doubt, and the Continent is fully convinced of it, that the first of benefits, the dearest of interests, is peace. It knows too well that a continental war would have no other effect than that of concentrating all the riches of commerce and all the colonies of the world in the hand of one nation.

Russia and France united by reciprocal esteem, by common interests, by a firm desire to maintain the peace of the Continent, will restrain, notwithstanding all their efforts, these restless spirits, whose turbulent policy inspires the English Gazettes, if the influence of their libels should be able to produce a change in the prudent ministry by which Great-Britain is governed.

Can any continental power be mentioned for a hundred years back, which having deviated from the principles of sound policy, did not justify the profound reflection of Kaunitz?

If the King of the Two Sicilies twice saw his territories invaded, and his capital in the power of the French; if the Elector of Bavaria twice saw the same scene renewed in his states; if the King of Sardinia has ceased to reign in Savoy and Piedmont; if the house of Orange has lost the Stadtholdership; if the Oligarchy of Berne and of Genoa has seen its influence vanish; and if Portugal has beheld its provinces covered with troops ready to conquer them, were they not all indebted for these misfortunes to the alliance of England?

The peace of Europe is firmly established, and certainly no cabinet wishes to disturb it; but if it should happen that individuals, enemies to mankind and to the tranquillity of the world, should be able to obtain any credit in the British cabinet, they would not succeed in preventing all the good that the two nations have a right to expect from their state of peace, and from their new relations.

In a word, the French people are not ignorant that a great mass of jealousy is excited, and that dissensions, either intestine or foreign, will for a long time be fomented against her. She therefore constantly remains in that attitude which the Athenians gave to Minerva—a helmet on her head, and her lance couched.—Nothing will ever be obtained from her by threats: fear has no power over the hearts of the brave!

DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday the 3d instant, His Majesty held a levee at St. James's. The presentations were — The Rev. Dr. Barton, who had the honour to kiss the King's hand, on being appointed Prebend of the See of Canterbury, by his Grace the Archbishop.—Earl Macartney, on his arrival from Ireland.—General Sir George Yonge, on his arrival from the Cape of Good Hope.—Lieutenant-Colonel Slater Rebow, of the second regiment of life-guards, by Lord Cathcart, on his promotion.—Governor Prescot took leave of the King, on his setting off for the West-Indies.—The Hon. Mr. Peter Burrel, second son of Lord Gwydir, on hi return from his travels.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI
Bank Stock	180½	—	180	180	—	—
3 pr. C.R. An.	67⅛	—	67	67	—	—
3 per C. Con.	68¼	—	67⅞	67⅞	—	—
4 pr C. Cons.	83⅞	—	83⅝	83¾	—	—
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100¼	—	100¾	100¾	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	19 13/16	—	19¾	19 11/16	—	—
D°S. 1778 & 9	4¼	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Cr. 1797	99⅞	—	99½	99½	—	—
Omnium	9½ dis	—	10 dis	10 dis	—	—

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 3	2 us.	Leghorn	51½
D°, at sight	11 1		Naples	43½
Rotterdam	11 4	2 us.	Genoa	47
Hamburgh	33 5	2½us.	Venice, 54 livres piccol	
Altona	33 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.	
Paris 1 day	23 17		Lisbon	68
Paris	24 4	2 us.	Oporto	68
Bourdeaux,	24 5		Dublin	12
Cadiz	36	eff.	Bilboa	36½ D
Madrid	36⅛	effective	Agio, bank on Hol.	p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	42s to 62s	Hops per cwt.	200s to 240
Rye	33 .. 36	Hay per load	94 .. 14
Barley	22 .. 27	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5
Malt	44 .. 48	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d
Oats	15 .. 24	Veal	5s. 0d. to 6s. 4d
Pease (white)	48 .. 52	Pork	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d
Beans (horse)	33 .. 37	Tallow	4s. 2½d
Flour per sack	50 .. 54	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33s.5
Seconds	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d
Coals per chal.	46 .. 50	Bread 10d the Quar.	Loa

Days.	N'ght's	Weather, near *Guildford.*	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. De M.	Ther. De A.
28		Fair.	SE	SE	29,3	29,3	46	52
29		Fine.	SW	SW	29,2	29,15	48	53,
30		Sho. Fine.	S	S	29,19	29,19	46	51
31		Rain.	ESE	E	29,25	29,3	45	46
1		Fair.	W	W	29,33	29,35	43	49
2		Fair Rain	NE	NE	29,36	29,37	43	47
3	D	Frost Fair	W	W	29,4	29,4	36	45,5

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

By a reference to our Public Papers (se p. 559), it will be seen, that a treaty ha been entered into by France, Prussia, an Bavaria, the object of which is, to compe the Emperor to accept of the terms of par tition, dictated by the declaration of Russi and France, and by their "supplementar "plan of *indemnities*." We think, the Em peror will submit, an opinion which is muc strengthened by that of our correspondent Swenska (p. 550), who, though, perhaps rather too peremptory, on certain points has discovered great sagacity as to the poli tical views and measures of the powers of the Continent. The cabinet of Vienna i badly constituted; it is made up of tha sort of mind, which is influenced by little paltry, selfish considerations; it is made up of Hawkesburies and Addingtons. A cer

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tain pompous theatrical tone marks all the negotiations of M de Cobenzel; but, it is a hollow sound, which soon dies away, and leaves not the smallest effect upon the hearer. The Emperor, after making a shew of resistance; after preserving, for a while, the attitude of an Emperor of Germany, will yield to the insolent commands of his oppressors; a just punishment, perhaps, for having abandoned himself to the councils of weak and selfish men.

The people of this country, with that sort of wilful blindness which has marked all the nations that have, one after another, submitted to the yoke of France, affect to perceive something like "a *compromise*" between Buonaparté and the Swiss patriots. A compromise!!! Shame, shame on the inventors of the paltry subterfuge! The Helvetic government, that is to say, Buonaparté's government, is re-established at Berne; the Diet of Schwitz (which "sits in *open air*") has signified to Citizen Rapp, that if the French troops enter Switzerland, the patriots *must yield*; and the French troops *have* entered Switzerland. Buonaparté's proclamation has been obeyed in every respect whatsoever. There is not one of his commands, which has not been fulfilled with scrupulous exactness. Deputies are nominated to go to Paris to learn his further pleasure. And, this is called a *compromise!* Yes, much about such a compromise as the Hawkesburies will, if we are not much mistaken, make with General Andreossi, whose approach has already thrown them into a dreadful trepidation. No; there has been no *compromise* in Switzerland. The Swiss have again yielded implicit submission to the government set over them by the French, the government which *we* left in Switzerland at the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens. Buonaparté does not mean to incorporate that country with France: such a measure would not be for the interest of the latter: her views are much better assisted by giving to the surrounding states a *nominal independence*, in virtue of which they may be either *neutrals* or *belligerents*, as it best suits her purpose: in the former capacity they may serve her as a rampart, in the latter as a forlorne hope. As *independent* states, they will be to her, as Dr. Laurence observed in the debate on the treaty, both *feelers* and *claws*, which they could not be, were they formally united to her. Piedmont and Belgium are, indeed, so united; but they are covered by other nominally independent states, the Ligurian, the Italian, and the Batavian republics, other feelers and other claws.

There has been an insurrection in the city and canton of Lugano. The people, taking advantage of the absence of French troops, ejected the tyrants whom their conquerors had set over them, and formed a provisional government. But, on the 20th ultimo, news had been received at Milan, the moment the "*dispositions*" of Buonaparté were signified to the "insurgents", they were acceded to, the provisional government was put down, the former one re established, and all who had taken up arms were disarmed.

In France, four provinces have been put under martial law; that is to say, under martial law of a more rigorous description than that which prevails over the country in general. The *juries*, as they are called, have, in these provinces, been suspended, and special tribunals, *alias*, courts-martial, established in their stead. These courts, by which, men are accused, tried, and executed, in the space of two hours, have been erected for the sole purpose of extirpating the last remains of the brave royalists, *twelve hundred* of whom have, in one way or another, been cut off *since the signature of the preliminary treaty!* These gallant men have fallen a sacrifice to their loyalty, and to their confidence in the British government. Their blood is upon the head of this nation: and it never yet has happened, that such a crime went unpunished. Not content with deserting the royalists, with leaving those who are in France to perish by the knife, and those who are in England to perish with hunger, the *ministerial prints* have lately begun to revile them, to accuse them of perfidy, and to endeavour to expose them to public hatred and resentment. Such baseness, such unheard of cruelty and ingratitude, *must be punished:* it must recoil upon the nation that is guilty of it. Desperate as is the situation of the Vandean royalists, surrounded as they are with dangers, steeped as they are in poverty, we, for our parts, would ten thousand times sooner partake in their fortune and their fate, than in those of the men by whom they have been deserted.

By a reference to page 563, it will be seen, that, while the gibbet and the knife are busy on one side of the Seine, the Consul, Lord Hawkesbury's friend, the First Consul, is making his progress on the other, over paths strewed with flowers, and accompanied with every outward mark of love and admiration. Our wise-acres have consoled themselves with the hope, that he was *afraid to stir from Paris*, just as they, some time ago, hoped he was like to die.—"Is Phillip dead? "—No, but he's very sick.—What is it to

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"you, whether Phillip be dead or not? "Were Phillip to die to-morrow, your "cowardice would raise up another to sup- "ply his place."—We look for hope in any thing but our own exertions. Insurrections in Switzerland, plots in Holland, changes of ministry in Russia, discontents of the generals at Paris, any thing but what depends on *ourselves*. If we are driven from all these sources of hope, and are obliged to look at home, we fly to our manufactures, and commerce, and constitution, to our "capital, cre- "dit, and confidence;" and, if these should fail us, our last resource is, our "salt water "girdle," and "the wooden walls of old Eng- "land." We never think, we will not think, we are afraid to think, about fighting the French upon the coast of Suffolk or Sussex; but we must think about this, and we must do it too, and with success, or we must become slaves to Buonaparté. "The treaty of Amiens, the whole treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens," has severed us completely from the Continent, and has left the French empire, consisting of seventy-five millions of souls, to fall upon us with its undivided weight. Great and terrible as it is we must meet it: it may crush us, but we cannot get out of its way.

The article (see p. 565.) extracted from the Moniteur, may certainly be regarded as a manifesto of the French government. The excellent answer to it, which we have (see p. 554.) taken from the Morning Chronicle, will preclude the necessity of any comments of our own on the subject. But we cannot help remarking, that the manifesto expresses no more than what every one anticipated as the doctrine naturally growing out of the Treaty of Amiens. In that treaty we voluntarily consented to be banished from the continent. The ministry were applauded by a vote of the late parliament, by a mob-like majority, they were applauded for making that treaty; and what right have we now to complain, that Buonaparté tells us that we shall adhere to it? For us who *disapproved* of the treaty, there is, indeed, some room for reply, as individuals, but not as members of the British public, who, having sanctioned the Treaty of Amiens, by every possible demonstration of joy, have no right to complain that its principles are inculcated and enforced.

The great and general topic of conversation and inquiry is, *whether we shall have peace or war*. We gave our opinion, in our last sheet (p. 535, 536), to which we beg leave to refer the reader. We supposed, that Buonaparté would give up the shadow, while he would hold fast the substance. In enumerating the reasons why the present state of things was likely to continue for some time, we observed, that Russia having so heartily joined with France would operate as a great check to resistance on the part of England; and, we thought, that Buonaparté, unless he was quite prepared for an open attack on us, would not be disposed to hasten a state of things, which must infallibly displace the present pliable ministry.—"Any change of men, "without a change of measures and of "principles, would not, indeed, be greatly "injurious to his [Buonaparté's] projects; "but, he must be well persuaded, that no "set of men are less likely to oppose his "will, than those from whose trembling "hands he extorted the release of Napper "Tandy; a *persuasion, which will probably "induce him to enable them to meet the par- "liament with something like a promise of the "continuation of the* "BLESSINGS *of peace*"—This was our opinion given on the 25th ultimo; how far it is confirmed by the following curious paragraph in the French manifesto, which arrived on the 2d instant, let the reader determine: "Russia and "France, united by riciprocal esteem, by "interests which are common to both, by "a firm resolution to preserve peace on the "Continent, will restrain, in spite of them- "selves, those restless spirits, whose tur- "bulent politics inspire the English news- "papers, *if, by the influence of their libels, "they should ever succeed in displacing the* "PRUDENT MINISTRY *who now govern "Great-Britain*." We have observed, too, that *since* this manifesto arrived, the ministerial prints have softened their tone. That which fires with indignation in the hearts of other men, tends to cool the passions of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies. "*The* "PRUDENT MINISTRY *who now go- "vern Great-Britain!*" and that from the lips of Buonaparté too! From the Chief of the "*Western Nation!*" From him who alone can preserve to us the "blessings of "peace," and who, if he will, *can raise Omnium to par!*—We repeat it, because it is a fact well worth attention, that *since* the arrival of this eulogium on the ministry, the language of their official print has totally changed. A few days ago, it breathed nothing but war: it would listen to nothing short of a retention of our conquest, *till Buonaparté had relinquished his encroachments*; but now, behold, it trusts, that "the King's ministers will be *moderate*

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—that, if any *compromise* can be made with " respect to *the conquests we still retain*, re- " serving to us even *less* than our *just* de- " mands, it trusts they will be disposed to " evince their *moderation* by accepting such " a compromise, *rather than have recourse* " *to the* DREADFUL *alternative of war.*"— This is *now* the language of the "*prudent ministry* who govern Great-Britain;" the "*safe* politicians;" the men "with an *hereditary* disposition to office." They have long been aware of a design to supplant them: they know, that there is another set of statesmen who are working day and night to prevail on Mr. Pitt to cut off the thread of their existence; but with Buonaparté at their back, they might bid defiance to the fatal sisters themselves.

But, still it seems difficult to recede. Orders are dispatched to retain the conquests not already restored. The ministers must adhere to the resolution which dictated this measure, or Buonaparté must relinquish his encroachments, or else we are plunged deeper and deeper into disgrace. In fact, if we give up the point, after this shew of resistance, we at once take our rank along with Holland and Spain.

That we have the *power* of retaining our conquests, no one can doubt; and, as to *right*, we think nothing need be added to what we said in our last sheet (p. 535), nor have WE any scruples as to the *expedience*; but it is to be feared (or rather, for their own sakes, to be *hoped*) that *the makers and defenders of the peace* have great, if not insurmountable, scruples, on this head. We remember, that, when, in the debate of the 29th October, 1801, Mr. WINDHAM insisted, that we should have retained our conquests "*as some sort of balance against the* "*aggrandisement of France on the Continent*," the sapient Mr. Addington answered, with just such a simpering sneer as you perceive in the face of Malvolio, when he comes forth in his yellow stockings and cross-garters, "that the right hon. gentleman "was *very much mistaken* in supposing, that "the retaining of our conquests was the "most effectual way *to counterbalance the ag-* "*grandisement of France.* He thought, on "the contrary, that *the relinquishing what we* "*had conquered, was the* ONLY PLEDGE FOR "OUR SECURITY." And this, this is the minister who is now actually retaining those very conquests, on no other ground than that they are necessary "to balance against "*the aggrandisement of France!*" But, it would be base and cowardly in the last degree, were we, on this occasion, to quote Mr. Addington, without adverting to what was said by Mr. PITT *. "My right hon. "friend [Mr. Windham] says, that we "ought to have retained something *to coun-* "*terbalance the aggrandisement of France*, and "that if she chose to treat upon the basis of "*uti possidetis*, we ought to have insisted "upon doing the same. He says that this "treaty transfers to France all that she "wanted to secure to herself—universal "empire; and that ministers, in signing it "in a rash and evil hour, signed the death- "warrant of their country. Sir, had we "retained all that we agree to restore, I "deny, that from the danger dreaded by "the right hon. gentleman, we should have "been, thereby, at all secured. The ceded "islands were not unimportant to our com- "merce, were not unimportant to our "finance; but would they have maintained "the integrity of Naples, of Portugal, or "of Sardinia? *would they have taken from* "*the French one yard of the immense line of* "*coast which causes such dismay?* I shall "never be found, upon this occasion, to "urge the plea of necessity. We are far, "indeed, from the end of our resources, "and were *our independence* threatened, the "means we have in store ought not to be "spared. But they would truly be misera- "bly employed if they were lavished on any "*foolish plan of colonial aggrandisement*, in- "stead of being reserved to wind up the "expenses of a necessary war, and to ena- "ble us to make the same exertions again "when our honour and true interests are at "stake. Because France has gained large "tracts of territory from third powers, does "it follow that after she has made peace "with these powers, she ought to give us "an equivalent? It would, indeed, *sound* "*strange*, if, from the gigantic power of "the enemy, you should insist upon her "relinquishing her conquests. Would any "*enlightened statesman* say to a foreign power, "*you are so formidable, that you exceedingly* "*alarm us, and you must, therefore, let us* "*keep a share of your possessions to make us* "*equal.* The views of my right hon. friend "might regulate a *wish*, but not a *measure.* "He may *pray*, but cannot expect to be *heard.*" Unfortunately for the country, Mr. Windham and his friends were not *heard.* Their views, however, which, at that time, were only fit to regulate a *wish*, have now, when adopted by the "*safe* politicians," by "*the*

* In the debate of November 3d, 1801.

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prudent ministers," regulated *a measure*, and such a measure, too, as is, whether justifiable or not, a direct contravention, an obstruction to the fulfilment, of the treaty, even the Treaty of Amiens!

The *true balance* against the territorial and political aggrandizement of France was, by Mr. Addington, stated to consist in "the *preservation of our constitution*, in our *capital* and *industry*, and in the *husbanding of our resources*." Lord Hawkesbury expressed the same meaning in three alliterative words: "*capital*, *credit*, and *confidence*," on which he rang the changes till the nation was tired of the sound. Lord Castlereagh thought our security to consist in *giving up* colonies to Buonaparté, or, as Mr Sheridan expressed it, in setting the wild young man up in trade. It would, however, be doing great injustice to the defenders of the peace to quote some of them, on this head, to the exclusion of others; for there was not one of them, who made a speech of ten sentences, who did not utter precisely the same sentiment, and almost in the very same words, "We have nothing "to fear from the aggrandizement of "France. However collossal her power may "be, our best means of defence will be "found in the fruits our *industry*, in our "*commercial wealth*, in our *national credit*, "and in the *preservation of our inestimable con-* "*stitution*." This was the stave, which Mr. PITT gave out on the 3d of November, and which the well-trained choir most harmoniously chaunted to the end of the session. Well, then, the "*true balance*" against the aggrandizement of France *still exists in all its glory*. We are as *industrious* as ever, and, to any one who has the patience of Job, Mr. Chalmers or Sir Frederick Eden will prove, by rules of "moral arithmetic," that the soldiers who have returned to the loom weave more cloth now, than they did while they were using the musket, that, therefore, they are more profitable to the state, and that, as money is the sinews of war, or (to cite a sententious maxim of lord Auckland) as "war is a science of money," and as "that side must first quit the field, whose exchequer first fails," the country derives greater security from the weaver than from the soldier, from the loom than from the musket. Our *credit* too is yet unshaken. Our *commercial wealth* is as great as ever; nay, if the government statement respecting the Custom-house returns be correct, it is much greater than ever; and, blessed be God, our *constitution* remains unimpaired, by any thing, at least, that has happened since the treaty of Amiens. What are we afraid of, then? The means of defence, which were to set France, "however collossal her power," at defiance, are all in our possession, and within ourselves. Why, then, do we now seek for security in extraneous means; and in those very means, too, which both the late and present minister declared to be not only inefficient for the purpose, but calculated to have an effect precisely the contrary to that which they now are expected to produce?—We are reluctantly compelled to break off.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Downing-street, October 27, 1802.—The King has been pleased to approve of the appointment of Don Miguel Larrea to be his Catholic Majesty's Consul-General in the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 20.—The King has been pleased to grant unto the Right Hon. George Lord Keith, Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, His royal license and permission to receive and wear the badge of the Order of the Crescent, transmitted to his Lordship by the Grand Signior; and also to order, that this His Majesty's royal concession and declaration, together with the relative documents, be registered in His College of Arms.

BANKRUPTS.

Harrison, William, the younger, Newport-street, St. Martin's in the Fields, commission agent broker.—Schotel, Bartholomew, Mansion-house-str. merchant.—Etherington, David, York, merchant.—Haymes, Matthew, Newington, Surry, haberdasher.—Jones, David, Commerce-row, Surrey, baker.—Gale, Curwen, Tower-hill, merchant.—Gilman, Thomas, Norwich, linen-draper.—Gill, William, Wakefield, Yorkshire, ironmonger.—Miller, John, Abbey, Cumberland, grocer.

☞ *Next week* TWO SHEETS *will be published. The concluding letter to Lord Hawkesbury.—A letter from a Fellow of the Royal Society to the rest of that Body, on the subject of Sir Joseph Banks's Letter to the National Institute, as connected with their choice at the ensuing election—Together with several other important articles, oblige us to publish a double sheet.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 2. No. 19.] *London, Saturday, 13th November*, 1802. [Price 10D

Contents.—*Let. to Roy. Soc.* 577. *Buonap. in Syria*, 587. *Com. of Imp. Plen.* 586. *Coun. of Ex. to Inhab. of Helv.* 586. *Malta*, 587. *Switz.* 588. *Ratis.* 588. *Bucnap. at Rouen*, 591. *Ext. from Monit.* 592. *Nap. Tandy*, 593. *Let. to Ld. Hawkesbury*, 594. *Sum. Pol.* 605.—Sup. *Let. on the Peace*, 609. *Fr. Emig.* 617. *Obs. on Sen. Con.* 618. *New Books*, 633. *C. Ruspoli*, 635. *Pop. Clerg.* 636. *Def. Con. of the Emp.* 638. *Note of Swed. Dep.* 640.

TO THE

FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN, *London, 4 November*, 1802.

The season approaches, when, by the constitution of the Royal Society, the authority delegated by us to our President, Council and Officers, devolves again to the body at large, to be by them conferred anew on such of the members as appear the most worthy of their approbation and confidence. That this annual election is by no means a matter of form, or a mere ceremonious confirmation of the authority of the President and officers, is evident from the statutes of the Society, which direct that repeated public warning should be given by the President to the body, "How much it importeth to the welfare of the Society, that such persons be chosen of the Council, out of whom a proper choice may be made of President and officers."—We are therefore called on seriously to consider the merits or demerits of those on whom we have conferred the honourable guardianship of our fame and interest; and a candid examination of their conduct, so far as it relates to the Society, is not merely the exercise of a right; it is the discharge of a duty.

Under this consideration, I feel myself more than simply justified in recalling to your recollection, and pressing on your mature consideration, a letter written by your President, some months since: and which, though at the time it caused much discussion, and met with universal disapprobation, both in and out of the Society, seems gradually to have dropped from our memory, without having excited any permanent intention of asserting the honours of the Society, by public animadversion on the conduct of Sir Joseph Banks.

I propose, in the first place, to lay before you an accurate statement of the facts to which I allude, and then to make a few observations on the conduct of our President.

In the latter end of the year 1801, Sir Joseph Banks was elected by the National Institute of France, the first of forty foreign members, whom by their new regulations, they were empowered to add to their body. In answer to the official letter from the Secretary of the Institute, announcing to him his election, he wrote a letter, in English, of which the following translation was published in the Moniteur of the 18th of March last:

INSTITUT NATIONAL.

Traduction d'une Lettre de Sir Joseph Banks, Président de la Société Royale de Londres, aux Président et Secrétaire de l'Institut National de France.

"Citoyens, *Londres, 21 Janvier*, 1802.

"Veuillez offrir à l'Institut National l'expression de ma reconnaissance pour l'honneur qu'on m'a fait en me donnant le titre d'associé de ce corps savant et distingué.

"Assurez en même temps mes respectables confrères que je considère cette marque de leur estime comme la première et la plus agréable des distinctions littéraires que je pusse recevoir. Etre le premier choisi pour associé de la première société littéraire du monde, surpasse mes vœux le plus ambitieux; et je ne puis être trop reconnaissant envers la société qui m'a conféré cet honneur, et envers la nation dont elle est la représentation littéraire; nation qui, pendant les convulsions les plus affreuses de la plus terrible révolution, n'a jamais cessé d'avoir mon estime, dans la persuasion où j'ai toujours été, même pendant les périodes les plus désastreuses, que les bons citoyens y étaient en nombre considérable, qu'ils reprendraient infailliblement le dessus et qu'ils rétabliraient dans le cœur de leurs compatriotes l'empire de la vertu, de la justice, et de l'honneur.

"Recevez en particulier, citoyens, tous mes remercîmens pour la manière vraiment obligeante dont vous m'avez communiqué cette bonne nouvelle.

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" Je suis avec une estime sincère pour vos talens distingués, etc. *Signé*, JOSEPH BANKS."

It may reasonably be demanded, why the original answer of Sir Joseph is not laid before you, rather than the French translation. The reason is, that the English letter is guarded in the archives of the Institute, with so jealous care, that even a sight of it is refused to the members of the Institute themselves; and a copy of it has been positively denied to the most pressing application. As, however, the accuracy of the translation has never been denied, either by Sir Joseph, or any of his friends; and as no letter has been brought forward purporting to be the genuine original written by Sir Joseph, it is surely not unjust to conclude, that the sentiments contained in this translation are those of the writer, and to reason on it as a document of unimpeached authenticity.

It appears to me, that language can scarcely furnish terms of more direct insult to the Royal Society, than have been, in this letter, employed by their President. The honour of being elected one among forty foreign members of a newly established foreign scientific body, he, in unequivocal terms, places above that which the Royal Society of London have annually, during a period of 23 years, conferred on him. Forgetful of his country, of his friends; insensible to those feelings of attachment and gratitude which naturally should flow from long habits of intimacy, and a sense of benefits repeatedly conferred, he tells the Institute of France, and through them all Europe, that it is better to be one of their forty associates, than to preside over the first scientific body in his native land; in whose rolls the Sovereigns of this country have, from its foundation to the present day, considered it as not unworthy their high station personally to inscribe their names; and of which his present Majesty has, by repeated acts of munificence, most peculiarly declared himself the protector and patron.

If such, gentlemen, are the sentiments of Sir Joseph Banks, let him enjoy the honour he so highly esteems, but let us find some other person on whom to confer a favour which we have long considered as of the highest value; which certainly is the highest which we have to bestow on one of our own body, and which it is evident Sir Joseph so lightly prizes.

But, gentlemen, is this all? far from it.—Not satisfied with telling the world how little he esteems the honour of presiding over us, he proceeds, as far as in him lies, to degrade the body of the Society itself, from that high rank which it has held during more than a century, by the unanimous consent of all the learned in every country of Europe. If we look into the enumeration of titles which the literati are, with a pardonable vanity, fond of affixing to their names, we shall find, without an exception, that every nation has concurred in giving precedence to the title of Fellow of the Royal Society, over all foreign academies; each country, placing it immediately after their own national institution. This universal homage it would be an affront to Europe to suppose undeservedly paid; and as an Englishman, as a fellow of Royal Society, I view it with great and honest pride. From this pre-eminence has the society been attempted to be thrust, by the man, of all others, whose situation pointed him out as the jealous guardian and assertor of her honor and fame; whose peculiar duty it would have been to have vindicated her long-established rights, had any foreign nation attempted an attack upon them; and this strange homage to a foreign academy of yesterday is the more offensive, because totally unnecessary; as a letter of thanks, without a single word leading to abase one society by comparison with another, is all that could have been asked, and probably all that has been paid, by every person who has received this honour, Sir Joseph Banks alone excepted.

Hitherto, gentlemen, the voice of our President alone has degraded us, but if we tamely acquiesce in the insult he has offered us, we make ourselves parties in our own disgrace, and tell both our countrymen and Europe, that having abdicated the first rank, it remains with them to assign to us our new place; nor can we be either surprised or offended if that place is the last.

On many other exceptionable passages in Sir Joseph Banks's letter, I shall make no comment, as they have no immediate connexion with the honour of the Royal Society; but I

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cannot forbear recommending the general tenor and spirit of the whole to your serious consideration.

Although at the time when the letter was the subject of very general discussion, Sir Joseph Banks himself, as far as I can learn, preserved a cautious and gloomy silence on the subject; yet several of his friends offered different excuses in extenuation of an act which nobody was sufficiently hardy to justify. These it is but fair briefly to consider.

By some, the letter was affected to be treated as words of course, mere compliments, meaning nothing less than their obvious import; and this society as well as this nation, had, they assured us, no warmer friend than Sir Joseph Banks. Was I in the place of the right hon. baronet, I should feel but little obligation to those who thus asserted my principles at the expense of my veracity, and without diminishing the insult offered to my old friends, charged me with insincerity to my new ones.

By many the letter was ascribed to a moment of intoxication; drunk with the honour conferred on him, the President committed to paper what in his cooler moments he would have disavowed. The fact I am perfectly ready to admit, as I am convinced that no man in his sober senses could have written such a letter; but since (to borrow bacchanalian phrases) our president's head is unfortunately so weak, that he has, in this affair, been evidently *more than half seas over*; however we may pity his infirmity, we shall but ill consult our honour or our interest, if we do not select for our guidance a pilot who may steer us *rather nearer to our own coast*.

The many and great obligations which the society owes to their president, and the great injury we should sustain by losing him, have been urged as reasons for our passing over without notice this insult offered to us. I shall be perfectly ready at all times to acknowledge with gratitude any favours received, and in the present instance I am willing to take for granted what would admit of some discussion; but, however high the account may be stated by the friends of Sir Joseph, I think that on a fair estimate, the society will be found far from his debtor. To our favour, gentlemen, Sir Joseph Banks owes most of the honours he now enjoys. His place among the trustees of the British Museum he holds as President of our body. The ribbon which decorates his person, and the honour of a seat at the board of his Majesty's most hon. privy council, no man can affect to deny were bestowed on the President of the Royal Society; nay, it is more than probable that this foreign honour, this Lotus,

"Which whoso eats forgets his former friends,"
"His country, and himself."

was principally conferred on him as a mark of respect to the society, over which he has still the honour to preside.

As to the difficulty of replacing Sir Joseph, I should think myself highly wanting in respect to the society, could I, for a moment, suppose that had death or resignation vacated the chair before this letter was written, no man among the long list of eminent and dignified names of which the society consists, could have been found of merit equal to his; but in the present case I do not hesitate to declare it as my decided opinion, that until another member can be pointed out who has equally insulted us, Sir Joseph is the most unworthy of the chair.

Deeply as I am affected at the insult offered us by our President, and convinced as I am that I have not in any degree exaggerated its magnitude and extent, yet there is a possibility that I may feel myself called on to disavow all that I have written. If the evening of the 30th of November sees Sir Joseph Banks unquestioned and uncensured in the chair of the society, I shall then indeed, with what feelings I need not say, be compelled to own, that our President has rightly estimated, and justly placed us.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your sincerely attached and obedient Servant,

A Fellow of the Royal Society.

BUONAPARTE'S CONDUCT IN SYRIA.

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"

Extract taken from SIR ROBERT WILSON'S *"History of the British Expedition in Egypt, &c. &c."* just published.

Buonaparté having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted

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their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian Army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

Three days afterwards, Buonaparté, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of *three thousand eight hundred prisoners*,* ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignement, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparté, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reasons to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the Etat Major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparté was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished whole days in agony. Several French officers, by whom partly these details are furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror; accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty! These were the prisoners, whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alluded to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential malady which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army. The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault; since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity, with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity; therefore to establish further the authority of the relation, this only can be mentioned,—that it was Bonn's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by enquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.—P. 72. * * *

The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. *But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier; and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.*

Buonaparté, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from weighty reasons cannot be here inserted: on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last, with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and *that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital, was the only measure*

* Buonaparté had in person inspected previously the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, "Old man, what did you "do here?" The Janissary undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the "same; your answer will be, that you came to "serve your Sultan; so do I mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparté even smiled. "He is saved," whispered some of the aids de camp. "You know not Buonaparté," observed one who had served with him in Italy, "that "smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from benevolence; remember what I say." The opinion was too true! The Janissary was left to the rank poison to death, and suffered!

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which could be adopted! The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Buonaparté persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: "*Neither my principles, nor the character of my "profession, will allow me to become a human "butcher; and, General, if such qualities as "you insinuate, are necessary to form a great "man, I thank my God, that I do not possess "them.*"

Buonaparté was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations: he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind, by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick! Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours *five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its Idol!*

Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror, at the recital of such a fact? Surely the manes of these murdered, unoffending people, must be now hovering round the seat of government, and * * * * * * * * *.

If a doubt should still exist, as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked, what passed in the sitting after the return of Buonaparté from Syria: they will relate, that the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparté of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes, by charging Buonaparté *with strangling, previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts who were ill of the plague*; thus proving, that this disposal of the sick was a premeditated plan. In vain Buonaparté attempted to justify himself *; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion:—*There are records, which remain, and which, in due season, will be produced.* In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate inquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is, indeed, interested in the examination. * * * Let us hope, that in no country will there be found ANOTHER MAN of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate such transactions * * * * * *—P. 74.

* Buonaparté pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them, and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments were refuted directly, and Buonaparté was obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were so angry at being left behind, that they elected the physician president of the Institute, an act which speaks for itself fully.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Communication from the Imperial Plenipotentiary at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 26th of October.

His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to announce, by his sub-delegate, to the Deputation Extraordinary of the Empire, that having, agreeably to his anxiety for the maintenance of tranquillity, removed every obstacle which opposed the success of his negotiations at Paris, and having taken for the basis of the conclusive arrangement the supplement of Indemnity offered by the French government itself, for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his Majesty hopes to see instantly established an amicable understanding, which will have for its immediate consequence, the most satisfactory regulation of the business with which the Deputation is charged. Since, from the nature of this affair, his Imperial Majesty must reserve to himself a final approbation, he has no doubt but that the co-estates which form a part of the Deputation will content themselves with this preliminary declaration, and will repose in him, on that head, the confidence which he thinks he merits, after having given so many proofs of the sincerity of his views, and the moderation of his sentiments.

(After the perusal of the above Communication, a Declaration to the same effect was made by the Minister of Bohemia.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The Council of Execution to the Inhabitants of Helvetia.

Citizens of Helvetia, the government is assembled at Berne. The events which had necessitated its departure, and those which have preceded its return, are sufficiently known to you. We will not, therefore, speak to you of the past: we wish only to open your eyes to the present, and to seek, if it be possible, your preservation for the future. It is not a requisition of the Helvetic government that will cause the French to march among us; but the First Consul of the French republic cannot suffer factions and civil war to

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desolate a country bordering on France; a country attached to France by treaties; and which will for ever be indebted to France alone for the restitution of its independence. There cannot, therefore, Citizens of Helvetia, be any question, at this moment, of dispute, as to this or that system, or on the pre-eminence of this or that opinion; the object is to prevent the occupation of our country by foreign troops, and all the evils that would be the result of it. Only one mode remains to us to prevent those evils; it is that which the proclamation of the First Consul points out to us. Citizens of Helvetia, we counsel not to repel it: it is the last plank by which we can escape shipwreck. The abyss is beneath your footsteps, and your ruin is certain if you neglect to seize it. A general officer attached to the staff of the army of observation on our frontiers, has arrived at Berne, to see with his own eyes, if the orders of the First Consul are punctually executed throughout. He will cause the troops to enter if a single canton resist. Yes, a partial disorder, a single unconstitutional authority refusing to dissolve itself, or an assembly refusing to lay down its arms will be sufficient to draw down on you this misfortune. Let every citizen, therefore, submit to the constitution re-established, and await in the dispositions of peace and good will the definitive order of things which is announced to us by the mediation of the First Consul. Let all party denominations and hatred be abjured; let a general desire to preserve the existence and independence of our country; let the necessity of preserving for ourselves and our families the feeble resources that remain to us, command tranquillity, and unite all minds. For every true Swiss there can henceforth be but one thought, one end, and that is, the preservation of the Swiss country.

Gibraltar, Oct. 18.—By the Medusa Frigate, Capt. Gore, which arrived here yesterday from Malta, in twenty-one days, we learn that 2,000 Neapolitan troops had arrived there, who were doing duty on the opposite side of the harbour from the British.—A Grand Master had at last been appointed, who is an Italian nobleman now in England; and the evacuation of the island by our troops will probably be delayed till his arrival.—The transports had sailed from Malta for Alexandria, to bring away the whole of our troops now in Egypt; and they were expected at Malta by the 10th of November.—The Medusa fell in with our squadron which sailed hence on the 6th, off Carthagena, all well.—Sir Richard Bickerton had received orders to remain in the Mediterranean, with the whole of his fleet, after Malta was evacuated.

Vienna, Oct. 23.—Three principal objects at present occupy our politics; the first is, the journey which the Archduke will very soon take to Paris; the second is, the fate of the Duchy of Parma; some say it will be given to the King of Sardinia, for whom England and Russia interest themselves strongly; but it appears from the public acts at Ratisbon, that Russia and France are inseparably united, and that our court can obtain nothing but by their mutual consent.—The Russian grand duke Constantine arrived here yesterday the 22d Oct. and was received with the most distinguished attention. All the Archdukes at Vienna immediately waited upon him, and the Archduke Charles is expected at Vienna, for the purpose of paying his respects to him.

Basle, Oct. 26.—There is yet no certain intelligence of the dissolution of the diet of Schwitz.—The troops of the smaller Cantons, who had returned to Lucerne, under the command of general Auf-der-Maur, received orders from the diet of Schwitz to repair again to Berne, and to re-commence hostilities against the Helvetic troops; but they refused to obey the order, and quitted Lucerne to return to their homes, in spite of the entreaties of general Bachmann, who was at Lucerne, and who endeavoured to induce them to change their resolution.—The provisionary government of Schauffhausen having been invited by that of Zurich to send to it succours, and place at its disposition the contingent of Schaffhausen, returned from the army, has contented itself for the present with sending two deputies to Zurich. The canton of Schaffhausen has received a summons on the part of the Helvetic government, to return under the constitution. At the departure of the last courier, there were about 4000 French in the canton of Basle.

Oct. 27.—A part of the French troops, assembled on our frontiers, is returning to the fortress of Alsace, in the interior of France. The 14th light demi-brigade, which has long been in garrison, is on its march for Marseilles, where it will be informed of its ulterior destination. A part of the 104th, cantoned at Bienne, has received orders to return to Strasburgh. The troops who are on their March from Mentz, and other parts, have received counter orders.—We have here a garrison of two French battalions of the 16th demi-brigade, which had hitherto occupied the Brisgau. The 27th demi-brigade is destined to form the garrison of Zurich, with the 13th regiment of Chasseurs. A battalion of the 104th is going into Argovia. The troops from Geneva and Versoix will occupy the cantons of Berne and Fribourg. We are ignorant whether these troops will be sent against the small cantons. The contingents of Uri, Underwald, Schwitz, Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons, have returned home—the staff of general Bachmann is dissolved—the greater part of the persons composing it, as well as their chief, are gone to Schwitz to Reding.—Civil war has broken out with great fury in the district of Zurich, not only on both sides the lake but also in the mountains. We are assured, that the Zurich contingent, commanded by major Ziegler, which, after its return from Berne, had been sent to the districts which had refused to submit to the provisional government, has been defeated by a corps of peasants in the environs of Gruningen.—The constitutional regime has been restored at Schaffhausen. Agitation has ceased in the Frickthal.

Ratisbon, Oct. 27.—The Deputation of the Empire yesterday held its 20th sitting. The minister of Bohemia, M. de Schaant, and the Imperial plenipotentiary, M. de Hugel, communicated two notes, by which they inform that assembly, that the indemnity of the Grand Duke has been finally settled with the French Government, and that this arrangement will be immediately communicated to it. They hope, in consequence, that the Deputation will no longer complain of delays in the business of the indemnities arising from that cause.—The ministers of Brandenbourg, Bavaria, Cassel, and Wirtemberg, have not explained themselves upon the contents of this communica-

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tion. Those of Mentz, Saxony, and of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, have, on the contrary, testified to the sub-delegate of Bohemia, their joy at this happy event.—The Deputation, in the same sitting, agreed to the conclusum, relative to the future maintenance of the upper clergy of Germany, and its functionaries.—M. de Hugel, the imperial plenipotentiary, yesterday gave his final adhesion to the conclusum of the 21st, by which the Deputation of the Empire has adopted the general plan of indemnities of the 8th.—We have been informed this day of the negotiations which have taken place touching the indemnities of the Grand Duke, between the court of Vienna and the French Government. The following is a brief sketch: The plan for investing the Archduke with all the ecclesiastical possessions in Suabia having been rejected at Paris, Count Cobenzel received on the 8th of last September, orders to demand from the French Government the exchange of the right bank of the Inn against the Austrian possessions in Suabia. This proposition having met no better reception, that ambassador was authorised to present another projet, offering to the Grand Duke Prince Ferdinand, besides the country of Salzburg, and the other possessions conferred upon him by the plan of indemnities, a million of abbeys and other ecclesiastical properties which should make his annual revenues amount to 3,600,000 florins. This is the plan which is said to have received the approbation of the First Consul, and which has served for the basis of the Convention that has been concluded at Paris.

Oct. 28.—We have received positive intelligence that Aloys Reding has again convoked the diet of Schwitz, and read to them the summons of general Ney, inviting them to dissolve themselves.—After an animated discussion the assembly determined not to obey the summons, and to remain united. The proclamation of the First Consul in fact has produced no effect in any of the Eastern Cantons. The authorities established by the insurgents at Zurich, in the petty Cantons, in the Grisons, and at Lucerne, are still in vigour. The provisional government of Zurich passed on the 26th inst. a decree which proves that it is in no manner disposed to lay down its usurped power. It has dissolved all the tribunals of the district, as well as the tribunal of the canton, and has supplied their place by a provisional tribunal in each canton, composed of a president and eight judges.

Edinburgh, Oct. 29.—Yesterday, at nine o'clock in the morning, a general meeting of the Senate and principal Burgesses of this city took place at the Town-Hall, and lasted till near six o'clock in the afternoon. This meeting had, amongst other things under consideration, the proposed cession of the rights, privileges, and revenues, which his Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, possesses in the Cathedral of Hamburgh, its precints, and dependencies belonging to it on the Hamburgh territory. Some notes from the Regency of Hanover, and from the King of Denmark, in his capacity of Duke of Holstein, against the plan, have been taken into consideration; but the result of the debates still remains a profound secret.—The exchange of couriers between Vienna and Petersburg becomes brisker every day, and the despatches received are reported to be of the utmost political importance. At some ministerial conference which lately took place, both the French and Russian ambassadors assisted, but Citizen Champagny was not present.—The news of the death of the Duke of Parma has occasioned no small sensation at Vienna, and some negotiations will, it is said, immediately be set on foot in favour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which will be supported with the whole influence of the Russian cabinet. It is currently reported that the Grand Duke of Tuscany is to marry a Russian princess.—A gentleman of the court has been sent as courier to the Archduke Charles, at Prague, to induce his Royal Highness to hasten his return to Vienna, to be present at the festivities to be given in honour of the Grand Duke Constantine.—Advices from St. Petersburgh, of the 15th instant, mention, that the officer who invented the story of a conspiracy against the life of Alexander I. and wounded himself with a pistol to give more sanction to his wicked invention, has been tried by an imperial special commission, which not only found him guilty of the charges preferred against him, but sentenced him to be quartered alive by four horses. This sentence, however, was too severe for the humane feelings of the Emperor, who changed it into perpetual banishment.—In several parts of the Northern Continent of Germany, and on the right bank of the Rhine, large herds of bullocks are now purchased for the English market.

Oct. 30.—The provisional government sent back the circular letter of the Helvetic government without opening it, and have resolved to wait for the arrival of the French troops before they yield. The insurgents begin to throw up entrenchments in the mountains. The number of French troops which will occupy Swisserland are estimated at more than 30,000.—A battalion of the 27th French demi-brigade is arrived at Zurich. General Serras has fixed his head-quarters in that city. The provisional government has been summoned to dissolve itself. It had already received a like summons on the part of the executive council, but it paid no regard to it. The troubles which have broken out in this Canton are not yet appeased, although the contingent of Schaffhouse has been sent to the succour of the city of Zurich. We are even assured that it has sustained a complete defeat. The inhabitants of a great part of the Canton of Schaffhouse, in support of the Helvetic government, have formed a kind of congress, which has recognized the legitimate authorities, and sent a courier to Schwitz to recall from the diet of the confederates the deputies of that canton. Those of our own have done the same.

"Berne, October 30.

"Citizen Minister—The council of execution "have received the letter, by which you communicate to it the decree of the First Consul of the "25 Vendemiaire, which appoints you minister "plenipotentiary from the French republic to "the Helvetic republic. The First Consul could "not manifest in a more striking manner his benevolent intentions towards Helvetia, than by "adding to the military powers with which you "are invested, diplomatic fonctions, which, placing you in immediate contact with the government will furnish it with numerous opportunities to call your attention to the means of obtaining the object of the First Consul, which is "the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in "this country."

"To General Ney."

General Rapp arrived the 25th at Basle. On

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the same day the insurrectional authorities were dissolved. On the 26th entered at Basle the 1st. battalion of the 104th, the 2d of the 16th, the 2d of the 42d, and the 1st of the 80th demi-brigade; besides the thirteen regiments of chasseurs, and six pieces of artillery.—Letters from Arau state, that in the night between the 26th and 27th, the tocsin was sounded in several villages of Argovia. The peasants are assembling in great numbers, and have taken up arms. In the Canton of Baden the insurrection is also become general. The city of Arau was under the greatest alarm, when on the morning of the 27th, five companies of French infantry entered there with two pieces of cannon. Other detachments occupy Olten, Arbourg and the whole country.—We learn from Zurich that that Canton is in the greatest disorder; but the inhabitants of the district of Wald, and a great number of republicans of other districtt, having taken up arms, have taken possession of Winterthur, and threaten to march to Zurich. The Diet of Schwitz, they say, has consented to dissolve itself; but it persists in disowning the authority of the Helvetic Government. This obstinate folly cannot but have the most disastrous consequences for our country. The French troops have not yet entered into the Grisons, as has been said. The national prefect of that country, after having suffered from the insurgents a detention of more than six weeks, has been set at liberty.—The first use which he has made of it has been to repair into the bosom of the authority, and to summon it to dissolve itself. It has taken that part, but reserving its rights in the same manner as the Diet of Schwitz. General Ney set out yesterday for Olten. Citizen Verninac is preparing to set out for Paris.

Paris, November 1.—The First Consul staid a long time in the field of battle at Ivry, where the mayor and the principal inhabitants of the commune pointed out to him the different positions of the two armies. He ordered that the pyramid raised on the field of battle, and which had been destroyed during the revolutiou, should be re-established.—He ordered also that there should be added an inscription, declaring that the misfortunes experienced by France at that epoch, were the result of the appeal made by the different parties of France to the Spanish and English nations, and that every family and every party which calls foreign powers to their aid, has merited, and will merit, to the most distant posterity, the curses of the French people.—The mayor of Ivry delivered the following address to the First Consul:—"General First Consul,—The Commune of Ivry could not have expected to receive in its bosom the hero of France, and the pacificator of Europe. Your exploits, General First Consul, recall to mind those of the hero, who, in the plain of which it bears the name, conquered, and was immortalized.—Your regards, General Consul, are worthy of the great deed which are past, and they leave to posterity the remembrance of two great men."—The First Consul entered Evreux at four in the evening. The mayor presented the keys of the town. It would be difficult to express the sentiments of attachment and gratitude which the people testified towards him in his progress.—At Louviers, he visited, in detail, the manufactures of that town, and particularly that of Citizen Decretot.—At Pont-de-l'Arche, he went to the copper-forges of Romilly, to which he paid much attention: he distributed to the workmen of the manufactories that he visited, extraordinary gratifications.—At Evreux, twenty girls, the oldest not twelve years of age, were presented to Madame Buonaparté.

General Murat arrived at Milan, on the 19th instant, with his family.

The King and Queen of Etruria arrived at Barcelona on the 3d of October, five days after their departure from Leghorn. The Queen, although recently delivered, disembarked on the 5th, in the best state of health.

We read in the Journal of Rouen of the 30th ult. that the First Consul was certainly expected that morning. They had prepared and decorated at the Theatre of the Arts in that city, the places destined for the First Consul, Madame Buonaparté, the Minister of the Interior, and the superior officers who accompany them.—The First Consul was expected at Rouen on Saturday.—"One hundred young men (says a letter from thence of the 29th), formed into a company of horse, are assembled at this moment, and only wait for the arrival of the courier, who is to announce the hour of his arrival. Their uniform is the frock and pantaloons, yellow buttons, French hat, with a plume of feathers and a belt.—The Chamber of Commerce, and all the merchants are assembled to give the First Consul a fête in their hall."

Paris, Nov. 6.—*(Moniteur.)*—What is the interest which the faction hostile to Europe, takes in the Swiss Insurgents? It is easy to see that it would make of Switzerland a new Jersey, to weave plots there, pay traitors, circulate libels, welcome all criminals, all the enemies of France, and do on the East, what it does constantly, by means of the position of Jersey, on the West. It would thereby have this particular advantage, of being able to disturb the fine manufactures of Lyons, which are rising from their ruins, and which lay a hand of steel upon the balance of trade, in order to make it lean in favour of French industry.—What is the interest of France? It is to have none but good neighbours and sure friends.—In the south, the King of Spain, the ally of France from inclination as well as from interest, and the Italian and Ligurian Republics, which enter into her federative system.—Switzerland, the Duke of Bavaria, the good Prince of Baden, the King of Prussia, Holland, to the north and east.—The faction hostile to Europe, and which wishes to agitate the Continent, will neither find in those states accomplices nor sufferance. Yet those agitators never sleep: they have attempted at the same time at Genoa, in Switzerland, in Holland. Their plots assumed consistency in Switzerland, when the proclamation of the 8th Vendemiaire calmed every thing. Every thing has returned to its natural state, into that state which on all sides will exhibit the fine territory of France surrounded by friendly people.—That situation is the result of ten years triumphs, of hazards, of labours, and immense sacrifices. The Peace of Luneville, the preliminaries of London, and the Peace of Amiens, far from having changed it, have consolidated it.—Why attempt

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now what they could never hitherto accomplish? Do they think we are become cowards? Do they believe we are less powerful than we have always been? —*It is easier for the waves of the ocean to root up the rock which has braved the fury of them forty centuries, than for the faction, hostile to France and to man, to revive war and all its fury in the bosom of the West, and above all, to dim the lustre of the Star of the French people for a moment.*

DOMESTIC.

Several recruiting parties of the guards have left London within this week.

At the feast of the installation of the Mayor of London, which was, as usual, held on the 9th instant, the "*blessings of peace* were represented by a display of the weapons of war *reversed*, and *agriculture* and *industry* were seen joining hand-in-hand."

The French Minister Plenipotentiary, ANDREOSSI, arrived in London on Saturday, the 6th instant, at one o'clock in the morning.

Lord Whitworth and his suite arrived at Dover on Tuesday, the 9th instant, between three and four o'clock, and embarked, on the 10th, for Calais.

On the 10th instant, a court of directors was held at the East India House, when George Hilaro Barlow, Esq. was appointed to succeed to the government-general of India, upon the retirement of Marquis Wellesley.

A person, whose name it appears is Richard Nield, gained admittance at Buckingham-house on Tuesday morning, between nine and ten o'clock. He had penetrated beyond the lodge before he was recognized, and was proceeding to the interior of the palace. An alarm was given, and he was immediately apprehended. He exhibited every symptom of a man deranged in his intellects; he said he was the son of the prophet, sent on a divine mission from the Lord, and uttered various other extravagancies, equally indicating a distempered brain: he was secured, and it appeared he was from Birmingham, and by trade a chair-maker, and that he had been last year apprehended for lurking about the palace. The result of his examination was, his committal to Tothil fields Bridewell, from whence, do doubt, he will be removed to Bethlem Hospital.

Dublin, Nov. 6.—A meeting of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, was yesterday held, to consider the steps necessary to be taken by the corporation, upon the subject of a charge made against *an Alderman*, of drinking as a toast, the health of "*James Napper Tandy, General of Division, and success to freedom,*" when the opinions of the Attorney-General, and the Recorder, that *the crime was punishable by indictment*, were read. As the former part of this business was conducted in private, we deem it unnecessary to state more of the particulars, than that the alderman accused having appeared in the commons' room, and made a full submission and *ample apology for his misconduct*, a general disposition seemed to prevail, *of letting the matter die away*; but the papers upon the subject were referred to the law committee.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	180	180
3 pr. C. R. An.	67⅛	66⅞	—	—	67	66¼
3 per C. Con.	68⅛	67⅞	—	67¼	67⅛	67¼
4 pr C. Cons.	83⅜	83⅛	—	83⅜	83½	83⅝
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100⅛	100⅛	—	100⅛	100⅛	100⅛
Bank L. Ann.	19¼	19¼	—	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	4½	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	99⅜	99⅞	—	99⅞	99⅞	99¼
Omnium	10½ di	10¼ di	—	10¼ di	10¼ di	10¼ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	11 2	2 us.	LEGHORN		51¼
D°, at sight	11		NAPLES		43½
ROTTERDAM	11 3	2 us.	GENOA		47¼
HAMBURGH	33 4	2 us.	VENICE, 54 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
ALTONA	33 5	2 us.	LISBON		68
PARIS 1 day	23 15		OPORTO		68
PARIS	24 2	2 us.	DUBLIN		12
BOURDEAUX,	24 3		BILBOA		36¼ D°
CADIZ	36¼	eff.	AGIO, bank on Hol.		p.
MADRID	36⅜	effective			

Days.	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
4	Fros. Fine	NE	NE	29,63	29,66	37	51
5	Ruin.	SE	SE	29,6	29,55	47	48
6	Fair.	E	NE	29,76	29,82	48	50,5
7	Misty.	NE	NE	29,8	29,65	34	41
8	Frost Fine	NE	NE	29,8	29,78	33	44
9 ○	Frost Fine	NE	NE	30	30	33,5	42
10	Frost Fine	NE	NE	29,9	29,84	28	40

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

MY LORD,—Since the date of my last letter (p. 532), a French Ambassador has arrived: one small point has thus been conceded by Buonaparté, and of this, I doubt not, you and your colleagues will make the most. But, all the substantial differences remain to be settled, and, without particularizing them, it is evident to every beholder, that they amount altogether, to something very little short of war. Thus situated, then, it behoves us, as I before observed, to enquire into *the change which these six months of peace have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign.*

Before, however, I enter upon this enquiry, it seems not improper, nor altogether unnecessary, to remind your lordship, that this uncertain state of things is not only the consequence of the peace of Amiens, of that peace for which you called upon the nation to rejoice, and of which you expressed a desire *to be known to posterity as the author*, but that, you and your colleagues were, in due time and place, warned that such would be the consequence of that compact; a warning which you treated with that superciliousness, which never

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fails to mark the deportment of the low-minded when exalted to power.

The consolation of those who attempted to defend the preliminaries, whether in parliament or out of it, was, that the great sacrifices which had been made, would tend to give *stability* to the peace. *Disgrace* they felt, and most of them, in private, acknowledged; but, disgrace they were willing to bear, because it was accompanied with security for *durable repose.* "The terms are such that they have *left nothing to biggle about.*" On this standing answer to every objection urged against the preliminaries, it was observed by Lord Caernarvon, in his speech on the 3d of November, that "some noble lords would have "silenced all their apprehensions by a per-"suasion, that this peace will have left us "*no bone of contention:* it is," said his lordship, "a singular argument for the surren-"der of every thing valuable, that we shall "enjoy the beggar's security, who CANTAT "VACUUS CORAM LATRONE; but the pre-"sent, or future, ruler of France may "again adopt the maxim, DELENDA EST "CARTHAGO, before the rest of Europe "have renewed their exhausted strength; "and, *every principal point is left for future* "*discussion, while the preliminaries only tend* "*to shew how much disposed we are to renounce* "*every thing for peace.*"—The Bishop of Rochester described the peace as the "*sem-*"*blance,* the *counterfeit,* the *pretence* of "peace, which contained in it the *germs of* "*future war,* and possibly of the ruin and "destruction of this country." Lord Fitzwilliam, quoting the words of Lord Grenville, called it "a *hollow and precarious* "*truce,* that carried with it no symptoms of "*security* or *permanency.*" Doctor Laurence, in the house of commons, on the same day, expressed his marked disapprobation of the *vague* manner in which the preliminaries were drawn up: "As," said he, "we "never, by any treaty, made such sacrifices, "so never, by any treaty, *did we leave such* "*room for altercation.*"—I could go on, my lord, to show, by quoting several other members of parliament, that you had warning, and timely warning, of the disagreeable and dangerous consequence of concluding a peace, in a tone and upon terms, which should render its durability so uncertain: nevertheless, you proceeded to the conclusion of a definitive treaty, which was, if possible, even more vague than the preliminaries. "Almost every thing that, "properly speaking, constitutes the *code of* "*peace* between nation and nation, must "form the subject of *new negotiations,* in-"stead of being completed to most practi-"cal purposes, as in former cases, by a "definitive treaty of peace, *renewing former* "*treaties.* Here war ceases; peace *does not* "begin. Every thing *is yet to be negotiated,* "and, when we consider the character of "our rivals and the talents of our ministers, "we cannot doubt in whose favour the re-"sult will prove." These were amongst the observations, which were made and published upon the appearance of what was then called the *definitive* treaty: that they were just your lordship will not, *now,* I presume, have the confidence to deny.

The present state of things was, then, foreseen, my lord, and you were forewarned that it would exist: you were told, that all your concessions would avail you nothing; that they would only whet the appetite of the all-devouring monster, and bring him upon you the sooner. He has not been stayed one single hour by the numerous sacrifices we have made to him; but, on the contrary, has been thereby encouraged to push on with the greater rapidity. You have come to a parley with him, and you will, if possible, patch up another short-lived armistice, which will soon be succeeded by another dispute, and that dispute by another armistice, and so on, for about two or three years, when the people, wearied with a repetition of disappointment and disgrace, will seek a shelter from both in that submission to their conquerors, to which their minds will have been gradually bent. There is nothing so well calculated to break the spirit of a nation, and to prepare it for that sort of revolution, which the French have in store for us, *as an alternate series of disputes and submissions,* which makes a people ashamed, first of their rulers and next of their native land, and which leads them, at last, to abandon both without regret. *Tyranny* has certainly produced some disaffection in the world, but *cowardice* infinitely more: brave men may adhere to those whom they *hate,* but cowards only will adhere to those whom they *despise.*

Since, then, it is, in my opinion, evident, that a prolongation of the present armistice would lead to *certain* destruction, I hope, my lord, that, in spite of your "hereditary "disposition for office," the nation will insist upon war; and, in that case, it will behove them to inquire, as I now propose to do, into *the change which these six months of peace will have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign.*

All the members of both Houses of Par-

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liament, and on both sides of the question, with respect to the peace, agreed as to the propriety and necessity of keeping up a *considerable force* by sea and land. I say *all* of them, because the exception of Messrs. Jones, Fox, and Robson, is hardly worth notice. How have the measures of you and your colleagues, my lord, corresponded with this unanimous opinion, with this unanimous desire? Scarcely was the treaty of Amiens ratified, when you began to discharge the sailors and to dismantle the fleet, with as much alacrity as if the French nation had been extirpated; and such admirable dispatch have you made, that, at this moment, we could not, were ever so pressing an exigency to offer, send out of the United Kingdom, a squadron of *ten* sail of the line. Every one knows how difficult it is to man our fleet at the beginning of a war; how long we always are before we are ready for any enterprize, or even for our own defence. I well remember, that your lordship, in stating the relative strength of the two countries, made a proud enumeration of our ships; but, my lord, ships without *men* are only useless masses of timber and iron, and the men who formed the soul of our eight hundred and thirty-four armed ships are now nearly all scattered far beyond the reach of a press-gang. It is said, that from ten to twenty thousand of these men have gone to France. This is improbable; but, I have very good reason to believe, that several thousand have gone thither; and to the United States of America such is their desire to go, that ships bound to that country are now, especially from Bristol and Liverpool, frequently navigated free of the expense of seamen's wages. That the artificers, of which the dock-yards are already stripped, will follow the example of the sailors, there can be no doubt, nor can there be any, that their loss will be most severely felt. This loss, both of sailors and of artificers, would have taken place, to a certain degree, at the peace, whenever and however it might have been made; but, if France had been, by the treaty, reduced within proper bounds, or if we had retained foreign possessions to balance, in some sort, against her acquisitions on the Continent; in other words, if we had preserved, undiminished, our *navigation* and our *honour*, neither poverty nor shame would have driven our sailors and shipowners to France, Holland, and America.

The *army* has experienced a fate similar to that of the navy. In all the kingdom we have not fifty thousand effective men; and we could not bring, even in the space of ten days, *twenty thousand* to act together on any one spot. The militia are disbanded, not only before others are drafted and ready to supply their place, but before others are *balloted* for; so that even this raw, undisciplined, feather-bed army, could not possibly be embodied in less than two or three months. You are sending round engineers to *survey* the coasts; be you assured, my lord, that Buonaparté has better engineers than we have, and that some of them are, too, at no great distance from your lordship. Surveys, my lord, are of little use. We cannot make a fortified place, we cannot make a septagon or an octagon of our island, covered by horn-works and half-moons; surveys of the coast may serve to excite fear amongst ourselves and mirth amongst our neighbours on the Continent, and may, moreover, afford occasion for a few decent and profitable jobs; but, my lord, rely upon it, that, if this our country is to be defended, if this dear little island, "this precious diamond "set in the silver sea," is not at last to be rifled by a host of the most desperate, rapacious, impious, and bloody villains that ever disgraced the human shape, it must owe its deliverance, under God's providence, to the *hearts* and *arms* of *disciplined soldiers*. The sleek-headed shop keepers and manufacturers may hug themselves with the thoughts of their salt-water girdle and of the wooden walls of Old England, and your lordship may feel equally snug behind your tripple rampart of "capital, credit, and confi-"dence;" but, here, upon this land, the French will come, and here we must fight them, and beat them too, or surrender at discretion. In our fleet there is, indeed, great hope, but at best it is only a *hope*: whatever depends, even in the smallest degree, upon the winds and waves, is anything but *certain*. To be in a state of defence, therefore, we must have an *army*, an effective *disciplined* army. Without this species of force we shall be in continual alarm and continual danger. Do you think, my lord, that Buonaparté, or his successor, will ever care to *menace* our coast? No; from this very hour, till some dreadful battle has been fought on the land of England or Ireland, we never shall experience one moment's repose, one moment's real peace. That "eternal war," against which your stupid partizans without doors were intrusted to clamour, began on the 1st of Octo-

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ber, 1801; and the moment of its beginning was precisely that which we chose for disbanding our army.

If, by the peace, France also had been disarmed and dismantled, and if no new harbours, fortresses, or other means of safe defence and of annoyance to her neighbours, had been placed in her hands, our *relative* position, naval and military, would have continued the same; and peace might, in this respect, have been as safe as war. But, it so happens, that, by your lordship's peace, the enemy, in every instance, *gains* just as much as we *lose*. Your lordship and your colleagues found him so powerful as to be likely to overcome us, and in order the better to defend us against the fury of his attacks, you took the sword out of our hands and put it into his. This would have been very consistent, had you intended to have surrendered the country to the mercy of Buonaparté; but that you had no such intentions appears now evident, from the orders sent out to retain the unrestored conquests: after giving him fast hold of the sword you are endeavouring, baby-like, to take it again.

Some of our conquered, military and naval stations may, at the expense of a war, be still kept out of his hands; but of others, and those the most important too, he has already taken possession. Minorca and Elba give him great advantage in the Mediterranean; and, if it be true, that he has obtained two ports on the coast of Africa, we must send re-inforcements to Egypt, in opposition, perhaps, to the will of the Sovereign of that country, or see it again occupied by the legions of France, to the imminent danger of our East-India territories.

How far we have proceeded in surrendering our conquests in Africa and Asia is, I believe, not known even to your lordship and your watchful colleagues; and, as I will not suppose, that any man will, in the present state of things, dare to advise his Majesty to make any further surrender in those parts, I will indulge the hope, that the Cape, Pondicherry, and Cochin, are still in our hands. There is, however, no certainty of this; nor ought we to be at all surprized, if the next vessel from the Cape were to bring us the news of that most important post, for *offering to give up which, Mr. Dundas declared that any minister ought* TO LOSE HIS HEAD, being in the hands of the "Batavian Republic;" that is to say, of the Republic of France.

As to the West Indies, unhappily, there is no room for hope; and very little as to South America. We are told, indeed, in the ministerial gazette, that, "as *a balance "against French influence in Holland*, we NOW "ought to keep Surinam, Demerara, Ber- "bice, Essequibo, and Curaçoa;" but, my lord, if these valuable colonies are not surrendered to Holland, it is neither your fault nor the fault of the Dutch. They have lost no time in sending out troops to receive them, nor you in giving orders for giving them up. If, therefore, we yet hold this part of the balance, it is by mere chance that we do it; and the same may be said with respect to the West India colonies conquered from the French, of the restoration of which, however, there can be little doubt. But, if there be an uncertainty as to the recovery, on the part of France, of the possession, there is none as to the recovery of those which were not before in *her* possession, and which are, on every account, the most important part of her West India possessions: I mean Guadaloupe and St. Domingo, of which the peace, and the peace alone, has again given her the command. In these two islands and their dependencies she has now, (thanks to the peace) fifty thousand effective troops, well commanded and appointed. A descent upon the island of Jamaica is the work of five hours sail. This is well known to every one acquainted with the West Indies; and, should a war be the consequence of the present dispute, real property in that our most valuable colony, would sink one-third in value, merely from the change produced by your negotiations, in the attitude and means of St. Domingo, and in the degree of security enjoyed by Jamaica. Then will it be seen, whether it was good policy in us to assist in the destruction of Toussaint; then, my lord, will the nation be enabled to form a just estimate of the wisdom of your lordship, of Mr. Addington, General Maitland, Lords Castlereagh, Ellenborough, &c. &c. who asserted, that the black army was more dangerous to our colonies than a white one could be. The same persons, my lord, who persuaded you, that the reduction of St. Domingo by France was necessary to the *safety* of *our* colonies, will endeavour to persuade you, that Le Clerc cannot find the means of transporting twenty thousand men twenty or thirty English miles across the Channel to Jamaica. Do not believe them, my lord. Le Clerc can, at any moment he pleases, put *two hundred* merchant ships in a state of requisition, together with all the shalloops, sailors, and every other person and thing belonging to them. That it would be use-

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less, in a commercial point of view, for France to take Jamaica, when the sea would be covered with our ships, and when it would be impossible for her to derive any profit from the produce of the island; but, this is not the view with which she will endeavour to conquer; her profit consists in our loss; she will not seize for the purpose of preservation, but of destruction, a purpose which she would execute with all that vigilance and remorselessness, for which she is so famous. Do not believe those drivellers, my lord, when they console you with a sort of undefined hope, a sort of general confidence in God knows what, that France *can do nothing by sea.* They have deceived you once already: France *has* done something by sea; she has, *in the space of seven weeks only*, sent *thirty-five thousand men* from Brest, and landed them on the island of St. Domingo; and that too in the most tempestuous season of the year! This expedition, which she executed at the close of a war that had, according to the accounts of our financiering politicians, left her without a groat, is, in every point of view, far greater than any that Britain, with all her eight hundred ships and her three hundred millions of money, never ventured to *undertake.*

But, my lord, the peace restores to the service of France *forty thousand seamen* belonging to herself and her satellites, who, together with those which she will receive from our fleet, will form a fearful augmentation of her means of defence or of attack, by sea, while her army, instead of being reduced, like ours, to a mere skeleton, has been increasing from the signature of the preliminaries to the present day. Here your lordship will again observe: "so much the better: the *paying* of this immense army will "exhaust her." But here I again reply, that she will never be exhausted by such means. There is no fighting her in her 'Change Alley: she has, unfortunately for us, no such field of action: "Capital, credit, and con-"fidence" are not upon the list of her warlike means; her dependence is not placed upon the good opinion of a set of miserable Jews, but upon the arms of her soldiers.

Disadvantageous, however, as would be the change in our naval and military position, disadvantageous as the change always must be from offensive to defensive, we shall suffer still more from the change, which the peace will have produced in our domestic and foreign affairs.

By our domestic position I do not mean our position with respect to trade, revenue, and finance; had I time to go into this subject, I could easily shew, that our trade has already been considerably diminished by the peace, and that, upon the breaking out of a war, we must experience some of the well remembered evils of 1793, without immediately deriving any benefit even from a prosperous campaign; I could shew, that the revenue has been materially injured by this same "blessing" of six months, and that, so far from having made any progress in paying off the national debt, which Mr. Addington promised us would be accomplished in something less than *forty five years of peace*, we shall, in case of a new war, be obliged to add to it about *three millions more than would have been added, in the same space of time, if the war had never ceased!* This is Mr. Addington's way of "husbanding our resources;" this is the effect of that "*safe*" system of politics, of those "*prudent*" measures, for which you and your colleagues have received such applause. This is what Sir Frederick Eden most aptly calls, "improving the *golden* opportunity, "and catching the good that is within our "reach." But this, my lord, is not the part, in which we shall have suffered most by this short-lived armistice: we have money enough: what we are deficient in is a martial spirit, a love of national glory, which, already greatly enfeebled by the system pursued from the very beginning of the war, was extinguished by the peace, almost as completely as it is possible to extinguish a passion so natural and so ardent. You, my lord, your colleagues, and some of your defenders, rejecting with disdain, the plea of *pecuniary necessity*, have held a language tending to make the world believe, that there existed a sort of *popular necessity*; that the voice of the people imperiously demanded peace, even such an one as that which was concluded by the treaty of Amiens; and, that, therefore, if the measure has been productive of evil, *the people and not the ministry are to blame.* Were I to admit the premises, I should most assuredly deny the conclusion. But, far am I from making any such admission, and, were not you, my lord, amongst those, who have preferred this charge against the people, I should not scruple to assert, that they have been most grossly and shamefully slandered. Just such a charge was preferred, at the time when a former attempt was made to conclude a regicide peace. On that occasion Mr. Burke was the defender of the people:—"As to the great majority "of the nation," said he, "they have done "whatever, in their several ranks, and con-

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" ditions, and descriptions, was required of " them by their relative situations in society. " They look up to that government, which " they obey, that they may be protected. " They ask to be led and directed by those " rulers, whom Providence and the laws " of their country have set over them, and " under their guidance to walk in the " ways of safety and of honour. They " have, in all things, reposed an enduring, " but not an unreflecting confidence. The " people stand acquitted, if the war is not " carried on in a manner suited to its ob- " jects. If the public honour is tarnished; " if the public suffers any detriment; they, " not the people, are to answer it, and they " alone. Its armies, its navies, are given " to them, without stint or restriction. Its " treasures are poured out at their feet; " and its constancy is ready to second all " their efforts."

Such, my lord, was truly the state of things, when the first regicide negotiations were opened, at the suggestion, and in a great degree, through the means, of Mr. Wilberforce; and such, with very little difference, it was, at the commencement of, and during, the negotiation of the preliminaries to the treaty of Amiens. Yet, it is pretty clearly understood, that the *faults* of the peace is now to be thrown upon *the people*, on " the voice of the nation, to " which ministers paid a *becoming* defer- " ence." Of a measure, which his Majesty has been advised to describe as " *honourable* " to the British character," and to which every epithet of praise has been affixed, by the ministers and their friends; of a measure, of which your lordship expressed a desire to be known to posterity as the author; of the peace, to celebrate which thousands and thousands of pounds of the public money were, by the ministers, expended in illuminations; of the safe, the honourable, the glorious peace of Amiens, the *fault* is now to be laid upon the people! And where, I pray you, my lord, will your advocates seek for proof in support of this charge? Through what channel was " the *voice of the nation*" conveyed to your ears? What *remonstrances*, what *petitions*, have you upon record? Was there, my lord, a single county, was there a single town, in the whole kingdom, that asked for peace? And, in spite of every effort, fair and unfair, to wring from them *addresses* upon that event, did they not come from every part of the country like drops of the heart's blood?

There was no fault on the part of the people: the war was never more popular than at its close, and the " universal joy," as it was called, which was expressed at the peace, only serves to show, how great is the influence of government over the minds of the people, when that influence is exerted with a hearty good will. In this instance it was so exerted, and with a most pernicious effect. The *terms* of the peace were so glaringly disadvantageous and disgraceful, that, to defend the treaty, it became necessary to speak of it merely as something which had put an end to war, and then to speak of war as an evil greater than all others, to describe it as " *the accursed thing*," which must, if not speedily got rid of, produce, some how or other, our total destruction. The defence of the treaty was, indeed, varied, as to manner, style, and phraseology, both in and out of Parliament; but I have here fairly stated the substance of it, such as it was impressed upon their minds. Before motives so imperious as these, on which this defence was grounded, all notions of honour, of justice towards our allies, of liberty, of loyalty, of national independence, and of regard for the happiness of our posterity, vanished in a moment. The people were betrayed by both sides, by the new ministerialists and by the old opposition: by the former, from motives of interest, and by the latter from motives of consistency, or rather of *revenge*.

From this state of mind, from this indiscriminate love of peace and hatred of war, my lord, the country has to pass through many degrees of elevation, before it again attains the altitude, from which it was hurled on the 1st of October, 1801. It may be goaded on to war; but, upon the least reverse of fortune, upon the slightest appearance of danger, upon the most distant apprehension of what the Bishop of London called " famine," it will instantly recoil. Under your auspices, my lord, it has, for the first time, grown reconciled with dishonour: in the treaty of Amiens it stands posted as a coward: you have proclaimed its *inferiority* to France, and thus have furnished it with the poltroon's plea, with at once an inducement to, and an excuse for, non-resistance and submission. Ask the first man you meet, my lord, what he thinks of a renewal of the war with France. He will exclaim against the ambition and the injustice of the French, and then he will conclude with these words: " but, I am " *afraid* they'd be *too many for us*." Dreadful words, my lord! It is the first time they ever were heard from the lips of an Englishman; and, for the sentiment, the base

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and cowardly sentiment which they express, the nation is exclusively indebted to the makers and defenders of the peace of Amiens. * * * * I am reluctantly compelled to postpone the conclusion 'till the next number.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

London, Nov. 9, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The fate of Germany appears to be decided. The Emperor (see p. 638) has, by a treaty with France, agreed to accept of a certain compromise for his brother the Archduke of Tuscany; and, thus, with very little alteration, the plan, imposed on the Empire by Russia and France will be carried into effect. His Imperial Majesty has, indeed, shewn, that he has yielded to necessity, and not to the justice of either the principle or the terms of the plan of indemnites: his several remonstrances would serve as a sufficient protest against this unjust and violent proceeding; but, who can hope to see the time, when that protest shall be of any use?

Switzerland, for the independence of which, a few weeks ago, our ministers were going to war, seems still to furnish a fair ground for the interference of any body but those who have sanctioned the Treaty of Amiens. French troops have entered the country, and the larger cantons have readily submitted; but, it appears, that the lesser ones have not. Accounts from Basle of the 31st ultimo, represent the cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Glarus, and Appenzel, as bent upon resistence. The patriots, as they are called, have arms and ammunition, for which they will have abundant employment, as French troops are pouring in from all quarters, for the evident purpose of reducing the whole country to subjection. The number employed is said to be 40,000. This may be an exaggerated account; but, the war will bear a strong resemblance to that lately carried on in the West-Indies; and, without comparing the brave Swiss (for whatever other faults they have, they are brave) to the blacks of Saint Domingo, we venture to predict, that they will meet with a similar fate.—It is impossible to behold the present state of Switzerland, without feeling a desire to shew, from the experience of that country, how vain was the hope of finding, in *neutrality*, a shelter from the all-searching eye and all-devouring jaws of the Republic of France. "If," (says a writer, who is highly indignant at the conduct of Buonaparté towards the Swiss), "If there "were a people upon earth that had claims "to the eternal gratitude of France, it was "the unfortunate Swiss. When France was "assailed, on almost every side, by a com-"bination of powers, such as Europe never "before witnessed; when her armies were "flying before their opponents; when Vur-"dun and Thionville had opened their gates; "and even Paris was trembling for its secu-"rity, did Switzerland then violate her "treaties with France? No.—She persevered, "notwithstanding the very strong solicita-"tions of *other powers*. She persevered, al-"most singly, in her *neutrality*, and that "too at a period *when her feelings must have* "*been wounded by the towardly massacre of* "*that gallant band of Swiss* who remained "faithful to the unfortunate Louis, when "he was attacked by one part of his sub-"jects, and abandoned by the other." Now, without saying whether this writer took the surest way to justify the Swiss, and to excite compassion in their behalf, what a lesson is here for those members of the British parliament, who contended for *neutrality* as the best defence against the arms and principles of France?

Buonaparté left Ropen on the 5th, and reached Havre de Grace on the 6th. He was expected to return to Paris in a few days; but it is most likely that he will go to Boulogne and Calais, if not to Dunkirk and to Antwerp, as was expected some time ago.

The French official journal has brought us another hostile manifesto (page 592). It is, if possible, more bitter against this country, than that which we had occasion to notice in our last. It repeats, and inculcates, with great vehemence, the notion of our entire *exclusion from the Continent*, and it will, in that respect, doubtless, give great satisfaction to the wise-acres, and particularly to their chief, Mr. Wilberforce. The idea of the "*Western Nation*," too, which was first thrown out by Buonaparté to Mr. Fox, is carefully preserved. It will, by little and little, grow familiar to us; nor shall we be, at all surprised to see it, in a very little time, acted upon by many persons in this country. —As a sort of counterpoise to the English press in London, the French have established an English press at Paris. A news-paper, entitled the Argus, is published, under the direction of one Louis Goldsmidt, an English Jew. This man has, in all probability, been, for a long time in the pay of France. It was he who translated and published (at his *own house*), the work of HAUTERIVE. His printer, at Paris, is one M'Crae, a Scotchman, who formerly carried on his business in London —The WEEKLY MESSENGER, published by Bell in the Strand, is the only English paper which is suffered to circulate

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in France. There is an office for the sale of it, open at Paris, by express permission of the government. This paper is conducted by an Italian, named Badini, who has lately boasted, that Buonaparté is about to bestow a reward on him. These facts will sufficiently account for the sentiments contained in that print.—The Argus, which contains the most atrocious libels upon the British government, and upon His Majesty himself, is circulated in this country, by *the clerks of the General Post-Office*, who, to the great scandal of that office, are also news-venders, and some of them news-printers and publishers. The Post-Office, we are sorry to say it, is, and long has been, a scene of great abuses, which, to our knowledge, have been duly repesented in vain, and which we shall, in our next number, expose to the animadversion of the public. Mr. Cobbett, in the month of June, 1801, addressed a letter to Lord Auckland, on this subject, in behalf of himself, and of the news-men and news-paper proprietors in general; and, after having respectfully waited upwards of twelve months for redress, he thinks himself at full liberty to shew, that if His Majesty be now libelled through his dominions, by the instrumentality of the General Post-Office, it is not the fault of the Editor of this work.

The question of *peace or war* is, as Buonaparté wishes it to be, a matter of greater *uncertainty* than ever. It is said, that he wants us to surrender Malta, and to suffer him to send 17,000 men to India; and it is further said, that he will leave Malta in our hands, provided we accede to the latter part of his proposition. We are far from vouching for the truth of this, though we think it is not altogether without foundation. The fact is, that our ministers themselves do not know what Buonaparté intends to do with them and their country. They are as anxious to learn *news* as any of us. They cannot even *guess* at what will happen during any six succeeding days.—Prince Ruspoli has, we are informed, expressed his resolution not *to accept* of the Grand Mastership of the Order of Malta, which is, in reality, not legally vacant, which has, therefore, been illegally conferred, even if it had been conferred according to the provisions in the treaty of Amiens, and which, were there no other obstacle, would *now* be unworthy of the acceptance of any one entitled to the character of a gentleman.

The political scene, at present before us, is an undescribable medley. While the French Ambassador enters the metropolis on one side, orders go out on the other for putting a stop to the reduction of the army: While omnium is 10¼ *per cent.* below par, while every thing has the appearance of war, the corporation of London decorate their Hall with the emblems of "the *blessings of peace*," thereby verifying the words of the wise man:—"Though thou shouldest "bray a fool in a mortar, amongst wheat, "with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness "depart from him."—The stock-jobbers *hope* there will be peace, because they think Buonaparté will not go to war, *'till he has got all our conquests restored to him!*" Truly a most patriotic hope! Whatever foundation there may be for the stock-jobbers' hope (and we are not bold enough to say that there is none), we scruple not to declare, that if our ministers maintain what is called peace upon such terms, they deserve, and we hope they will receive, the punishment long ago allotted to a less crime by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, who positively declared, that any minister who should ever propose to surrender the Cape of Good Hope would deserve *to lose his head.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Candidus, who has, in the news-paper called the Star, made some animadversions on the letter of our worthy correspondent, Mr. John Pietenser of Reading, Berks, shall hear from us in our next.—We have received, from another esteemed friend, a valuable communication or two upon the same subject, which we shall not fail to insert in our next.

The Ballad entitled "Addington and Hawkesbury," and sung, as it appears, to the tune of "Mother Saunderson," is under consideration.—We shall be obliged to A. X. for the facts respecting the persons whom Buonaparté employs about the Press in London.—A. R. will see, in our Summary of Politics, that we have by no means forgotten the abuses in the General Post-Office.

*** *There is a Supplement to the present Number, containing a variety of interesting Articles. The former Numbers of this Work have been reprinted, and complete Setts may now be had of the Publisher and the Newsmen.*

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LETTER ON THE PEACE.

This letter, of which we spoke in our last sheet (p. 549), was, as the reader will see, written on the 1st of September, 1801; and it was published in an English news-paper, called the Times, on the 23d of the same month, which was *seven days before* the British public knew, that a treaty was concluded or nearly concluded between England and France. This circumstance is of great importance in estimating the opinions expressed by this foreigner, who seems to have understood our affairs abroad infinitely better than Lords Cornwallis and Hawkesbury. The editor of the Times remarked, by way of preface to the letter, that he "differed in "opinion with some parts of the letter: but "that he preferred the insertion of the "whole, in order that it might be seen what "opinions were entertained of *the unfortunate "state of the Continent in the event that Great "Britain should make peace with the enemy*. The "writer, said he, argues very ably as a "politician, viewing the situation of this "country at a distance, without reflecting "*on the multiplied inconveniences attending the "continuance of the war*; and under this opi-"nion, *he is apprehensive our ministers may be "disposed to concede too much*, in order to at-"tain what he conceives would be *a short-"lived peace*."——We shall detain the reader only one moment longer, just to remind him, that the writer of this letter is the gentleman, to whom the Register is indebted for the valuable articles contained in pages 129, 355, and 548.

SIR, *Amsterdam, Sept.* 1, 1801.

For these ten or twelve days past, we have been amused here with rumours of a speedy peace, and by reading your good Times we begin to be seriously apprehensive that your ministers do really think of negotiating a peace with the Arch-Consul. Nobody in England can wish more ardently than we do, but we tremble at the thought of peace, which is to crumble down the *one-half of Continental Europe under the bloody feet of a republican banditti, and which must drive the other half under the iron protection of a Russian knudt*; * and surely *no other sort* of peace can be made at *this juncture*.

It is a singular phenomenon in the history of mankind.—Two States, in the course of a nine years bitter conflict for the extirpation of one another, have doubled their respective national powers! It is but a few years since we saw Continental Europe united with Great Britain in bloody warfare to destroy the French Republic; and now we see that same Continent at the feet of the Prime Consul, and its sovereigns receiving their orders from the aides de-camp of General Buonaparté! It was only a few months ago we saw all the maritime power of the world rallying under the banners of the French chief and his associates, for the express purpose of breaking the heart and vital strings of the British Empire; and now we see all the maritime states of Europe busied in sinking at their own ports the one-half of the scanty wrecks of their naval force to protect the other. In short, we see that Great Britain and France, by a nine years inveterate war with one another, have raised themselves to the absolute dictatorship of the universe. They stand alone, and *equally powerful*, at the head of the civilized world, and to which, as well as to the savage world, they might give laws and civilization without the effusion of a drop of human blood. But Great Britain and France are still inveterate enemies, each government considering the extirpation of its antagonist as necessary to its own existence!

In this state of things, upon what principle are you to make peace? and where are the men equal to the important task? To set out on the old beaten path of political combination and balance of power, you will find none of the former steps or land-marks which guided your negotiators: There are no intermediate powers now to join issue with the one party or with the other; nor is there any power, or combination of powers that can offer a mediation. Great Britain and France stand singly, and by their own internal strength; and are alone in possession of the military theatre of the world. The question of a peace between these two nations, is reduced to the simple alternative for each—Permanent preponderance in its sphere—or rapid destruction.

Will a peace, purchased upon your principle of "indemnity," secure the permanent preponderance of the maritime empire of Great Britain? Buonaparté is at this moment sovereign lord and absolute governor from the Ems to Cadiz; from thence by Otranto to Ancona; and from Mantua to Maestricht; and that dominion renders broken-hearted Germany, the open and feeble coast of Barbary and Morocco, and the European dominions of effeminate Turkey, immediately dependent upon the Military Republic. What have you to

* How exactly has this been fulfilled.

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offer to the Republic as an equivalent for her dominion and ascendency over Europe and Africa? Conquered colonies, Malta, Egypt, the Cape, and the *bonne-foi* and pacific moderation of your ministry. But will their philanthropy break down that rampart which Britons have, with streams of blood and heaps of treasure, at length completed around their empire? Then the *British minister* (and not Buonaparté) *will have made the French Republic mistress of the world!* Whatever colonies, posts, or places, you give up, *must necessarily become so many additional acquisitions of power to France:* and in a *double sense*,* because they weaken Great Britain. But the concessions which Buonaparté may sneeringly make to you, cannot add an atom to the power or security of Great Britain, nor diminish in one atom the power of France.

What you give up to Buonaparté or to his dastard allies, and which may be of any value or military importance, will be instantaneously put in such a state of defence, as to secure the possession; but for what Buonaparté may give up on the part of the Republic, you can have no other guarantee than the paper on which the treaty is written. The Prime Consul may at any time sign away Holland, Brabant, Portugal, and Italy, with much indifference; for when he has disarmed you, and is in possession of your ceded colonies, the Republic can resume her dominion over those states at her pleasure: and in spite of any effort of your's to prevent her. To disarm you, and to get possession of your colonies, Buonaparté may even promise to give us back the Prince of Orange instead of Augereau; and he may displace Jourdan, to give the administration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia; and so on *—But what then? It is only changing his prefects. For since France drew forth and felt her physical and moral force, you can neither give nor secure to any of us our national independency. Why will you then compromise the safety of Great Britain *by augmenting the power of the military Republic with our foreign possessions?*

No living Briton can have forgotten the peace of 1763, nor the resignation of Mr. Pitt, in 1761. When Mr. Pitt resigned in 1761, the British government was in a position to have consolidated for ever the independency of the nation, and the superiority of its maritime commerce; and the moderation, or the ill-calculated table of compensations of his successors, in their peace of 1763, brought the national means of defence to such a level, that in 1781, a random shot might have confined the British Empire to the Island of Great-Britain. The shattered remains of your foreign settlements and commerce were saved at the peace of 1783, by the sottishness of the government of France, more than by your own remaining powers. Great-Britain is now raised (by a train of events which no human sagacity could have foreseen) to where she was in 1761. Mr. Pitt has resigned; but it is to be hoped that *his successor* will not now set down the British Empire upon the capricious will of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, as the successors of his father deposited its existence upon the effeminate depravity of the Court of Versailles.† A second experiment of that sort will be attended with much more risk than the first; the energy of the present republic, or no matter what name you give to its government, will be found much more formidable than ever were the mean intrigues of the old monarchy.

At the peace, or soon after it, all the Spanish settlements in America are, by Lucien Buonaparté's treaty of reciprocity, open to the flag and commerce of the Republic. The settlements of Portugal, as well as of Holland, if your minister has the pacific moderation to leave us any, must be subject to the same fundamental principle

* We cannot refrain from quoting, here, a passage from Mr. Cobbett's LETTERS ON THE PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE, p. 88 and 89. "All the "territory, all the commerce, and all the revenue, "which your lordship affects to regard as restored "to our ancient ally, are surrendered to our implacable enemy. Our sacrifices operate *doubly* "*against us*. Not only do we yield up our "strength and prosperity, but we yield them to "those who will direct them against our existence. We take the point of our sword from the "breast of our mortal antagonist, and, like a "despicable poltroon, present him with the "hilt." We make quotations of this sort in order to show the public, that the ministry sinned with their eyes open; that they despised advice, and that, therefore, their ignorance, which is quite sufficient to form an excuse for any other folly however great, cannot be pleaded in their defence, on this head.

* Our ministers stopped very far short of this.

† This has been done, not, however, by "the "*successor*" of Mr. Pitt, but *by Mr. Pitt himself*. The writer of this letter, like other foreigners, could have no idea that *Mr. Pitt* would do this thing: but truth, and justice, and the interest of the nation, require, that the deed should be ascribed to the *real* perpetrator.

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of the Buonapartian code of universal reciprocity in trade. By the *treaty imposed upon Spain, the republic acquires the sovereignty, the whole Island of St. Domingo*, and also the whole Island of *Porto Rico*, which is to be given up *within the space of three years after the general peace;* and by *our treaty* we give up at the general peace *all our settlements on the main land, that is, in Guiana, with the Island of Curaçoa, to France;* and the government of Batavia is to use all its influence to obtain for the republic *a settlement on the River Ava.* These acquisitions, with what Buonaparté may have extorted, and may still extort from Portugal, might, we think, warrant your minister, however moderate, *to keep fast hold of what he has, and even to possess himself of what more he can get.**

If Mr. Addington thinks it unfair to retain the colonies and settlements of the weaker powers, he should consider, that by the restitution of them he gives them up to France. Where are the national existences of Holland and Portugal, and can our independency ever be secured? And what is Spain? Are we not all three the well-bound appendages of the military republic of France? Or doth your minister purpose to set certain frontiers to the republic, by getting the other powers of Europe to guarantee his treaty with Buonaparté? Pray where are those powers for whom the Consul manifests the smallest attention or respect? The sovereigns of continental Europe are grovelling in a feverish state of mutual jealousies and mistrust of each other; and in the dastard hope of seeing their neighbours more degraded than themselves; these nerveless princes are successively become the cringing courtiers of the republican chief. The armies of the Continent are beaten; their military honours are tarnished, and their courage is crushed into a contempt of their masters. And the people—to keep up armies which have lost their countries, and to maintain governments that for the paltry price of personal safety, have sold province upon province and nation upon nation into republican servitude—are ruined and fatigued. *Conviction has made them dissatisfied, and upon cool reflection they are forced to despise their cowardly rulers.*† No! no! such guarantee as you can procure for us on the Continent, will not avail much. Buonaparté knows the state of Europe, and the characters of its governments, better than you do; and he knows the powers of France better than you are willing to allow that he doth.

It is painful to think that your cabinet should believe that the hero of Marengo *is disposed for peace.* The truth of the matter is, that if Buonaparté appears to you more pacific now than formerly, it *is because the crisis for the execution of some grand project is at hand.** The more moderate and definitive the language of the Prime Consul is, the more vigilant you should be. The less you confide in the personal opinions of your public and secret agents and negotiators abroad, the better your affairs will go. It is not the *souplesse* and intrigues of negotiators that are to consolidate the prosperity of the British Empire; it is to make a proper use of the powers and positions you now possess. If Buonaparté can, in the present disorganized state of Europe, disarm Great-Britain, no matter by what means, he will then have realized three-fourths of the greatest project that ever was conceived by an individual!

We observe you say, "that Buonaparté "did not dare to invade England after the "peace of Campo Formio, considering "such an expedition impracticable." Permit me to observe, that this remark of yours only proves that you knew as little of the general's plan then as your ministry seem to know of the Great Consul's projects now. The evacuation of Toulon, the affairs of Quiberon, and the evacuation of Corsica, with the easy capture and undisturbed possession of all the sea ports and places in Italy, made Buonaparté turn the proposition of a British minister—"that "those who commanded on the ocean "would also command the land" into a *mauvaise plaisantrie;* and made him form the plan, first to cut off the fruit-bearing branches of the British Empire, and to stop up the passages which nourished its roots, and then to make an easy conquest of the withered stock. When Buonaparté sailed from Toulon, he left continental Europe at the feet of the Directory; and he saw almost to reality Asia bowing before his sabre. He laughed at the idea of a naval power whose communication with land was to depend upon his individual will. Nor was there, according to his plan, any

* Would to God that this feeling, and *the cause* for this feeling, were confined to the ministries on *the Continent!*

† The facts stated in this paragraph should be well attended to.

* The new partition of Germany, for instance.

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thing ridiculous in his nominating his army of the East *a wing of the army of England*; for he considered the power of England as immediately depending upon the British interests in Asia. Nor did the general discover the error in his calculation until he saw that the Mediterranean and the Red Sea formed a circumvallation round his new depot, and cut off Egypt from every communication with the rest of the world. He was then convinced that whoever were masters of the sea might eternize their dominion over Egypt; and when Buonaparté met Sir Sidney Smith at St. Jean d'Acre, or rather when he left him there, and heard of the Russian armaments at St. Sebastapol, &c. he first saw that his plan was too large for his means; and then instead of vainly grasping at the wide and growing branches of the British Empire, this champion of military fortune determined, and swore by his enchanted shield to strike a mortal blow at its root.

When the execution of this threat of Buonaparté's may be attempted, will entirely depend upon the measures of the British government. The Prime Consul is on his part indefatigable in his preparations for this grand event; nor will the peace signed and ratified with Mr. Addington in anywise abate his ardour, nor alter his unalterable decree. Buonaparté has partly by his victories, but principally by his code of universal reciprocity in trade, detached all Europe and America from the interests of the British government. The governments of Europe and America are not united with the republic by offensive alliances; (such are only paper securities, as you can tell), but they are united in enmity against Great-Britain, or rather against the British government, upon a principal of mutual national interests; and they are inspired with a sort of vengeful jealousy at your prosperity. So that whatever expedition the Consul may undertake against Great-Britain, he will in nowise be molested from any other quarter.

Russia's convention with you, like the Danish convention for suspending hostilities, are measures of mere conveniency. They have disarranged Buonaparté's present campaign it is true, but they have not in one hair's breadth changed the dispositions of those governments in respect to you. On the contrary, your campaign in the Baltic has determined the Northern courts, and has pointed out to them the means of preventing your squadrons from ever surprising them again.

Great-Britain must stand upon her own bottom, perfectly unconnected with any leaning-stock; and she has a good bottom, which if preserved entire, may long support her against the efforts of the world, were it possible to combine the world against her.

The mild and ignorant leaders of the French Revolution annihilated the Dutch navy, crippled the navy of Spain, and put the foreign possessions of Holland, and some of those of Spain, into your possession; and the extravagance of Buonaparté has put you in possession of Malta, Egypt, and we hope by this time, of the Brazils. Thus, with the French settlements which you also possess, Great-Britain is rendered, what to be any thing she must ever be, *the sole and unrivalled sovereign of the sea*. But, consider the French Revolution is no ordinary assurance. If you give up or lose *your present hold*, you may never be able to find it again; especially, as by carrying an ostentatious formality to perhaps too great a height, the British ministry have also driven military posts and strong holds into the hands of their most powerful enemies. They have given the sovereignty of the Baltic and of the Sound to Russia, and have driven the governments of Denmark and Sweden into the cabinet of Petersburgh. But as things have turned out, it only remains for the British government *to stand firm in its own strength, and to make no concessions either to Buonaparté or to Alexander*.

Buonaparté will most assuredly sooner or later, or whenever you give him an eligible opportunity, attempt the invasion of London; but on your guard he can do you little or no harm. Your late adopted plan of opposing him with arms similar to his own, is the most, or the best reflected arrangement you have made during the war. It disarranges all the Consul's calculations, by preventing the union of his means; and it reflects the highest honour upon its author, as well as upon the noble admiral who is charged with its direction.

Next to France, your most formidable enemy is Russia; and although the unfortunate but honest Paul is dead, it doth not alter your position. Russia and France are now the only independent powers upon the Continent of Europe; and they will *very soon divide the continental world between them*.*

* How fast are events verifying this assertion!

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FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

The following observations have been published in a separate sheet, but, the editor of this work, ever desirous to assist, by all the means in his power, to defend the cause of the French Emigrants, thinks it right to republish it here.—This defence appears to have been drawn forth by certain publications, which, some time ago, appeared in two ministerial papers, called the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, and which contained reflections on the character and conduct of the Emigrants, full of falsehood and malice. The chief object of these attacks appears to have been, to drive the last remains of those loyal gentlemen from His Majesty's dominions, and thereby to get rid at once of the charge of maintaining them (or rather of affording them the means of a miserable existence), and of the remonstrances and threats made by Buonaparté, on their account. MR. JONES, the "*honourable*" the "*independant*" Mr. Jones, proposed, during the last session of parliament, entirely to cut off the allowance to the French Emigrants. Mr. Vansittart had brought up the report of the supplies necessary for defraying expenses relative to "*American Loyalists, Botany Bay Convicts, and French Royalists*;" whereupon the "honourable" Mr. Jones observed, that he hoped, that the *latter* would, after this, receive no more money from government, as the "*feeding* of them here only tended *to prevent them from leaving the country*." He might have better said, that it only prevented them from *leaving the world!* If it be asked, why discover indignation at anything uttered by such a man as Mr. Jones? the answer is, that it is not Mr. Jones, but a *member of the British Parliament*, who speaks in behalf of the nation, and for whose sentiments the nation is answerable in the eyes of the world. Dastardly, however, as was the recommendation of Mr. Jones, it was less so than the attack of the True Briton: the ultimate object of both was the same, but the sentiments of the former tended merely to starve the royalists to death, while the latter endeavoured, by the means of falsehood, to fix on them a charge of perfidy, and, thereby, to rob them at once of their reputation and their bread.—In consequence of these public calumnies it was, that the following observations were written, with a view to explain the grounds, on which the royalists now in England have declined to accept of the amnesty offered them by Buonaparté.

Observations on the Senatus-Consultum of the 6th Floréal (26th April, 1802) concerning the Emigrants.

Certain French journals have of late made attacks on the emigrants in general, and in particular on those in London. Those attacks, it is true, ought not to be very formidable, since they are conveyed in papers which have constantly been the apologists of every revolutionary measure, as well as of the monsters by whom such torrents of French blood have been shed: nevertheless, as those journals may fall into the hands of many persons little accustomed to search such matters to the bottom; and who have never seen the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 6th Floréal, which apparently grants to the Emigrants the power of returning to their country; they may contract prejudices unfavourable to those who think they owe it to themselves to abstain from taking advantage of that law: it has appeared to me that it may be both proper and useful to offer some observations to justify them in the eyes of an impartial public.

When the revolutionary spirit broke out in France, the clergy and the noblesse, which at all times made public profession of their attachment to religion, to the laws, and to their king, strained every nerve to withstand the entire overthrow of their country.

Their opposition irritated the leaders of the factious, who perceived that they never could arrive at their object, so long as those two principal orders of the state should exist: finding it therefore impossible to gain the clergy and the noblesse, they stirred up against them the popular fury over all the kingdom; many of them were cruelly butchered, a greater number treated with every violence, the whole body threatened, and their properties plundered and laid waste. Those atrocities, far from being punished or repressed, were openly and repeatedly encouraged by the ruling party in the National Assembly, which had then usurped the whole authority in the state; and were at last pushed to such extremity, that there was no longer any safety for the members of the clergy and of the noblesse, unless they would contribute to the destruction of the altar and the throne. The King, although apparently still on the throne, was in fact absolutely stripped of all authority. They were no longer in a condition to resist the overwhelming torrent; and were reduced to the cruel necessity of becoming either the accomplices or the victims of the leaders of

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the day, who already made no secret of their determination to extirpate religion and destroy the King. Their choice was speedily made; they resolved to abandon their native land, and to sacrifice, if necessary, their whole fortunes, and to remove to a distance from all they held dear, sooner than be wanting to what was enjoined them by their conscience, their honour, the fidelity they owed to their country, and the oath they had taken to their sovereign.

Many members of the third order of the kingdom entering into their sentiments, followed the fortunes of the two other orders; —of such men is the body of French Emigrants composed: and who will be rash enough to assert that they were not then, and are not still the most worthy and valuable portion of the French nation?

The brothers of the King having also left France, the Emigrants considered them as the rightful representatives of his Majesty then in thraldom; and rallied round their standard, to be employed under the orders of those Princes, for the service of their unfortunate Monarch.

The efforts of these august personages for the restoration of order and lawful authority in France, and for preventing the dreadful calamities it has since undergone, not having been crowned with success; the Emigrants dispersed themselves amongst those nations whose humane hospitality offered them a retreat: and from thence they have beheld themselves proscribed, ruined in their fortunes, and treated as enemies by every faction which has successively ruled in France; and there they have supported their misfortunes with a firmness and a courage which have gained them the admiration of all observers; adhering inflexibly to the dictates of honour and loyalty.

Agreeably to this faithful picture, whose truth is known to all Europe, can the French Emigrants, in any sense of the word, be considered as guilty persons? ought they to be treated as criminals? No, certainly:— as sincere martyrs to their religion, their honour, and the fidelity due to their lawful sovereign and the laws of their country, they are entitled to the esteem of all nations; and that esteem they have obtained, and will continue to enjoy; and be the objects of the eulogiums of posterity itself.

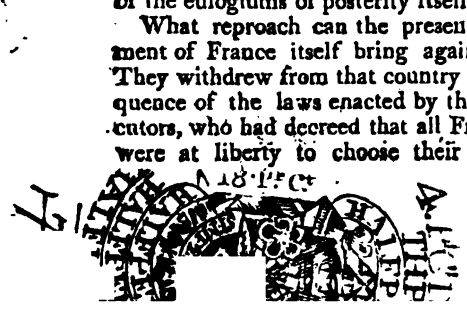
What reproach can the present government of France itself bring against them? They withdrew from that country in consequence of the laws enacted by their persecutors, who had decreed that all Frenchmen were at liberty to choose their place of abode, the government which should best suit them, and to retire from the kingdom how and when they should think proper; and that even without any passport: since the retreat of the Emigrants, all entrance into their native land has been absolutely prohibited; or if they attempted it, how many of them have been put to death?—If a small number of them have born arms in the service of the powers at war, had they not acquired a right to do so from the moment when their families were plundered of their all, and their persons were publicly proscribed? Did not the same decrees which authorized them to make choice of the government that suited them, by implication grant to them the right of serving under the standard of that government? Besides, for what purpose did they carry arms: but to overthrow that execrable government, which had been established in their country? and can it be now brought against them as a crime by him who has thought that such a government ought to be overthrown, and who in fact has completely overturned it? Is it very prudent in him to wish to humble, nay, even render contemptible, those men whose principles he ought, for his own sake, to desire to be those of all under his command; principles which form the security of every species of government?

I now proceed to explain and examine the principal provisions of the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 6th Floréal; which in the speeches of the orators of the government is represented to be an act of singular beneficence:

Article I. says, that *Amnesty is granted to every individual accused of emigration*; yet in Article X. it is said, that *one thousand persons may be excepted from the amnesty*, by the government which on the 23d Sept. 1802. will make known the names of *five hundred only* of those proscribed Emigrants: in consequence it retains *in petto* the names of 500, that it may have it in its power to dispose in an abitrary manner of the fate of all.

Article II. directs every Emigrant to return to France *before the 23d of September*, under the pain of being deprived of the benefits of the amnesty: that is to say, that Emigrants are compelled to quit the asylum they enjoy in foreign parts and return to France, before they can know whether or not their names are amongst the *thousand* to be excepted from the amnesty; and who, until the same period, are utterly unknown.

Article III. directs, that every Emigrant, on his return to France, shall, before a com-



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missary of the government, make a declaration *that he was an Emigrant, and that he now returns in virtue of the Act of Amnesty*:— that is to say, that he publicly and formally avows himself to have been a criminal: for where there is no *guilt*, there can be no room for amnesty.

What can have induced the French government to desire, that men alive to the sense of honour, and supported by a good conscience, should disgrace themselves so far as to declare themselves guilty, when they have not seen the slightest blame attached to their conduct? Has the government not perceived, that if there were, among the Emigrants, some persons compelled by irresistible circumstances to comply with their requisitions, such persons must suffer more by the terms imposed on them, than by all manner of wretchedness, and by even death itself: who therefore can blame those who will not expose themselves, by a return to France, to such extreme humiliation?

Article IV. requires every Emigrant, on his return, *to take an oath of fidelity to the government*: and Art. XII. directs that he shall *remain under the special inspection of government* for the space of ten years, or even of his natural life; a precaution surely necessary with respect to *suspected persons* alone.

These two articles brought together intimate to every Emigrant, that even when he takes the prescribed oath, no trust is placed in him; on the contrary, that he is regarded as an unprincipled wretch, whom no oaths can bind. Can any thing be more insulting, or more disgraceful for the man who consents to be treated in such a manner.

Article V. requires all Emigrants, on their return to France, to renounce *every sort of pension or other appointment* they may have received from the justice or bounty of foreign states; whilst that government which seems to recall them to their country, not only does not restore to them their properties, most illegally as well as unjustly confiscated; but does not hold out to them, even the most slender means of existence: so that one might imagine they were engaged to return to France merely to exhibit them in all their wretchedness, and to render them despicable in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, by a comparison of their miserable condition with that of those who now wanton in abundance gained at the expense of the Emigrants themselves; and this appears more evidently, when we take notice that they are by the law obliged to renounce the settlements made on them by foreign nations, before they can be certain that they are not in the number of the *thousand* to whom the government does not extend the benefits of the amnesty.

In conformity to the 13th Article, the government is empowered to confine the Emigrants to their ordinary place of abode, or to appoint for them another at pleasure: that is, in other words, that they may be imprisoned or banished, without any means of protection against the most arbitrary orders. Can those Emigrants who have so long enjoyed in England full and entire liberty under the protection of the laws, endure a situation so nearly allied to slavery.

Articles XVI. and XVII. state, that the estates and properties of Emigrants shall be restored to them, with the *exception* of such as the republic *has seized* in virtue of a forced division of successions! of those which *have been sold* or employed for the *public service*; of *woods* and *forests*; duties *payable on canals*; of *demands against the state*; *revenues due*, &c. &c. &c. so that these *exceptions* include almost the whole property; and ninety-nine Emigrants out of an hundred will have nothing to recover in consequence of the *Senatus-Consultum*.

Such then is the last law relating to Emigrants, which hath procured so many commendations to the French Government: and occasioned its humanity, its justice, its beneficence to be extolled, not only by the official journals of France, but even by several English writers, who certainly had never read the decree, or who had not fully understood its meaning. Had they examined it with attention, they would have discovered that that law was as impolitic as severe; particularly if they had compared it with the law enacted in Holland on the same subject. The Batavian Government perceived that the only way to put an end to the civil broils and disorders occasioned by the revolution, was to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, and not to suffer one of them to oppress the other: they have felt, that he who devoted himself to the defence of the government for so many years established in his country, may be unfortunate, but can never be criminal.

The French Emigrants, from the first, perceived clearly, that the provisions of the *Senatus Consultum* were dreadful to them: notwithstanding, many of them, worthy and estimable men, overcome by the desire to revisit their native land, never to be extinguished in the heart of a Frenchman, once more to behold the dearest objects of their affection, and by the earnest and repeated solicitations of relations, have resolved to re-

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turn to France, and to submit to all the hardships imposed on them: thus sacrificing themselves for the good of their families. But what did these unhappy men not suffer before they brought themselves to take that step: some are no more; and how many others have shed bitter tears when receiving the last assistance government bestowed on them, that they might be enabled to repair to their families and friends in France.

There is, however, still a great number who, firm and steady in their principles, will listen only to what their conscience, their honour and sense of duty dictate; and who are determined to do nothing, even in appearance, contrary thereto. Having once taken an oath of fidelity to their King, they think they ought not to do so to a government which occupies his place. They feel too powerfully what they owe to themselves and to the French name, to be willing to expose themselves to be insulted and rendered contemptible in the eyes of all nations as well as their own: they have therefore preferred passing the remainder of their days in an honourable exile.

From this explanation of and observations on the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 6th Floréal, the accuracy of which is incontestable, I flatter myself that my readers, while they excuse and pity such Emigrants as have, from the powerful motives now stated, resolved to return to France, will at the same time applaud the firmness of others who have been able to resist them.

These last, far from meriting blame, must have acquired a fresh claim to the esteem and regard of all good men: but in a special manner in England, where they have long enjoyed both; where they have been protected and assisted in a generous manner; and where, better than in any other country, a just value is set on sincerity, honour, and loyalty, and that noble dignity of mind which elevates the man, but which is far removed from overweaning haughtiness and pride.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

I. *On the State of Europe before and after the French Revolution; being an Answer to L'Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII. By Frederick Gentz, Counsellor at War to his Prussian Majesty, &c.: translated from the German, by John Charles Herries, Esq.*—"L'Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII." was written by M. Hauterive, under the authority of the French government; and published at Paris, in the autumn of 1800. Mr. Gentz, in his answer to this work, has shewn great political knowledge, great powers of reasoning, and exemplary temper. In all controversial writings, the shortest and surest path to victory is a clear and accurate arrangement of the subject. This path Mr. Gentz has pursued with complete success. The "*lucidus ordo*," the logical divisions and subdivisions of his materials, raises a prepossession in favour of his integrity, prepares the mind for pointed attention, greatly assists the memory, and enables the reader to judge if the several arguments are fairly applicable to the several positions, and if the different parts of the work form one well-digested whole. Besides the excellence of his arrangement, Mr. G. has great merit in the arguments which he advances under each head: these are always perspicuous, pertinent, full, and, *generally*, convincing. The nature of political reasoning forbids that it should be always conclusive: for the wisest statesman can do no more by argument, than shew a strong probability that certain supposed events will result from certain given circumstances; and we think that most of the positions laid down by M. Gentz, are supported by much stronger reasons than can be brought against them.

The following extracts will (we think), recommend this work to the perusal of every person, who wishes to understand the past, present, and probable state of Europe: and every Englishman must be particularly gratified, in seeing his country vindicated from those false and insidious charges, so industriously propagated by the French writers, that England has long aimed at obtaining a general monopoly in commerce, and the power of tyrannising over all the other maritime states. Mr. Gentz begins his examination of M. Hauterive's "l'Etat de la France, &c." in the following manner:—

"The object of the work we are now about "to examine, is no other than to shew, that "Europe is in future to be indebted to the be-"neficial influence of France, for the main-"tenance of all peace and security, and for "the preservation of its social and political "constitution: that, on account of her situ-"ation, her relations to other powers, and "the principles of her present government, "France can desire and aim at nothing else "than the common welfare of all nations, "the independence and stability of all go-"vernments; and that her political and mi-"litary greatness, her natural and acquired "riches, her present system of administra-"tion, and the advantages of a constitution "according with the manners and inclina-

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"tions of her inhabitants, furnish her abundant means, not only to maintain the position she now occupies, but to protect and regulate the nations around her; to establish and preserve the equilibrium among them; and, in short, to become and continue the common centre of a system composed of all the states of Europe. To arrive at this result, M. Hauterive leads us gradually through a series of historical and political reflections, the substance of which is contained in the following propositions.—1st. That at the commencement of the French revolution, there existed no effective law of nations, and no good system of government; that authority was guided by no established maxims; and, that the true principles of the political and federal constitution were neglected or forgotten.—2d. That the war afterwards waged against the French revolution, was the necessary consequence of this universal internal and external anarchy: it was only the last and open effort of that destructive malady which had long been preying upon the vitals of every state, and destroying the frail fabric which supported their connections with each other.—3d. That the event of war has restored France to the place which she ought always to occupy, not only for the sake of her own security, but for the security of all Europe. France is now in a situation to give Europe a new federal constitution, in which its proper place may be assigned and guaranteed to each particular state.—4th. That the stability of the present internal constitution of France, (the necessary foundation of its future political influence), rests upon the most extensive mass of natural, artificial, commercial, and military resources, of which any nation can boast; upon a system of administration, simple, regular, and wise; upon a happy equality between the income and expenditure of the state. It rests, moreover, upon a government exactly adapted to the social and moral condition of the country, perfectly suited to the wants and desires of its inhabitants; and lastly, upon the talents and character of those whom this constitution has placed at the head of affairs."—"Such is the spirit, such is the argumentation which pervades M. Hauterive's work: every one, who has read it with attention, will admit the justice of this representation; and the author himself would hardly refuse to acknowledge it. A full examination of its principles will be naturally divided into four principal parts; the first of which will be, *an Inquiry into the State of Europe before the War*; the second will treat of the *Situation of Europe during, and after that War*; the third will consider *the present Relations between France and the other European Powers*; and the fourth will examine *the internal Constitution of the French Republic*; taking them all, however, in those points of view in which the author has considered them.—Of these four principal parts, the three first only * are considered by Mr. Gentz, under the following heads of argument:—1st. How far did the treaty of Westphalia establish a system of public law in Europe? 2d. How far has the treaty of Westphalia been subverted by the civilization of Russia, the elevation of Prussia, or the commercial and colonial system? 3d. Did there exist any public law in Europe at the beginning of the French revolution? and herein, of the internal conditions and political relations of France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England. 4th. General observations on the present relations between France and the other states of Europe. 5th. France, and her allies. 6th. France, and her enemies. 7th. An inquiry into the principal causes of complaint against the commercial tyranny of England; and herein, of the Navigation Act, the monopoly of trans-European dominions, and the monopoly of British manufactures.—All these several points are very fully and fairly argued: we can insert only some of the *conclusions* which Mr. Gentz draws from his general arguments.—The inquiry into the object and effects of the treaty of Westphalia is closed by the following remark, p. 13.—"Whoever expected that the treaty of Westphalia would be the foundation of an universal political system to last for ever, must have expected more from it than any treaty ever could possibly fulfil. It has effected all that it could, or was intended to perform; and, what is more, its fundamental principles have endured longer, and with less alteration, than has, perhaps, been the case with respect to any other treaty. Among its fundamental principles, however, I reckon only those which immediately refer to the constitution of the German empire, and those which regard the relations between France and Germany. Before we can determine

* Mr. Gentz has promised a sequel to this work, now under our examination, in which sequel, it is presumed, that an inquiry into the internal constitution of the French Republic will have a place.

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" what subsequent events have overturned, " or materially endanged the treaty of West- " phalia, we must proceed to examine how " far either of these fundamental articles " have been affected by them."—The fol- lowing extract closes what Mr. G. has ad- vanced to prove, that, at the beginning of the French revolution, there did exist a fe- deral constitution, or certain relations be- tween the several states of Europe, for the maintaining a balance of power among them, p. 178.—" I ventured to assert, that " we ought, upon the whole, to be satisfied " with the federal constitution, though de- " fective in several important respects; if " between the principal states composing " that constitution there existed a due ba- " lance of power; if their stability were " secured, their progress and improvement " unrestrained; if the independence of the " smaller states were protected, so much at " least, as, in a community with the strong, " the weak can be effectually protected; " and if there were no such preponderance " on any side, as to threaten the liberties of " the neighbouring states, or endanger the " peace of the whole.—If the preceding " survey of the several relations of the " leading powers be fundamentally accu- " rate, it will not be difficult to form a sa- " tisfactory opinion of that federative sys- " tem which the French revolution found, " and destroyed; and to decide whether " (as M. Hauterive has asserted), before " the revolution all the governments of Eu- " rope were in a position false and unnatu- " ral with regard to one another, oppressive " and ruinous with respect to their sub- " jects."—And, (p. 184.) " If, in the year " 1786, the question had been put to any " candid statesman, (for reason has nothing " to do with the demands of extravagant " enthusiasm), if any reasonable and en- " lightened citizen of the world had been " asked,—Whether it were advisable to im- " prove the social constitution of Europe, " by a general and sudden dissolution of all " existing relations? It is probable that his " only answer would have been a smile of " contempt, or an exclamation of horror. " This dissolution has actually taken place; " and lamentations are now in vain. No- " thing more remains for political wisdom, " than to search among the ruins of the " former edifice the materials of a new one. " But, in order that the mischief may not " be irreparable, we must banish the fatal " opinion, that it was unavoidable; and the " still more fatal one, that it was useful and " beneficial. The disease is too manifest " to be denied; but a false idea of its ori- " gin, conceived by mistaken, and encou- " raged by crafty empirics, has diffused the " specious persuasion, that it was a salutary " crisis, and a necessary step to improve- " ment. Until this delusion be dissipated, " there are no hopes of amendment."—After proving, by a minute examination of the *present relations between France, and the other European states*, the great difficulty of making any effectual opposition to the dangerous preponderance which France has obtained by the final event of the war, Mr. G. con- cludes this head of argument, with the fol- lowing important observation, p. 264.—" It " is a characteristic property of all great " disorders in the political system, that they " do as much injury to the states apparently " benefited by the destruction of the ba- " lance, as to the immediate losers, by the " disproportion introduced. It is the true " and permanent interest of every nation, " without exception, to preserve a due pro- " portion between its own strength and that " of its neighbours; and to maintain a just " distribution of power among all the mem- " bers of the federative system. The ad- " vantages of a dangerous ascendancy are " always deceitful; for the public welfare " of a nation cannot be secure without the " satisfaction of its neighbours, and the con- " fidence of the world. An enlightened " policy requires a due attention to these " important requisites of peace, on the part " of the greatest, as well as the smallest " states. Were France to distinguish her " true interests, were the voice of reason " to prevail above the dictates of ambition " and avarice, her statesmen would easily " be convinced that what now is called, by " a shameful abuse of words, the federative " system of Europe, is nothing but a com- " pound of inordinate power on the one " hand, and impotence on the other; in " which no real independence, no stability " or security, and no permanent peace can " exist; and which is consequently incom- " patible with the general welfare."—Of the nature of alliances with France, Mr. G. speaks in the following explicit manner, p. 273.—" The author of the *Etat de la* " *France*, has dignified the alliances of the " French republic with Spain, Holland, and " Genoa, by calling them the first founda- " tion of a future federal edifice. He quotes " them as honourable and irresistible proofs " of the generosity and disinterestedness " of the republic, as assurances of the up- " rightness of her principles, and as the " productions of an almost wonderful poli-

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"tical wisdom, &c. Such were the alli-
"ances (though the terms were certainly
"more favourable), of Sicily, Greece, Asia
"Minor, Egypt, &c. with the Romans!
"If the future alliances of France are to be
"formed on these models; if the present
"condition of Switzerland and Holland,
"Italy and Spain, awaits all those to be
"hereafter leagued with the French go-
"vernment, it may well be asked, whether
"the friendship and protection of that
"power are less fatal than her declared en-
"mity. If these relations, formed and
"maintained by force of arms, are to be
"the basis of a new federal system, and a
"future law of nations, Europe must ar-
"dently wish that the superstructure, to be
"raised upon such a foundation, may never
"be completed, &c. Thus have her alli-
"ances been hitherto formed; and thus will
"it be with all succeeding ones. Such
"must, and will continue to be the system
"of politics, when the ascendency of one
"nation has destroyed the security of all;
"when, deprived of every federative safe-
"guard, the weak are reduced to utter
"helplessness, and the law of nations is
"supplanted by the law of force." This picture is faithfully drawn; and the likeness has even become stronger than it was when Mr. Gentz wrote. Nor has Mr. G. shewn less acuteness or judgment in his examination of the situation of France, with respect to her enemies; under which head of argument the following passage deserves particular attention.—Mr. Hauterive asserts, that *France has no natural enemy; she recognises none.* On this declaration of affected magnanimity and insolent superiority, Mr. Gentz observes, that "There do exist natural enmi-
"ties between nations, although a more
"exalted policy may refuse to acknowledge
"them. I mean by *natural enmity*, the rela-
"tions between two states, whose geo-
"graphical, political, or military situations,
"or some object common to their industry
"or desires, though not equally attainable
"by both, induce a state of continual jea-
"lousy, and, consequently, of continual,
"more or less active opposition. Such was
"the relation formerly subsisting between
"Carthage and Rome; two nations, whose
"irreconcileable enmity, so conspicuous
"in history, presents an instructive lesson
"to mankind. In the same relation towards
"each other, have France and England
"stood since the beginning of the seven-
"teenth century, from the moment when a
"large portion of the industry, the power,
"and the glory of both began to be founded
"upon an extensive commerce; when the
"policy and ambition of both began to be
"principally directed towards remote set-
"tlements and colonial monopoly, and to a
"powerful marine, as the necessary means
"of securing these advantages; and when
"each became the centre of a distinct fe-
"deral combination, and struggled with
"its rival for the first place in the general
"system of Europe. All these natural
"sources of perpetual opposition have con-
"tinued, under different appearances, and
"with various results, until the present
"day: they will still continue to exist, and
"to produce the same effects. And al-
"though we may hope that wisdom and
"prudence will moderate their fatal influ-
"ence, and avert from ourselves and our
"posterity the shocking tragedy of an in-
"ternecine war, yet this deep-rooted and
"extensive rivalry must be taken into the
"account, in every political reasoning, as
"one of its constant and most important
"elements. On the other hand, it is equally
"certain, that France, before the revolu-
"tion, stood towards no continental power
"whatever in the unfortunate relation of
"a natural enemy, &c. The revolution
"could not but fill Europe with apprehen-
"sions of the most alarming nature, and
"inspire all that surrounded France, whe-
"ther friends or enemies, with fear, re-
"sentment, or disgust. But had the fede-
"ral constitution of Europe been replaced
"on its former footing, at the close of that
"revolution, had the French nation re-
"curred to its former limits, or the balance
"of political and military power been re-
"stored; whatever might have been the
"final result of her internal convulsions,
"the relations of peace and amity former-
"ly subsisting between France and all the
"continental powers would, in some
"way or other, have been re-established.—
"Is that now to be hoped or expected?
"All Europe bleeds at the wounds inflict-
"ed by the aggrandisement of France;
"and her dreadful preponderance still
"threatens, like an impending storm ready
"to burst over the heads of a trembling
"world. Do we here find the materials
"for a system of peace, of mutual confi-
"dence and security? Does this con-
"strained relation present the prospect of
"a happy renewal of the bonds of federal
"union? Is not the whole system, so long
"as it may yet endure, forced on the con-
"trary to maintain an armed and constant
"opposition to France? And does not
"such an armed opposition resemble in

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" many essential respects, a state of per-
" petual war?—The truth therefore is,
" that France, who before the revolution
" had no natural and permanent enemy on
" the continent, is now (in a certain sense
" of the word) surrounded by nothing but
" enemies. She may, relying on her great
" power, continue to despise these ene-
" mies: she may even, by moderation and
" equity in her proceedings, disarm their
" mistrust for a time: finally, by the coin-
" cidence of temporary interests, she may
" perhaps obtain the alliance of one or
" other of them. But all this does not in-
" validate the grounds of my assertion: I
" still hold by what is permanent and es-
" sential in the political system. And to
" the assertion—that *France now acknow-*
" *ledges no natural enemy*—I oppose one,
" which is certainly more conformable to
" reason and experience, than in the com-
" mon course of things, a nation, situated
" as France now is, *cannot reckon upon any*
" *natural friend.*" The following extract, which concludes Mr. Gentz's *Inquiry into the principal Causes of Complaint against the Commercial Tyranny of England*, must give peculiar pleasure to every English reader; especially when he recollects that this complete vindication of his country is written by a foreigner, entirely unconnected with England, and consequently unbiassed by any party-spirit or national prejudice. — " I
" conceive that the foregoing observations
" have nearly fulfilled the object I had in
" view. My design was to rectify the pre-
" vailing opinion, with respect to the dan-
" gers and evils arising from the com-
" mercial superiority of England. I flat-
" ter myself I have sufficiently proved, that
" neither the maritime statutes of Great
" Britain (I speak of her domestic regula-
" tions) nor what is called the British mo-
" nopoly of colonial produce, nor the in-
" disputable superiority of her manufac-
" tures, afford any real or just cause of
" accusation or complaint. In my inquiry
" into these complaints, I have uniformly
" adhered to those principles, which every
" enlightened mind now reverence with un-
" qualified assent; which alone can lead to
" the perfection of political economy; and
" from which Europe has to expect the most
" important improvements in every branch
" of general welfare. On these indispu-
" table principles, it is evident that what
" the ignorant multitude, instigated by so-
" phistical declaimers, decry as the com-
" mercial tyranny of the English, is in re-
" ality a most essential part of the wealth,
" an active principle of the industry, and
" a fruitful source of the present and fu-
" ture riches of all nations: that the only
" method of diminishing the superiority of
" British industry, which can be recom-
" mended or admitted, is the promotion
" and encouragement of the same activity
" in other countries, which would benefit
" the whole without injuring England; and
" that every project for actually destroying
" the foundations of Britain's power and
" commercial greatness, by direct and vio-
" lent attempts upon it, must ultimately
" prove its author an enemy to the general
" welfare of Europe. In her *peaceful* rela-
" tions we see England in constant and
" perfect harmony with the interests of the
" social system of Europe. If she have
" any way deserved the reproaches of her
" numerous adversaries, the causes must
" be sought in *other* relations; they must
" be founded on her conduct in war to-
" wards countries not immediately en-
" gaged in it; and on the abuse of her
" well-earned superiority, in her oppres-
" sion of the weak. How far they really
" are so, will be discussed in a sequel to
" the present work."—We hope that the importance and merit of the foregoing extracts will apologize for their length.—To his translation of Mr. Gentz's book, Mr. Herries has prefixed an introduction of considerable length. It contains an historical account, fairly and clearly written, of the conduct and motives of the Northern Powers, which were parties to the armed neutralities. But the unreasonableness of the pretensions set up by those powers, and the vindication of the maritime code as practised and insisted upon by England, have been more largely and far more ably discussed by Dr. Croke in his excellent " Remarks on Mr. Schlegel's work upon
" the Visitation of Neutral Vessels under
" Convoy."—The following is the only passage in this introduction which we shall particularly notice. Mr. Herries has said (p. 72).—" The treaty of the 17th of June,
" 1801 *(with Russia)*, does great credit to
" the ministry by whom it was concluded;
" and we may rest assured that, under
" their guidance, the honour of our coun-
" try will be effectually asserted, and its
" interests vigilantly guarded." The prophetical part of this eulogy has been woefully falsified; and against this unqualified approbation of our treaty with Russia we enter our formal protest. Because it appears to us that in the third section of the eleventh article of this treaty, in which

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section is specified "what shall be consi-" dered as contraband of war," no mention is made of hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, pitch, or masts. Yet of most, if not all of these articles consists the far greater part of the cargoes imported from Russia and Sweden, for the purpose of supplying the dock-yards of different states with warlike naval stores. It would not be difficult to point out other objections; but it is not our intention to review Mr. Herries introduction, which we are of opinion will do neither harm nor good.

2. *Thoughts on the late General Election, as demonstrative of the Progress of Jacobinism.—By John Bowles, Esq.*—Mr. Bowles endeavours to awaken the nation and the government from that state of *imaginary security*, into which they were lulled by *the sound of peace*. After giving a concise and accurate account of the Jacobinical proceedings at Norwich, at Westminster, at Coventry, and particularly at Brentford and at Nottingham, he proceeds to show, that they were the natural fruit of unextinguished Jacobinism. In speaking of the German school of philosophy, he cites certain provisions from the new code of criminal law proposed to be adopted in Bavaria, which are truly curious. He closes his pamphlet with the only observation in it, of which we do not approve:—"A new parliament is about to assemble, "which will, probably, hold in its hands, "the fate of the British empire, and, perhaps, that of the whole civilized world. "To assist it in the arduous duties which it "will have to perform, it has the inestimable benefit of *example* and experience. "To the *wisdom*, *firmness*, and *energy* of the "*last parliament*, we are indebted, under "Providence, for the happiness of seeing "our revered sovereign once more convene "the states of his kingdom, and of still enjoying, unimpaired, all the forms and "privileges of our incomparable constitution." By *parliament* Mr. Bowles must here mean *the House of Commons*, because, otherwise, the word *last* is altogether inapplicable. And, if this be his meaning, we regret, that he did not point out some particular instances of that *wisdom*, that *firmness*, and that *energy*, which are to serve as an *example* for the present parliament. Were all, or any one of, these qualities displayed in the almost unanimous vote which was given in favour of the Peace of Amiens? In short, we narrowly watched the proceedings of the House of Commons; we saw twenty bills of great importance passed without twenty members in the House; we saw very little public spirit, and very little of that sort of conduct which we would wish to see imitated. We saw a poor, tame, spiritless set of men, following the minister of the day, let him be who or what he would; we saw Mr. Pitt making a conveyance of their support as if it had been his property in the fee simple; we saw—we saw enough to wish never to see the like again.—In every other sentiment expressed in this valuable pamphlet we most heartily concur. The appendix contains some very interesting documents respecting the *Bastile*, as it is called, and as it always will be called, till its real name be made shorter than that of *The House of Correction in Cold Bath Fields*.

3. *Vindication of the Political Conduct of the Rt. Hon. William Windham, addressed to his Opponents at the late Election for the City of Norwich.*—There is certainly an error in the *title* of this pamphlet: Mr. Windham stood in no need of a *vindication*, on account either of his political *conduct* or his political *opinions*, the former none but knaves and fools have ever censured, and the latter have now received the sanction of woeful experience.—This error is, however, but a trifle, when set against the great merit of the contents of the pamphlet, which is written with energy and elegance, and which abounds in just and useful observations, particularly relating to the bill for the suppression of bull-baiting. The passage on this subject, which we could wish to extract, is too long for insertion here; but we shall certainly give it a place in the Supplement to the present volume of the Register. The concluding part of it, however, we cannot refrain from quoting:—"Should these "plans of puritanical legislation proceed, "the humours, and the inclinations of the "people will be reduced to that state of "vassalage, which is always followed by an "utter depravation of public character. A "more desolate, comfortless state of society "can scarce present itself to the imagination, than that which the schemes of "these sanctified reformers are hastening to "establish. When they are matured, (an "event fervently to be deprecated) all high-minded, virtuous courage, all the heroic "qualities, will die away amongst us. When "the theatres, to which we resort to divert "the mind by a fanciful exhibition of human follies, or to soften it by affecting "images of the ills that surround us, or to "exalt it by spectacles of the virtue and "grandeur of our nature, when these shall "be shut up by solemn ordinance, when "every day shall be made a sabbath, and "the whole country a conventicle, what-

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" ever advances we shall have made in piety " and devoutness, we shall have lost that " activity and vigour, the decline of which " (if a race of puritans be worth a conquest) " will render us an easy and ridiculous prey " to our enemies."

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—In your remarks on the election of Prince Ruspoli to be Grand Master of the Order of Malta (see Register, p. 512) you admit this election to be contrary to the treaty of Amiens, and conclude with saying—" whether we have a right to hold " this island is another question." Now, if what is reported be true, viz. that the First Consul has compelled the Dey of Algiers to cede to him two ports on the coast of Barbary, it seems to me that our holding Malta, until France or some other power shall take it from us, ought to be no longer a question: I say this upon the supposition (which will scarce be disputed) that our possessions in India might be endangered by the French becoming masters of Egypt. It is now clear beyond all doubt, that the First Consul has determined to repeat his attack upon Egypt, for on no other account would it be worth his while to expend a single livre in maintaining these two African ports. It was doubtless with a view to this enterprize that he has forced an election of a Grand Master of Malta, contrary to the treaty of Amiens, and in the hope that our government might suffer this manœuvre to pass unnoticed. That Malta would be in effect his own the moment it should be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, he certainly knows: but he also knows by experience, that even the possession of Malta is not sufficient to keep up a safe communication between Egypt and France in opposition to a British fleet. He has therefore endeavoured to make assurance doubly sure, by getting into his hands these two ports; which, whether they are capable of receiving large ships of war or not, will at least serve as a shelter for frigates and transports, and convenient places of rendezvous for troops. On his part then, this measure of having an establishment on the coast of Barbary is prudent and worthy of his military foresight. Fortunately on our part we can shew equal prudence and foresight in not suffering Malta to go any more out of our hands: that island affording the only point of effectual opposition to the apparent designs of our enemy. So much for the prudence of the respective conduct of England and France on this occasion. With respect to right and justice, the case seems to stand thus. The acquisition of the African ports by France is *unjustifiable*, because those ports can serve only as posts of attack, and are therefore preparatives to the execution of an hostile intention against England, which has certainly shewn no hostile intention against France. The retaining of Malta by England is *justifiable*, because that island can serve only as a post of defence; but then it is a post essential to the defence of a part of our possessions against which France has, by her acquisition of the African ports, manifested an hostile intention. Our retaining that island is therefore justified by the law of self-defence, which supersedes all other obligations.

You have said well, Sir, (p. 348) that " the people of England might with some " shew of reason complain, if a peace, " purchased with the safety and honour of " England itself, were so soon to be broken " for the sake of a nest of pirates,"—and let the First Consul and the Dey of Algiers settle the matter as they please between themselves; but whether the First Consul persist in keeping or consent to relinquish these ports, our ministers are to look to the security of our empire in India, and never to suffer the only point of defence in Europe to pass into the hands of France through the medium of an unsubstantial and helpless guarantee.

It is possible that the First Consul, on due consideration of his late conduct and present situation, may not undertake to compel us to perform an article in the treaty of peace which he himself has manifestly infringed. But, in case of necessity, let us oppose to the frequently repeated maxim of the French Republic " *delenda est Carthago*," a more novel and less presumptuous maxim—" *tenenda est Melita.*"

A Plain Speaker.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

A Sunday Paper having called the attention of government to an *improvement of the situation of the Irish catholic clergy*, as a body *embracing great talent, great worth, and dependant on a wretched eleemosynary pittance*, perhaps the following statement may be sufficient to shew that the popish clergy receive, in fees, for the different offices of their function, more than the whole amount of tythes paid to the established church.—By an estimate of the late Bishop of Cloyne, it appears that the aggregate tythes of

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all the parishes, including deaneries and other dignities, amount to £148,118. 1s. 8d., which, divided by one thousand, the stated number of clergy, gives an average of £148. 2s. 8¼d. to each.—Now, it is calculated that one million five hundred thousand catholics go to confession twice every year, when each deposits one shilling British, This amounts to - - - £162,500 0 0
Suppose, then, another million of shillings presented at the altar at Christmas - - 54,166 13 4
Christenings, marriages, and funerals, estimated at - - 20,833 6 8

Total - £237,500 0 0

Hence the emoluments of the catholic clergy exceed the tythes paid to the established church, by at least £88,381. 18s. 4d.—To this may be added the great profits arising from several other religious ceremonies, all which are paid for, such as *extreme unctions*, *masses for the dead*, *indulgences*, *commutation of penances*, &c. It is not fairly stated, then, that the *situation* of the Irish catholic clergy, all of whom must be single men, calls for *improvement*, while those of the established church, nearly the whole of whom are respectable in point of birth and education, are *constrained* to live on much less, and even to support large families. Neither is it true that their *wretched pittance*, as this paper styles it, is *eleemosynary*; on the contrary, it is demanded as a right, for the performance of those services ordained in the rituals of their church, and which would otherwise be with-held. I do not wish, Sir, to detract from the merits possessed by any class whatever: doubtless there may be individuals among the communion alluded to, as among all great bodies, who are endowed with *talent* and *worth*; but those who have been witnesses of their general habits, will find no reason to appreciate such *talent* and *worth*, to the prejudice of the established clergy of Ireland, whose erudition, morality, and loyalty, were never excelled by any society of men; and whose laudable exertions have been so conspicuous during the late unhappy disturbances in that country.—There are parishes in Ireland without either churches or glebe-houses, the incumbent, or his curate, being obliged to read prayers every Sunday in some obscure room obtained for the purpose. Should not, then, the paper alluded to (and which I have ever considered as an advocate for the established church), rather approve of public money being applied to remedy those defects, than to augment the income of men who have already more than the protestant clergy?—What I have now advanced is merely with a design of correcting an erroneous statement, and by no means directed to the attention of government; being fully satisfied, that while so much talent and integrity preside at the helm, whatever measure may be adopted on this, or any other subject, will be the result of that judgment and equitable decision, which have marked the whole of his administration. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant, A. L.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Definitive Conclusum adopted by the Deputation of the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 21st of October, and the Opinion of Austria on the General Plan of Indemnities.

It shall be declared to the ministers of the mediating powers, that the Deputation have maturely weighed, according to its importance, the new general plan which was transmitted to them under the date of the 8th of this month. They acknowledge, in the first place, the benevolent regard which the mediating powers and their ministers have had for the representations and remarks which the Deputation have made upon the first declaration. They acknowledge besides, with the warmest gratitude, not only the benevolent views and efforts by which the mediating powers have sought to accelerate the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the empire, but also the indefatigable zeal with which their ministers have sought, hitherto, to fulfil this task. And as the doubt which the Deputation still had, upon the subject of the new plan, is done away by the illustrations given in the Notes of the 13th and 19th of this month, they make no more difficulty in accepting, in all its extent, the general plan of the 8th. In consequence they will adopt, without delay, conformably to that plan, the necessary decisions upon the regulations to be made; they will unite the whole in one act, in order to be able to communicate it to the ministers of the mediating powers. The present Conclusum shall be delivered, in the accustomed forms, to the Imperial Plenipotentiary, with the request that he will adhere to it, and communicate it to the mediating powers.—The Minister of the Teutonic Order lamented that the Conclusum was drawn up, without waiting for the instructions he expected to receive.—In the same sitting in which the Conclusum was passed, the Minister of Austria gave his vote upon the general plan of the indemnities; it is as follows:—"In conformity with the instructions of his court, the Sub-delegate considers the object of the deliberation under two points of view; that is, under that of the justice of the claims made to the Deputation of the Empire for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and next under that of the conciliatory dispositions and measures of the Imperial and Royal Court. The Sub-delegate establishes, that France, as a contracting party at the peace of Luneville, cannot conclude any convention with others, nor prescribe plans of indemnities which attack any stipulations whatever of that treaty; on the other hand, the part of mediator does not give the faculty of injuring the rights of a party interested, and the Deputation cannot accede to a plan which injures the treaty of Luneville, considered as the basis and motive of their being convoked. By the treaty of Luneville, the Grand Duke of Tuscany is to be indemnified completely; and that indemnity is neither to be found in the first nor the second plan of indemnities; and to the surprise of the Imperial Royal Court, no regard has been had in the modified plan to the representations made upon the subject, though measures have been taken to answer all other claims. In equity no one can put a false interpretation upon the dispositions of his Imperial Majesty, if he sees himself under the necessity of protecting in the most so-

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lemn manner, the rights of his august brother, and of *protesting against the adoption of the modified plan of the mediating powers*. The legitimacy of this protest cannot be invalidated by any essential reason founded upon the public law of Germany; neither by the majority of votes of the Deputation, because that majority has not authorised the Deputation to outstep the limits and end of its full powers; neither by the invariability of the mediating powers, because these regulations ought to be guided by the legitimacy of the demand, and not by determinations which have their source in dispositions, friendly, but not emanating from any strength of right. It could not be opposed to this demand, that the mass of the indemnities is not equal to the mass of claims; for in that case, the number ought to be restricted to that which is expressed in the treaty, and then the restriction arising from the insufficiency of the mass of indemnities should be applied not to one single part, but to all. Nevertheless, these principles are often departed from in the plan of indemnities.—The Sub-delegate then states, that the negotiations are still in train at Paris; that his court has lately made, by its ambassador, propositions to the French government, which prove its extreme moderation as well as its conciliatory dispositions and just regards for the parties interested, and from which it has just ground to expect a happy result. The Imperial Royal Court flatters itself with having by such equitable propositions evidently manifested the nature of its conciliatory dispositions, and the price which it attaches to the interference and to the friendly propositions of the mediating powers.—After this it has so much the more reason to hope that these powers will have, by reciprocity, just regards for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, and that they will please to make in their plan of indemnities such modifications as the Imperial Royal Court can agree to.—It must be seen from this statement, that the Imperial and Royal Court cannot incur the least reproach of delay; far from it, the Sub-delegate must regret that the best intentions and conciliatory measures have not been received on the part of the mediating powers, nor by any of the co-estates to the Deputation, with that eagerness, which would have removed, and still may remove by some means or other, all the difficulties. The general state of things is not besides sufficiently pressing to cause apprehension of danger in a more mature discussion. All Europe is tranquil, and wishes to maintain the peace. Germany awaits the decision of its fate with patience and firmness. France has every reason to be content with the advantages which she has obtained from the peace, and has no reason to envy the Royal and Imperial Court the execution of the stipulations which concerns it, and still less to refuse it.—The Emperor Alexander I. is a monarch friendly to peace and justice; he will see in this extreme moderation of a faithful friend of his empire this new proof of her good intentions.—Austria, far from envying any body his just pretensions, is ready to sacrifice more than half of her just claims to facilitate her settlement of the business of the indemnities. As to Passau, the Imperial and Royal Court is disposed to consent to the abstraction of the part of that bishopric situate beyond the Inn and the Danube, provided there be given to the Archduke some other advantage in exchange. She is also disposed to make her troops evacuate that part of Passau, if the Elector Palatine, on his part, shall undertake not to occupy it, until, by some arrangement of indemnity, his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, shall be secured according to the sentiments of moderation above expressed."

Note presented at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 25th of October, by Baron Bild, the Swedish Deputy for Anterior Pomerania.

The under-signed Minister Plenipotentiary from his Swedish Majesty to the Diet of the Empire, conceives that the time is arrived which requires him to break silence, since the German Empire is threatened with new dangers and divisions, which render it necessary for all the Members of the Empire to unite with their head, to maintain their independence, without which there can be no durable tranquillity or security. The King of Sweden, who is so fortunate as to have lost no territory during the war, is too generous to wish any augmentation of his possessions in Germany, and therefore can have no other object than the true welfare of the German Empire and its legal rights and independence. Actuated by these sentiments, his Majesty would have hesitated to take any part in the affairs of the Empire, had he not found that Foreign Powers have interfered in the present important transactions. His Majesty, therefore, as a Prince of the Empire, and a guarantee of its constitution, is certainly justified in taking a part in the deliberations. His Majesty acknowledges the necessity of changes in the German Empire, on the equitable principles already admitted, in order to indemnify those Princes of the Empire who, by the mutable fortune of the war lately concluded, have lost their territories; but such changes, according to these same principles, must be made with all possible propriety and justice, so that those only may receive indemnifications who have suffered actual losses. In conclusion, his Majesty considers it as a duty again to remind the Diet of the Empire, that an improper and dangerous example has been given, by the occupation of territories with an armed force, before the right to them has been legally acknowledge, and that it is necessary, by an express Declaration, to prevent the same in future. *Bild.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Let. on Parties*, 641. *Let. to Ld. Hawkesbury*, 646. *Reading Ball*, 653. *Ballad*, 655. *Parl.* 659. *Parma, Moreau de St. Mery*, 658. *Note, Diet of Schwitz*, 658. *Osnaburgh, Ordinance*, 659. *Switz.* 660. *Andreossi, and Despard*, 661. *Summary of Politics*, 663.

ON THE SITUATION OF EUROPE AND THE PARTIES OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

To the Editor.

SIR,—That the present moment is the epoch of a great and important change in the whole system of balanced power in the continent of Europe, no man of the most superficial observation will hesitate to allow. They who are even moderately versed in foreign history, cannot but be aware, that no period has been marked by so essential an innovation, since the first establishment of the Protestant interest in Germany by the peace of religion, and the division of the Austrian dominions, when the Emperor Charles the Vth. wearied out and exhausted by a succession of difficult, but glorious conflicts, took the singular resolution of resigning his crowns. The peace of Westphalia in the next century, and that of the Pyrenees, which soon followed, were but a natural result of the events to which I have alluded, and of the intermediate losses which Spain had suffered, in the revolt and independence of the United Provinces, and the disasters and destruction of her naval force. During all this time, the ascendancy of France, as a military power, advanced only by slow degrees, and with frequent interruptions: in her attempts to dispute the empire of the seas she was still more unsuccessful. Now she has at once enlarged her territories, beyond all comparison, with the collective acquisitions of many wars; she has fixed herself in a proud and irresistible superiority; she has surrounded herself with barriers, as it were, on every side; she has recast and remodelled the conterminous states at her discretion, in such a manner, that the new system, once settled and consolidated, will leave her nothing to fear hereafter; she has subdued under her the second in rank of the maritime states, which formerly opposed no inconsiderable obstacle to her efforts of aggrandizement, and she has made herself more or less directly mistress of the principal stations, which command the intercourse of the two hemispheres. One object, and but one, remains for her ambition to accomplish; an object which she has long since openly avowed as nearest her heart, which in war, during negotiation, since the conclusion of peace, she has uniformly pursued, and is still pursuing, with unabated and increasing eagerness; for the prosecution of which she will not cease to employ all her resources; and that object is, not the depression, but the annihilation of the commercial wealth and maritime power of Great-Britain.

On our part, after the most brilliant victories over the chosen troops of the enemy, with fleets the most triumphant that ever stemmed the ocean, with a commerce, contrary to all former example, flourishing more luxuriantly under the protection of our arms, than in the security of peace; fatigued with conquest and fainting in the career of glory, we submitted—yes, however we may seek to disguise the fact, we did in reality submit *to acknowledge an inferiority*, which did not exist in the relative circumstances of the two countries. We gave up to our adversaries the colonies which we had gained to our own trade and navigation. We agreed to evacuate, in their favour, the commanding stations which we had occupied. We sanctioned, or we connived at, their seizure of other posts, no less important, which they extorted from our allies, or their own. Not a single stipulation did we get to revive old, or procure new advantages to our commerce. Finally, abandoning the wise and manly policy of our forefathers, we surrendered Europe, without capitulation, to France. In making a peace of this humiliating description, we neglected the customary precaution of insisting, that the armaments of both countries should be reduced, at some given time, to some common standard. Not an instant was lost in disbanding our own soldiers and discharging our sailors, thousands of whom are said to have emigrated to France: our ships are dismantled, and our naval establishments have been reformed, till they are brought lower than in any former peace, the most stable and safe: while, on the other hand, the Chief Consul has been recruiting his armies; replenishing his arsenals and

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dock-yards, building, repairing, commissioning fresh ships; in every way augmenting his military and naval strength. And now the instruments of him, to whose moderation alone our rulers have been persuaded to trust every thing, insolently tell us, that we must fulfil the cessions of our treaty to the most minute letter, but beyond the letter of that treaty we must not look. We shall have *the treaty, the whole treaty, and nothing but the treaty*. The continent is interdicted to us. It is enough for us to mind our work-shops and our warehouses; to preserve them from the depredations of vulgar felons, that they may in convenient time, furnish richer pillage to the regimented robbers of the Great Nation.

This is a faithful picture, though but in miniature, of the situation, in which we stand, and of the prospect that lies before us. The truth of this representation, I believe, is now generally and deeply felt. You, Sir, of all our political writers, had the merit of leading the way, in awakening your countrymen to a sense of their danger. Latterly, you have been more or less assisted by our public prints of every complexion, with, I think, only the single exception of one paper, which scruples not to boast the patronage of the French government. I do not ever remember such concurring testimony to the unanimity of public opinion, on any subject.

It is with regret, however, that I have observed a disposition prevalent, less to consider the *nature of the remedy* than the *hand* by which it is to be administered. The former question may now best be left to the wisdom of Parliament, which is assembled; but the latter belongs equally to the people. The monied and mercantile interests of the city, recollecting only the fact, how much they prospered under the administration of Mr. Pitt, without stopping to inquire into the causes, hope to find an immediate cure for the evil *in his return to power*. Some complain of Mr. Fox in a tender tone, that betrays how anxiously they long to be furnished with any excuse for making him again the god of their idolatry. There appeared not long since, in one of our newspapers, a long and well-written essay, the drift of which was to inculcate, that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were alike to be set aside as seceders, and that, if the former should be called to wage new war, he had so acted, that his sincerity could be credited neither by the advisers of war, nor the lovers of peace; that no man, at home or abroad, could seriously think of reposing the least confidence in the talents of Mr. Addington and his colleagues; and that the men (exclusive, I understood, of Mr. Fox) who, till peace was made, never ceased to demand it, and when made approved it, are alone qualified to be war-ministers of the country in the approaching trial of our fortitude; because they always manifested an undoubted and undoubting, pure, abstract love of peace, without regarding with whom, under what circumstances, and upon what conditions it might be concluded! You, Sir, with more apparent consistency, have distributed your strong censures very impartially (whether as *prudently*, may, perhaps, be questioned) among all our public characters, except those who condemned the treaty of Amiens. But you have lately met with an antagonist, who, assuming to himself, in his signature, an extraordinary portion of *candour*, seems to have taken up with it, a full share of that pleasant absurdity, which sometimes a little embarrasses that spurious virtue. He joins you in the harshest epithets which can be heaped on the peace; yet he thinks, in some odd way or other, that an increasing conviction of its ruinous operation ought to be accompanied with an increasing love and admiration of the minister, who advised our ruin.* Alas! Sir, this is not a season for these petty bye-games. We shall not have leisure to repent at our ease of such follies. Our destruction will have become inevitable, before we shall have discovered, that our safety could have only been worked out by a cordial combination of all the talents, all the wisdom, all the spirit, and all the prudence to be found among public men.

In absolute monarchies, the vigour of a single mind directing the exercise of uncontrolled power, has sometimes dragged forward an inert and sluggish people to efforts, that seem almost miraculous, and has thus retarded their impending doom. The history of the Roman Empire in its decline, has several splendid instances. But in free states, where, whatever be their form, the character of the people will more or less influence that of the government, it has seldom, if ever, been seen, that the eloquence of one man has been able to rouze his fellow-citizens, when once sunk into the torpor of luxury or pusillanimity, to any timely exertion for their salvation. Other candidates for office, courting popu-

* Our correspondent alludes, here, to a letter which appeared in the STAR, some days ago, signed CANDIDUS, complaining of my severity toward Mr. Addington.—EDITOR.

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lar favour by flattering the love of indolence, natural to man, will always be able to counteract his energy so far, at least, as to delay the adoption of his counsels; if not to drive him, for the sake of preserving his pre-eminence in the state, into a total dereliction of his own proper course. To what do we owe the most beautiful orations of antiquity? To that very situation of the two most illustrious statesmen. Demosthenes warned the Athenians in time against the designs of Philip on the independence of Greece: but his warning voice was raised in vain, till it was too late. Cicero urged the early and decisive prosecution of war against Anthony, as the only measure to secure the recovered liberty of Rome; but he could not prevail, 'till negociation and treaty had been tried and by the delay the fatal aid of Octavius had become necessary. To governments such as ours, parties are not only almost inevitably incident, as growing immediately out of the nature of the constitution, but in moments of peril that demand continued exertion, may be essentially beneficial. That inconstancy, which is no reproach to the people, because all multitudes of independent individuals will ever be actuated more by immediate impulses than deliberate judgment, can only be steadied by the widely extended authority of some public connexion of men, embracing chiefs and leaders of various interests, acting together with firmness and determination, because they act from conviction, on principles which they all know and have approved.

Twenty years, Sir, have passed since we have really had in the country any party, the name of which supposed some definite and professed system of foreign and domestic policy. Then began parties of attachment to persons and names, not to things and principles. We might derive much salutary instruction from a review of the interval, if we would look back, not for the purpose of mutual crimination, not with an intention to palliate, but to detect, that we may amend, our own past errors: at present, however, I wish to turn my eyes another way. The late House of Commons, at its close, was more broken down and dissolved into individuality, than any which I ever recollect. That which has now met, will probably, in this respect, resemble the last. But if it long remains in that state of debility (for such in fact it is) all may be gone for ever; since, as Mr. Lascelles is reported to have truly said, "*not only the fate of this country, but, perhaps, of all Europe, may depend upon the deliberations of this session.*" Let them hasten, then, to unite among themselves, without regard to *names*, without predilection to *persons*, and let the bond of union be, not a furious and rash zeal, but a sober, settled, and enlightened resolution, to resist the encroachments of France. Whether this may best be done by fresh negotiations or by war, I do not pretend to say, thinking, as I have already hinted, that they are themselves most competent to that question in Parliament, where it can be ascertained with sufficient precision, what is the true extent of the injuries and affronts which have occasioned the present bustle of preparation, what are our own means, and what the dispositions of the continental powers. But a spirit and tone of unrelaxing firmness instead of pliant conciliation, a look of severe vigilance instead of shy connivance, a heart that beats with the full pulse of our ancestors towards France, are the leading qualifications which we have now a right to expect, in all who aspire to the name of British Statesmen. A party constructed on the broadest base of such a test can alone, in our present situation, deserve the public confidence; and if the Sovereign and his people should be so fortunate as to have a choice between parties, heartily concurring in this fundamental point of foreign policy, and differing only about the means of most effectually prosecuting the same great end, instead of contending which is most sincere in declarations, of amity and concession their competition will be still more salutary in its effects, and afford, under the blessing of Providence, the surest human means of success.

Highgate, Nov. 17. *A Freeholder.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,—In resuming the pen for the purpose of concluding the subject of my last letter (p 605), it may not be amiss to recapitulate the points of the former part of it I proposed, in the out set, to enquire into *the change which these six months of peace would* (in case of a renewal of the war) *have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign.* I had, by way of introduction to this enquiry, stated, that the present uncertain state of things was not only the consequence of the peace of Amiens, but that your lordship and your colleagues were duly warned, that such

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would be the consequence of that compact, a statement which I supported by a reference to several speeches delivered in both Houses of Parliament. Having, next, endeavoured to shew the fatal effects which must result from a prolongation of the present armistice, by the means of further acts of humiliation; having brought the question to the simple alternative of *war*, or *submission to France*, I, of course, expressed my hope that the nation would insist on the former. Entering, then, upon my subject, I took a view of the change, which the peace had produced in the relative position, naval and military, of Great-Britain and France, in which, however, I omitted to mention, that, since the signature of the preliminaries, the latter nation has (though in contradiction to the opinion of your lordship)* *launched eighteen ships of the line, at the three ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon.* From the physical I came to the moral disadvantages, which will be found to have been produced by the peace; and here the decline of the national spirit first presented itself. I endeavoured to shew how fatal the tone of the negotiation, the terms of the treaty, and the arguments by which it had been defended, must prove in any future belligerent contest. Here I was reluctantly compelled to break off, without having sufficiently dwelt on certain particular acts, opinions, and expressions, which tended to humble and debase the public mind: this part of my task, therefore, remains to be performed, previously to the observations with which I shall take the liberty to trouble your lordship, as to that branch of the subject which is more immediately within the province of a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The first overture towards the negotiation was accompanied, on our part, by an act, of which, it is probable, not ten persons, even in this country, would have been found capable. But however the world may admire in your lordship, those qualities, which, while they prove your "hereditary disposition to office," enable you to bare your head to a Commissary of Prisoners, it is certain, that, at the out-set of a negotiation for peace, a more dangerous step could not have been taken. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*; a proverb which your lordship and your colleagues have most amply verified: for, from the day when one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State first stooped to solicit a personal interview with a French Commissary of prisoners, for the purpose of obtaining peace, hardly a week has passed without exhibiting to the people of England some new mark of national humiliation, some unequivocal proof that their country is, after a long struggle, become inferior to that of their ancient rivals and antagonists.

During the whole of the negotiation of the preliminaries, the language of the ministerial prints was perfectly in unison with the tone of our negotiators. It was, indeed, qualified in various ways; but the conclusion always was, that *peace must be had upon any terms*, for that any longer continuation of war would be certain destruction. When, therefore, this blessing, or rather this escape from annihilation, was announced, the people, who, to prepare them for such a peace as it was foreseen would be made, had been scared half to death, were lost in "a tumult of exultation and delirium of joy;" and that disgraceful and ominous deed, of dragging the French aide-de-camp through the streets of London, was, to say the truth, nothing more than the natural consequence of the feelings, which the conduct of the government had excited in their breasts. Till this time, too, no one had ever dared openly and despitefully to set the laws of the country at defiance. This is a country of law: veneration of the judges and the magistrates in general is so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that the impunity with which Lundberg and Lauriston were suffered to pass, seemed little short of a partial revolution: it was, at least, such a proof of submission to France, of dread of that nation, of consciousness of our inferiority to her, as nothing could invalidate or controvert. Close in the rear of this came *the surrender of Napper Tandy*, at the same moment that the people were informed, that their government *had not been able to save a single royalist of La Vendée!* Lundberg had passed unapprehended; but Napper Tandy had been apprehended, tried, convicted, and condemned: France snatched him from justice, with the halter about his neck, and compelled us to convey him, in

* Amongst other grounds of *security*, your lordship stated, in the debate of the 3d of November, 1801, that it would require "*a great number of years* for France to bring her navy to what it "was at the beginning of the last war," and that, during those years, "we should be employed, not in building ships, but in *making seamen*." You concluded these memorable observations with asserting, that, "in the course of *eight* or *ten* "years, we should be enabled to renew the contest with *more advantage than we began it last war!!!*"—Oh! most "*safe* politician!"

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one of our own ships, in triumph to her coast. There, my lord, in that act, I greatly fear, that loyalty, public spirit, and national character, in this country, received a blow, from which they will never recover.

The sentiments and language of the makers and defenders of the peace, were perfectly consonant to these humiliating and disgraceful acts. Sir Joseph Banks has been strongly and justly censured for his crawling letter to the Institute of France; but, the writer of that letter may very fairly plead the example of the ministers and the parliament. It was, by some members, declared, in so many words, that, in estimating the terms, we should not forget that we had "*treated with a nation* MORE POWERFUL *than ourselves*;" and this was, in fact, the conclusion to be drawn, and which the people drew, from *every* argument made use of in defence of the peace. Nay, out of doors, no one, that I know of, except Sir Frederick Eden and Mr. Chalmers, has attempted to defend it upon any other ground. Mr. Belsham, for instance, calls it a peace of *necessity*, and says that it was wisdom in your lordship and your colleagues *to submit time enough to avoid destruction*. This is the light in which the great mass of the people have been made to see the measure; it is the light in which they still see it. It is not easy, my lord, to rouse a people so humbled to a vigorous renewal and prosecution of the war; and, I think, I am now warranted to repeat, that this humble and debased state of the public mind is to be attributed to the makers and defenders of the treaty of Amiens.

I now come, my lord, to the concluding object of my enquiry, to wit: the change, which the negotiation and the peace, or, in your lordship's own pretty words, which "*the time, the tone, and the terms of the treaty of Amiens*," will, in case of a renewal of the war, have made in our position with respect to those *foreign powers with which we were in amity during the last war* —And here I may observe, without the fear of contradiction, that an impression, similar to that which has been produced, by the peace, on the minds of the people of this country, will have been produced on the minds of all foreign nations. The loss of our character, on the continent, was most forcibly described by Lord Minto, in the debate upon the definitive treaty. During the war, his lordship said, "it was his fortune, in those moments of timidity and despair, which marked the despondant feelings of other nations, to inspirit them by appeals to the example of his country, and thereby to endeavour at rallying their broken spirits and languid exertions to the common cause. When the news of this ignominious peace arrived at Vienna, he, as well as others, treated it as a fabrication of the French; but, when he was convinced of the fact by an official communication, the sensations of sorrow, of shame, and of indignation that he felt, were not to be expressed: he wished, but in vain, to retract those representations of the undaunted spirit and unshaken fortitude of his country, which he had so often and so proudly urged to the ambassadors of other powers, in his endeavours to encourage them to renew and maintain the contest. All his assertions honourable to his country were completely falsified by this disgraceful act, which had destroyed all the admiration of England, all the dread of her anger, and all the desire to cultivate her friendship, which formerly existed on the continent of Europe."—In America the feelings, with respect to our disgrace, will be still more injurious to our cause in any future war. On the continent of Europe we are envied: in America we are both envied and hated, by a considerable portion of the people, who will now treat us with that malicious species of contempt, which is invariably bestowed upon fallen pride. This contempt we shall have to encounter, too, in the negotiation of a new treaty of amity and commerce, which must be made before the 1st of October, 1803, or America will be at full liberty to impose whatever restrictions she pleases on the importation of British goods. Whenever this treaty shall be made, my lord, the Americans will remember the ingenious argument, which you employed in defending the treaty of Amiens, "that by placing the French *upon the back of the Americans*, in Louisiana, we should compel the latter to attach themselves more closely to Great-Britain;" the Americans will remember this, my lord, and England will have to pay most dearly, as, indeed, she ought to do, for this *lapsis linguæ* of one of her favourite sort of statesmen, one of her "*safe* politicians."

But, to return to my subject, besides that general impression, that thorough persuasion of our degeneracy, and of our *inferiority to France*, which will have been adopted by foreign nations, and which will, upon the breaking out of a war, have marked us out as a people to be shunned; besides our acts

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of folly and pusillanimity, there are acts of *bad faith* towards our allies, which, had we still retained our character for bravery and power, must have operated greatly to our disadvantage. We may talk of our *good faith*, but no human being will believe us, while we retain Trinidad and Ceylon, the former of which we purchased with a part of the territory of Portugal, and the latter with a most shameful abandonment of the Stadtholder! With what face can your lordship and your colleagues complain even of that most daring act of injustice, the new partition of Germany? Would not Russia bid you remember the King of Sardinia? and would not the First Consul of the Western Nation ask you *where*, if not in Germany, you expected him to find, for the Stadtholder, that *compensation, equivalent to the loss of his property and his stadtholderate*, for which you had the generosity to provide by the treaty of Amiens? "And shall you," would he say, "ask me why I cut up the empire "of Germany; *you*, who abandoned the "Stadtholder, and who left me to reward "him for his services and sacrifices to you? "you, who were duly informed, that his "compensation was *not* to come from Hol-"land; you, who well knew, that he was "to share in the plunder of your German "friends and allies; shall *you* ask me what "right I have to parcel out the electorates "and principalities of the Empire?" I know not what answer your lordship would make him.—I am not one of those who wish to draw a veil over these dark transactions; for, in the first place, though we may deceive ourselves, we cannot deceive the world; and, in the next, I am fully convinced, that we must openly confess the sins of this dishonourable and dishonest peace, express our abhorrence of them, and shew, by our future conduct, that this abhorrence is *sincere*, before we can hope to retrieve our character. I will not, however, take up your lordship's time with speculating on what *may be* the consequence of this loss of character, as to our influence with other powers; I will content myself with shewing what has *already* been the consequence of it, confining my illustration to the instance of Russia. The connection between that Empire and France has cut us off from the continent of Europe, which it has enslaved. It has produced the destruction of the Germanic constitution, of which England has long been a guarantee, and it has placed what is still called the German Empire under the absolute command of our mortal and formidable enemy. The consequences of this unnatural connection were not unforeseen, my lord. MR. GENTZ, whose valuable work has been, I believe, patronized by you and your colleagues, gave you timely warning of these fatal consequences. "There "was a period," (says he, alluding to the negotiation between Buonaparté and the Emperor Paul), "when Russia seemed dis-"posed *to form a close alliance, and act in* "*concert with France.* It was natural and "consistent that the French government "should use all its efforts to accomplish "this singular metamorphosis; and that "the partizans of that government should "exhaust their eloquence and ingenuity to "prove to the Russian monarch how infi-"nite the glory and advantage he was to "derive from his new connection. But "that they should expect to gain the assent "of *the rest of Europe* to their new doctrine, "and to persuade all the nations that this "monstrous alliance was to be a source of "*security, liberty*, and *prosperity* TO THEM; "this required a degree of assurance on the "one hand, and of credulity on the other, "almost surpassing all conception. I "will not here enquire, whether the true "interests of Russia can ever induce its go-"vernment to form an alliance with France "(which can hardly be conceived possible, "*unless its ancient relations with England be* "*entirely given up*); I am speaking of the "interests of Europe, and of the politics of "each nation with respect to the whole. In "which view of the subject, I assert, upon the "firmest conviction, that an alliance between "Russia and France, such as was some "months ago, and surely not without rea-"son, apprehended, *would be the most dan-"gerous, the most fatal of all political com-"binations*; that if in the politics of Eu-"rope there yet remained any sense of dig-"nity, of interest, and of duty, every "nerve would be strained, and every power "employed to counteract this last and most "formidable evil; *and that if ever it should* "*be realized, the moment of its formation* "*would be the last of all independence, all* "*security in Europe, all peace* BUT THE PEACE "OF THE GRAVE."

These are, indeed, my lord, only assertions, but they are the assertions of a profound and experienced politician, well acquainted with the state of the Continent: and, what gives them still greater weight, there is every appearance of their being fully verified by the effects of the much-dreaded connection, which has since taken place, and which has already changed the face of Europe. Why then was not this connec-

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tion prevented? How came France to effect it? Where was your lordship, and where were all your able negotiators? That the Emperor Alexander *was* well disposed towards us, and towards the cause of us and our allies is evident from the notes of M. Kalitschef (See Register, Vol. I. p. 73.) respecting the dominions of the King of Sardinia. In fact, up to the very moment of the signature of the Preliminaries of Downing-street, Russia was not only willing, but desirous to act in concert with us, for the purpose of making such a settlement as should preserve the Continent from the fangs of France. Every means in the power of your lordship, your colleagues, and your negotiator, had been used to damp the "*intemperate* ardour" of the young Emperor, to *prevent him from taking any step that might deprive you of the means of obtaining for us* THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE: but, till he actually saw the preliminaries of peace, till he had proof positive of our resolution to leave the Continent to the mercy of France, he never listened to the offers of Buonaparté. To the peace, therefore, we owe not only the loss to ourselves of this most powerful friend, but the addition of his power to that of our enemy; to the peace, and to the peace alone, we owe the new division of Germany, and, as a consequence of it, the almost total impossibility of ever again deriving any support or assistance from the Continent.

Such, my lord, is the change, which these six months of "feverish repose" have produced in our position, naval, military, domestic, and foreign: such are the disadvantages, under which we must again have recourse to arms, unless we prefer absolute submission to the enemy: such have already been the consequences of a peace, which you and your colleagues termed *honourable* and *glorious*, and for the conclusion of which you bade us *return thanks to the Almighty!!!*

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

London, 14 *Nov.* 1802. WM. COBBETT.

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

We have received the following letter, by post, we know not from whom; but, as the writer appears very much in earnest, we have given it insertion.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—Whether your correspondent, who signs himself J. Tietenser, be a real personage or not, I am a little puzzled to determine, for I certainly do remember such a name at Reading, though I rather believe it was differently spelt. Of one thing, however, I am certain, that he was not at the ball. Mr. Addington assuredly did say, that he was an instrument in the hands of Providence to obtain the blessings of peace.

You have in your own person, Sir, indirectly passed a very severe censure upon the phrase, and I should agree with you, if I had understood it as you appear to do. But I confess it appeared to me, delivered as it was with almost a funeral solemnity, to be no more than a pious submission to the Supreme will, clearly manifested in the present situation of the country: I thought that the minister was meritoriously imitating the patience of Job, in referring all as blessing to him who takes away as well as gives. I do not know whether this sentence, which is used in our burial service, formed a part of the "Anthem on the "Peace," with which, instead of a song, Mr. Addington was entertained after dinner, at the house of a gentleman in this neighbourhood. At any rate it is probable, that the religious impressions made by this singular, but laudable, mode of entertainment, suggested the phrase in question.

Mr. Tietenser possibly may have heard both stories of Mr. Addington's reception at Bisham Abbey, the house of the worthy member for the county, as well as at Reading, and, not being very accurate himself, may suppose the person who gave an account of the latter to have confounded them both together. I cannot conceive, however, what he saw in this that was "ludicrous." There has been, in my judgment, too much joke besides on this occasion. Grave subjects (and I know not any more so than the dispensations of Providence in this peace) ought to be treated with becoming gravity.

Whitehall, Nov 10, 1802. N. V*.

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* We do not know to whom we are to attribute the favour of the preceding letter, but the writer certainly seems to be well acquainted with the subject. Of the new circumstance, which he mentions, we can ourselves confirm the truth; that an anthem on the peace was really selected, instead of a prophane song, to entertain the pious Mr. Addington after dinner. Light, however, and trifling as is the whole story of the minister's late progress into Berkshire to snuff up the incense of his Secretary's family and friends, of his own cavalry corps, and his Reading neighbours, of "dancing misses and negus-swigging fidlers;" much as we are provoked to laughter by his solemn lamentation over his removal from Woodley to Richmond Park; yet we do feel with our correspondent, that there is much more to occasion

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TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—If you think the following can afford any amusement to your numerous Readers, it is very much at their service. You will readily perceive, that I have done little more than tag with doggerel different hints which I have taken from your valuable Register. Should you think any notes or references necessary, you will be so good as to add them at your discretion.

I am, Sir, your constant reader,
Liverpool, Nov. 9, 1802. R. W.

ADDINGTON AND HAWKESBURY.

An excellent new Ballad to the tune of "Widow "Saunderson."

Did you ever hear Addington?
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Did you ever hear Addington, O?
Did you ever hear Addington,
So solemn and sad in tone?
O he is a solemn fellow!
O he is a solemn fellow!

If his treaty distresses you,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
If his treaty distresses you O!
If his treaty distresses you,
'Tis Providence blesses you:
O he is a blessed fellow, &c.

Do the people feel shame of it,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Do the people feel shame of it O!
Do the people feel shame of it,
He gives them the fame of it!
O he is a modest fellow, &c.

Give up all for security,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Give up all for security O!
Give up all for security,
And the rest he'll insure it ye:
O he is a prudent fellow, &c.

And if still you are driven, Sir,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
And if still you are driven, Sir O!
And if still you are driven, Sir,
He'll retain what was given, Sir,
O he is an honest fellow, &c.

Then up gets Lord Hawkesbury,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Then up gets Lord Hawkesbury O!
Then up gets Lord Hawkesbury,
While cries, half he talks, bury;
O he is a talking fellow, &c.

All was but a *merriment* *,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
All was but a *merriment* O!
All was but a *merriment*,
A peace of experiment:
O he is a merry fellow, &c.

Does France threat your commerce, Sir,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Does France threat your commerce, Sir, O!
Does France threat your commerce, Sir,
He'll save it all from her, Sir,
O he is a careful fellow, &c.

Credit, confidence, capital,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Credit, confidence, capital, O!
Credit, confidence, capital,
Safe and snug shall enwrap it all;
O he is a clever fellow, &c.

For old treaties, oh! scout-em all,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
For old treaties, oh! scout-em all, O!
For old treaties, oh! scout-em all,
You are better without-em all!
O he is a cunning fellow, &c.

In Paris victorious,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
In Paris victorious, O!
In Paris victorious,
Once he long'd to be glorious:
O he is a glorious fellow, &c.

Now the pacificator, Sir,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Now the pacificator, Sir, O!
Now the pacificator, Sir,
He thinks himself greater, Sir,
He now is a solid fellow, &c.

He would have the day noted, Sir,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
He would have the day noted Sir, O!
He would have the day noted, Sir,
When thanks the House voted, Sir,
O he'll be a noted fellow, &c.

'Twas the fifth † of November, Sir,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
'Twas the fifth of November, Sir, O!
'Twas the fifth of November, Sir,
So remember, remember, Sir,
O he'll be a *flaming* fellow, &c.

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very grave reflections indeed. Let the people of this country look back to the date of these follies; let them look also to the date of those events, which have forced even our pacific cabinet into a new tone and attitude of hostility; and then let them think, what must be the frivolity of that mind, on which, should another war ensue, their very existence may depend. Neither can we forbear again more directly, since the fact is now established, to mark with the most serious reprehension that affront offered to the Omniscient in magnifying his bounty for the blessings of a peace, which he who, to round a sentence, affected this criminal piety, admitted at the first moment, not to be glorious, and had since discovered not to be safe. With these few remarks, we hope not too grave, we [illegible] shall dismiss the subject for ever.

* We believe the writer alludes here to the name of the gentleman at Paris, through whom the principal part of the negotiation passed. He is familiarly known upon London 'Change by the name of *Merry Andrew*.—EDITOR.

† We thought our correspondent wrong; but on turning to the newspapers of the *fifth*, we find that the address was not voted till near one in that morning. This we presume to be our correspondent's allusion.—EDITOR.

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Then sing Mr. Addington,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
Then sing Mr. Addington, O!
Then sing Mr. Addington,
There is not such a lad in town:
O he is a famous fellow, &c.

And sing, too, Lord Hawkesbury,
Hey Sir, ho Sir,
And sing, too, Lord Hawkesbury, O!
And sing, too, Lord Hawkesbury,
Whose fame shall Guy Faux bury,
He, too, was a famous fellow, &c.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.*

Tuesday, November, 16.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—This day, being the day appointed by Royal Proclamation for the meeting of the new Parliament, it was opened by Commission, by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Portland.—Adjourned till next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The House proceeded, according to instruction, to the choice of a SPEAKER. The Right Hon. Sir Wm. Scott, at the close of a short speech, moved "That the Right Hon. Charles "Abbott be again called to the chair of "this House," which was seconded by Mr. H. Lascelles. The choice was unanimous. Mr. Abbott then returned thanks to the House. An eulogy on Mr. Abbott was then pronounced by Lord Castlereagh; after which the House adjourned till next day.—About 300 members were present.

Wednesday, November 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Speaker of the House of Commons was received and approved of by Commission.—Lord Keith (made a peer of the United Kingdom) was introduced, and took his seat.—Several lords were sworn in.—Adjourned till next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Speaker and several members were sworn in.—Adjourned till next day.

Thursday, November 18.

Both Houses were employed swearing in new members.

* Foreseeing, that an account of the Proceedings in Parliament, such as we gave in our last volume, will take from the Weekly Number too large a portion of that space, which we shall want for other matter, we propose to confine ourselves to a mere narrative of the business brought forward, and of the nature, the progress, and result of the divers discussions, reserving for the SUPPLEMENT to the Volume, an ample report of every important debate.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Decree of Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint Mery, issued at Parma, October 23, 1802.

In the name of the French Republic.—Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau Saint Mery, Counsellor of State, Administrator-General of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c.—A Convention concluded between France and Spain, the 21st March, 1801, places at the disposal of France the States of the Infant Duke of Parma, and death having carried off that Prince upon the 9th of October, 1802, the First Consul has decided, that from this moment the exercise of the Sovereignty is transferred by just right to the French Republic, and he has in consequence cast his eyes upon us, and declared us Administrator-General of these States. We have in consequence decreed as follows;—I. Reckoning from the 9th October all the rights and powers attached to the sovereignty in the said States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. belong and remain to the French Republic.—II. The Provisional Regency established the same day, that his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma had ceased to live, is suppressed.—III. All the Functionaries of the old government shall continue provisionally, and until a new order express their functions.—IV. The Public Acts, whatever their nature, shall be made out in the name of the French Republic, and shall bear a double date, viz. that of the Calendar of this Republic and that of the old Calendar.—V. No Act of Public Administration or Legislation shall have any validity, unless it emanates directly from us, or is cloathed with our approbation.—VI. We enjoin all the Public Functionaries, without exception, under their responsibility, to increase their zeal and activity, to labour conjointly with us to maintain good order and public tranquillity, to secure the triumph of justice, without which there is no society, and to preserve among a people, worthy of all our cares, the respect which it owes to its Magistrates, as also the sentiment of happiness to be governed by France.—VII. The present decree shall be printed, published, and posted up in the usual places, and enregistered in the different offices through the whole extent of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. in order that it may be known by every body, and that all may conform to it in every respect, &c. &c.—Parma, Oct. 23, 1802.

(Signed) *Moreau Saint Mery.*

Note addressed, on the 26th of October, by the Diet of Schwitz to General Ney.

The President of the Confederated Cantons having been required, on the part of General Ney, by his Adjutant, M. Bechet, to declare whether the Diet would accept the proclamation of the First Consul of the French Republic, the Diet have the honour to observe to the General, that already on the 15th of this month, they had taken the resolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their constituents as soon as the French troops should enter Switzerland, having never entertained the design of opposing them by force of arms.—Now that the Diet is positively informed that the Cities of Basle and Berne are occupied by French troops, it no longer delays to dissolve itself; at the same time, they seize this

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opportunity of declaring to the General, that conformably to the instructions they have received from their constituents, which they consider themselves obliged to conform to, they cannot regard the Helvetic government as established, nor alienate the sacred right which their nation possesses, of forming a Constitution for itself, a right which they inherited from their ancestors, and which was confirmed to them by the treaty of Luneville; but, on the contrary, are firmly convinced that the Swiss will never recover their tranquillity and their happiness, but in the exercise of that right.

They pray that the General will place before the eyes of the First Consul, this just demand, which is not only the expressions of the sentiments of the Diet, but of all Swiss who wish well to their country.—In the name of the Diet,

Alois Reding.

Royal Patent Ordinance relative to the occupation of the Bishopric of Osnaburgh, has been published in that Bishopric: it is dated Hanover, Nov. 4, 1802.

We, GEORGE the THIRD, &c. hereby signify to the canons and other clergy, to the knights, vassals, burgers, inhabitants, and subjects of the late Bishopric of Osnaburg, our royal favour and good will. Forasmuch as by the late relation of the Indemnities in Germany, in pursuance of the Peace of Luneville, adopted by the Deputation of the Empire at Ratisbon, the late Bishopric of Osnaburg, with all its dependencies, is secularized and assigned to Us and our House, as an hereditary principality; and as such has been accepted by Us, and as We have agreed with respect to its cession and evacuation, with its Sovereign, our beloved Prince FREDERICK DUKE of YORK and ALBANY, We have thought good, and resolved to take possession of the said principality of Osnaburg, with all its dependencies, and the government of the same for Us and our House; and for that purpose, have appointed our state and cabinet-minister, Christian-Louis-Augustus Von Arnswaldt, our commissioner plenipotentiary, and have ordered our troops to march. We, therefore, by this patent, take on ourselves the government of the principality of Osnaburg, and require the canons and other clergy, the knights, vassals, burgers, and other inhabitants and subjects, to acknowledge Us as their only Sovereign, and to be true and faithful to Us, our heirs and successors. We cannot doubt but they will deport themselves peaceably on this occasion, and render obedience to all orders which may be signified to them in Our name, by Our minister plenipotentiary, and that they will transfer to Us, the fidelity and duty they shewed to their former Sovereign, in which case they may rely with full confidence on Our unwearied care for their welfare, and paternal protection and favour.—*Ad Mandatum Regis et Electoris Speciale.*

Kielmannsegge,—Arnswaldt,—Dooken.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

St. Petersburgh, Oct. 22.—In the 5th article of the treaty of peace concluded with the French Republic, on the 8th of October, 1801, it is stipulated that all the former commercial connexions between Russia and France shall be renewed between the two powers, and restored to the state in which they were before the war. As, therefore, on the 31st December, 1786, a treaty of commerce was concluded with France for 12 years, which was only carried into effect till the 8th of February, 1793, his Imperial Majesty has given orders that the said treaty shall be considered as revived from the present time, and continue in force for five years.

Basle, Nov. 3.—The Diet of Schwitz exists no more; it was forced to dissolve itself on the 28th of October. The last categorical declaration from General Rapp, and the approach of the French troops to the place of their meeting, made them separate against the wishes of their President, the celebrated Alors Reding, who preferred war. Before it closed its sittings, it published a proclamation, in substance as follows:

"The members of the Diet return their power to the hands of their Constituents, having been checked in their proceedings by a foreign armed force, and by the influence of extraordinary circumstances; they do not renounce the right guaranteed to the different cantons by the treaty of Luneville, of giving to Switzerland a suitable Constitution, and they protest before hand against all that other inhabitants of Switzerland are about to do to renounce that right." (That is to say, what the Helvetic Consulta, which is to assemble at Paris, shall decree relative to the future Constitution of Helvetia).

The Deputies of the Diet left Schwitz on the 29th and 30th October.

Nov. 4.—After several protests, the Municipality of this city, formed since the commencement of the insurrection, has dissolved itself, and the Municipality has been re-organised after the constitutional mode. The free corps of this city, suppressed at the commencement of the revolution, and re-established two months ago, has been disarmed and disbanded by order of the French commandant. The disarming has also taken place in the country parts, the misunderstanding which reigns between the inhabitants and the country people having given rise to apprehensions of fatal consequences.

French troops have passed through this city in great numbers for the last week. We have reckoned nine battalions of infantry, five squadrons of cavalry, and a numerous train of artillery. All these troops have proceeded to Argovia and the Eastern Cantons. Several more battalions are to pass through this city for the interior of Switzerland.

Tranquillity is not yet re-established in the Canton of Argovia; the peasants of the district of Brugg are still in insurrection.

The Canton of Schaffhausen has not yet been garrisoned by French troops. That canton has in general distinguished itself by its wise conduct, though much misunderstanding exists between the city and country parts—the former inclining to the ancient regime.

All the measures of the Helvetic government since their return to Berne, indicate that they wish to avoid all new reaction, and to conform strictly to the dispositions of the proclamation of the First Consul. This is perhaps the motive which has engaged them to confirm in their functions the Prefect, and other functionaries, of the Canton of Berne, who had been appointed during the reign of the Provisional Government.—

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Verninac is still at Berne; but he is going soon to Paris.

Hamburgh, Nov. 5.—Private letters from Petersburgh, of the 19th ult. contain the important intelligence, that the present political circumstances have occasioned, from a certain great power, proposals of a triple alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, to which Sweden and Denmark will be invited to accede. The plan itself has been very favourably received by the Russian cabinet.—Letters from Vienna of the 27th ult. in corroboration of the above, state, that very important negotiations are now on foot to secure the tranquillity of Europe, and these are assigned as the reason of the frequent exchange of couriers between the British, Russian, and Austrian cabinets. Count Stahremberg, add the same advices, goes to London with dispatches of the highest importance; and his diplomatic abilities being rated very highly by the Emperor, he has obtained a great augmentation of his salary, and is invested with the most extensive authority.—A neighbouring government is said to be apprized of the new federation which it is now the object of several great courts to accomplish, and has charged its diplomatic agents to counteract it by every means in their power. A French courier, with very important dispatches, passed a few days ago through Frankfort on his way to Petersburgh.

DOMESTIC.

On the 17th. inst. His Majesty held a levée at St. James, when the French Minister Plenipotentiary, ANDREOSSI, was introduced (in his engineer's uniform, with pantaloons and boots on, and a tremendous sword dragging the ground), and after the levée delivered, in a private audience, his letters of credence to His Majesty.—Saint James's Street and the upper end of Pall-Mall were filled with carriages and persons on foot, to see the French Minister, who was, in several parts of his way, to and from court, hailed with loud huzzas by the people.

On the 18th. inst. Her Majesty had a drawing room, which was unusually crowded. Mr. ANDREOSSI had the precedence.

On Tuesday evening, Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, attended by a body of police officers, went to the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, where they apprehended Col. Despard, and near forty labouring men and soldiers; the major part of them Irish. They were all immediately taken to Union Hall. The whole of the party on Wednesday morning underwent a long private examination before R. C. Smith, T. Evance, and F. Broadley, Esqrs. when Mr. Despard was committed to the county gaol of Surrey, on suspicion of being concerned in treasonable practices. Twenty were committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell.—On Thursday, Col. Despard was brought to Lord Pelham's office, when he underwent a very long examination before Sir Richard Ford, the particulars of which did not transpire. He was committed to Newgate.

The warrant of commitment expressly charged him with conspiring to compass the death of the King, and was grounded upon the oath of the soldier who gave the information, and the circumstances of his examination. A printed form of an oath was found in the room where the party were sitting. It is said to be something in the nature of the United Irishmen's oath, and that they were in the act of administering it to each other. We understand that it was the object of the conspirators to make an attempt upon the life of His Majesty, on his way to the Parliament House, on Tuesday next. In this horrid undertaking, they were to be joined by 2000 of the poor of Spitalfields, and about the same number from St. George's fields, &c. amounting in the whole to 10,000. The attempt on his Majesty was only intended as the first scene in this frightful tragedy; and, it is said, that having succeeded in that, it was their farther plan to seize the tower, where having armed themselves, they meant to return and take possession of the Bank. From thence they were to proceed to Buckingham House, and seize the rest of the Royal Family resident there. These latter circumstances have been mentioned by the soldier, who gave the information at Union Hall. This business is likely to engross the whole attention of government for some days. It is almost unnecessary to add, that he is the Colonel Despard who was so long confined in *Cold-Bath-fields prison*.—N.B. The above particulars we copy from ths Morning Post, and have no reason to question their authenticity. Mr. Pitt was immediately sent for to town!!!

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU	FRI
Bank Stock	—	180	180	179½	179½	179
3 pr. C. R. An.	66⅞	67	67	66⅞	67	67
3 per C. Con.	67⅛	68	68	67⅛	68	67⅛
4 pr C. Cons.	83¼	83¼	83¼	83¼	83⅜	83¼
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100¼	101	101⅛	100⅞	101	101
Bank L. Ann.	19 11/16	19 11/16	19¼	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16
Dr S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	99⅞	100¼	100¼	99⅞	100	100
Omnium ...	10¼ di	10 dis	10 dis	10¼ di	10 dis	10¼ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	11 4	2 us.	LEGHORN 51
D°, at sight	11 2½		NAPLES..... 42½
ROTTERDAM	11 5	2 us.	GENOA 47
HAMBURGH	33 9	2½us.	VENICE, 52 livres piccole effective per £. ster.
ALTONA....	33 10	2½us.	LISBON..... 67½
PARIS 1 day.	23 18		OPORTO..... 68
PARIS.....	24 3	2 us.	DUBLIN..... 11¼
BOURDEAUX,	24 5		BILBQA..... 37¼ D°
CADIZ	35½	eff.	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.
MADRID ..	36½	effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	45s. to 50s	Hops per cwt.	180s to 220s
Rye.....	33 .. 36	Hay per load....	73 .. 150
Barley.....	25 .. 33	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	44 .. 48	Mutton	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Oats.....	14 .. 28	Veal	4s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Pease (white)....	45 .. 50	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	33 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 3½d.
Flour per sack ..	40 .. 50	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33s.5½d
Seconds.....	40 .. 45	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	44 .. 52	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The fate of Switzerland is, it seems, now completely decided. The Diet of Schwitz is dissolved, and the country is taken possession of by the armies of France. The ministerial papers, the *True Briton* and *Sun*, of the 19th of October, informed the public, that His Majesty's ministers WOULD NOT "QUIETLY SUFFER *Buonaparté to destroy the "independence of Switzerland.*" Yet the independence of Switzerland is destoyed by Buonaparté; and great indeed will be our surprise, if those ministers should attempt to punish him for despising their interposition.

Since our last, the Consul, who is a great favourite of fortune, has come to an additional inheritance. The Duchy of Parma, and its dependencies, have fallen to him, by the death of its former possessor. It is a little wind-fall, which he will of course take to himself, and with which we have no manner of business. The lovers of peace and plenty were greatly indignant at the decree of M. L. E. Moreau de St. Mery, (see p. 658), till it was proved to them, by uncontrovertible evidence, that Parma was ceded to France by Spain, (who, by the bye, had no more *right* to cede it, than we had to make a constitution for Malta), in a treaty, which was made on the 21st of March, 1801, and which was published in this work on the 30th of January last, (see Vol. I. p. 52). By that treaty, the Duchy was ceded to France, without reservation as to *time*: the words are:—"The reigning "Duke of Parma renounces for himself, "and his heirs for ever, the Duchy of Par-"ma, with all its dependencies, *in favour of* "*the French Republic.*" Short and pithy!—No time is specified; the date of the treaty is the date of the cession; and, therefore, Buonaparté has really shewn no inconsiderable degree of moderation and forbearance, in suffering the old Duke to expire in his dominions. This prince seems, however, never to have been informed, that Buonaparté was ever to be his heir; for he left, by will, a regency, of which his Duchess was at the head. The Duke of Parma was wrong not to take in the Moniteur, which is now become *le livre des destins* for all the states in the world. M. L. E. Moreau de St. Mery, however, (who was a bookseller in Philadelphia in the year 1798), took care soon to inform the Duchess, that she was any thing but a regent; and that she must immediately quit the states of Parma!—This Duchy, which is both populous and rich, brings to France an additional population of nearly half a million of souls; making, together with Piedmont, the total population of the French Republic amount to little short of *thirty-six millions*. The situation of the Duchy of Parma is the most advantageous that can possibly be conceived for the purpose of introducing, at pleasure, the armies of France into the heart of Italy. It lies almost in the centre of the Italian Republic; and while that part of this republic which is on the left of the Po is entirely exposed on the side of Piedmont, the part on the right of that river is equally exposed to the Duchy of Parma. The town of Placentia furnishes a passage of great importance over the Po, and the cession (which France knows how to obtain), of a very small portion of the territory of the river of the Levant, will give her the gulph of Spezzia, the best and most spacious port in the Mediterranean. A road, of about 90 miles, leads from Spezzia to Mantua, by the way of Pontremoli and Parma. This road will enable France at once to carry the trade of upper Italy to Spezzia, from Leghorn and Genoa; and to march, unknown to the court of Vienna, any number of her troops from her southern departments, to the banks of the Adige, that is to say, to the weakest part of the Austrian frontier.—The destruction of the house of Austria is an object of which France never for a moment loses sight. Parma itself eventually belonged to Austria; so that, by the present seizure, the French republicans accomplish the triple purpose of opening a way to the Austrian frontier, of diminishing the Austrian dominions, and of insulting, by a low-born, low-bred, low-minded agent, a princess of that illustrious house!—As to *this country*, what can its present ministers object to the measures of France with respect to Parma?—They made peace with her, being, at the same time, fully informed of the existence of the convention, in virtue of which France now takes possession of the Duchy. What simpletons are those, then, who are whining about this "*new* en-"croachment," and who approved of, and rejoiced at the treaty of Amiens, and the "blessings" which it brought them!

The ministers have now expressed, through their prints, the True Briton and Sun, the "satisfaction" they feel at perceiving, that the "Chief Consul has given way, *upon some* "*important points*, to Austria, in the set-"tlement of the indemnities;" and this concession they affect to regard as "a cir-"cumstance which holds out a *better prospect*

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" *of the pacification of Europe, than any thing* " *they have witnessed for some months past!*"—What can these "important points" be, then, upon which the Consul has given way to Austria?—Why, truly, the emperor has, after a long series of humiliations and insults, been able to obtain for his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the revenues of two or three German abbeys, the monks of which, that is to say, the real lawful proprietors of those revenues, will, in consequence, be turned out to beg their bread! This is the *favourable circumstance*, this is the *important change*, which has produced so fair a prospect of "the pacification of Europe."—True is the saying, that drowning men catch at straws! How desperate must be the situation, or how callous must be the feelings of ministers, who can have recourse to such palpable, such shameful misrepresentations!

The attempt, sometime ago spoken of, to make such a change in the government of Holland as would, in some small degree, lessen the oppressive influence of France, has, we are informed, completely failed; and the Dutch have been compelled to pay *two hundred thousand pounds sterling* to those who have, on this occasion, acted as the *protectors* of their *independence!*—But, what have *we* to do with this? Our ministers did, indeed, in the True Briton of the 30th of October, make a sort of promise, that, if Buonaparté interfered in the affairs of Holland, they would keep the *Cape*, *Demerara*, and *Essequibo*, because "these were ceded, at the peace, "to Holland, certainly, at that time, too "much under French influence; but not to "Holland, *a province of France.*"—Such was their tone on the 30th of October; but, since that day, Buonaparté has called them in his paper, a "*prudent* ministry," and has signified his intention to let us still enjoy "the blessings of peace," provided *they remain in office.*

There is a rumour, that the Toulon fleet, with a great number of troops on board, has put to sea. This news may be premature, but, if the French have not possession of Egypt before the month of March next we shall be very much deceived. It is said, that our army is not upon the best possible footing with the Turks; and it would be folly, in the extreme, not to anticipate the most dangerous consequences from the all-powerful influence, which the French possess at Constantinople.—The time may come, when the government of England will regret the want of a Sir Sidney Smith at Acra, and will reflect, with shame, on its ingratitude towards that gallant officer.

Buonaparté has returned to Paris, safe and sound, in spite of the prayers and predictions of the timid herd, who were in hopes of losing their fears in his loss of life. There are none but the basest of cowards, who look to the death of this man as a deliverance from danger. Yet, disgraceful as is the fact, the hopes of no small portion of the advocates of peace have no better, no more honourable, foundation. Those who, like ourselves, were opposed to a disgraceful peace with Buonaparté, do not, nor ever did, entertain any such foolish hope; we know that if he were dead to-morrow, another, perhaps even more dangerous, would arise to fill his place: we are for the employment of no base means of offence or of defence, but are for a fair and honourable contest between the two nations, in which, with God's good help, we should hope to come off victorious, and to rescue our country from impending ruin and slavery.—The Consul has been received at the several places which he visited on his tour, with every demonstration of joy; precisely such as we could wish to see accompany the steps of our gracious Sovereign.—People may say what they please about the *hypocrisy* of this joy; we, for our parts think it perfectly sincere, and, what is more, *we see no reason why it should not be so.* We have nothing to say against those meek and unambitious persons, who sicken at the sound of military fame and national conquests; but, we must confess, that, for our parts, we should not like a leader the worse, for having extended our sway over one half of Europe, added ten millions to our population, and humbled our rival in the dust.—No, no; such a man may be hated by the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, and by all those who dread the increase of his power, but not by the people of France, not by those, the advancement of whose glory (which is inseparable from his own) is the only object of his life.

Lord Whitworth arrived at Paris on Sunday last, the 14th instant. It is thought, by some persons, that, however great the talents and merit of Lord Whitworth may be (and few people deny him either), there was very little dexterity or policy in sending the husband of the Dutchess of Dorset to Paris. It is mortifying enough to be compelled to send a lord to bow before Buonaparté, without sending a Dutchess to curtsey to his wife. It is, more than ever, necessary to pay attention to these things.

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The time is gone by when our fleets and our guineas were sure to vanquish the men and the women of France.

But why do we vex ourselves with reflections like these? Why disquiet ourselves in vain at the forced humiliation of one noble pair abroad, while hundreds, at home, and under our very eyes, voluntarily run to prostrate themselves, not before Buonaparté, but before his representative? The introduction of Andreossi at the British court was attended with circumstances well calculated to do away the charge of *pride*, which has so long been preferred against the English nation. That Andreossi should be received with shouts of joy at *Dover* was quite natural; Dover and Calais live by peace and starve by war: they are two spots, which may always be considered as extra-political; but that, after what has passed, a French Minister should be received with acclamations within the verge of the court, is not less ominous than disgraceful. It appears that Andreossi really thought, that his entrance into London would produce some marks of unpopularity; and this is thought to be the reason why he chose to come in at midnight. The Minister's prints, the True Briton and Sun, took occasion, from this circumstance, to boast of the patriotic disposition of the people. "If," said they, "the arrival of the present "French Minister has not been greeted "with such enthusiastic symptoms of cor-"diality" [as those which were discovered upon the arrival of Lauriston], "how are "we to account for it? Because circum-"stances have occurred, in the course of "the last three or four months, too well "calculated to repress the hopes, so *credi-"bly* entertained by our *generous countrymen*, "that the sincerity of France would keep "pace with our own. Because his "arrival had been preceded by two of "the most violent and hostile manifestoes, "which have appeared in the French of-"ficial paper." It would have been much more natural to have accounted for this want of enthusiastic symptoms from the simple circumstance of the man's coming in at a time when all the lovers of peace and plenty were in bed; but the passage here quoted from the official papers was intended as a hint to the people for the regulation of their conduct. To the utter confusion, however, of the ministerial host, the people "to whose voice the ministers paid a proper respect in restoring to them the blessings of peace," paid no attention to the hint; but, on the contrary crowded, from all parts of the town, to see, to bow to, and to hail with huzzas, the representative of Buonaparté. Not less than a thousand persons ran after his carriage down Bond-Street. St James's-Street was lined on both sides with carriages of the nobility and gentry, and with an innumerable herd on foot, by whom he was repeatedly cheered, on his way to and from the court. To avoid this disgraceful symptom, it was given out, by the direction of Government of course, that Mr. Andreossi *was not coming to court that day*; but this wise expedient failed also: the people, the good people, were not to be so cheated out of the benediction, which they expected from this *Minister of peace and plenty*.—This scene is, by the sleek-headed sons of hope, attributed to the *mere curiosity* of a crowd of *gaping fools*. Amongst the carriages in St. James's-Street we hear there were several with *coronets* on them, and we have too much respect for rank to call the persons within "gaping fools." Besides, suppose they were all fools that gaped at Andreossi, foolish as they are it never came into their heads to gape at, or run after, any *other* foreign minister. Granted, too, that it was "mere *curiority*" that assembled this extraordinary crowd; but what was it that *occasioned* the curiosity? Did the person of any *other* foreign minister ever excite such curiosity, or, indeed, any curiosity? We have had ambassadors from those illustrious Sovereigns the Emperor of Russia and from the Emperor of Germany, our great and faithful allies, and formerly from the King of France: but, did any of *these* ever excite any public curiosity? Were the streets ever crowded to see *them* pass? Were *they* ever cheered with the huzzas of an English populace?—To the makers and defenders of the peace, to those who brought this man amongst us, and who broke down the pride and spirit of the people, we chearfully resign all the pleasure to be derived from reflecting on these circumstances, which, to us, are infinitely more terrific than was the mutiny in the fleet.

We intended to give our opinion, at some length, on the paltry accommodation, which, it is but too evident, ministers are resolved to make with France, and on the political objects, which ought immediately to be attended to by the parliament; but, these subjects we are obliged to postpone for the purpose of making some remarks on the domestic occurrence, which at present engrosses public conversation and enquiry. The reader will, at once, perceive, that we allude to

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the conspiracy, imputed to DESPARD and his associates, an account of which will be found under our Domestic head. This is another of the "blessings of peace," The defenders of the treaty, which Mr. Windham emphatically called "the *death-warrant* of "England," were under *no apprehensions* of the tendency which the peace would have to revive the hopes and plots of the republican conspirators. We will not sicken our readers by quoting the words, in which lord's Hawkesbury and Castlereagh and several other speakers, assured us of our perfect *security* in this respect. It must be well remembered, that the fears, expressed by Mr. Windham were treated as *a dream*, and even so represented by a ministerial caricaturist, who described the "alarmist orator" in his bed, surrounded by priests, bishops, gentry, nobility, princesses, princes, the queen, and the king, with their heads chopped off, and their necks streaming with blood; while, in a distant scene, lord Hawkesbury was sitting in a chair, in the act of signing a paper, having his fingers directed by the hand of Mr. Pitt, who stood at his back.—It is an old saying, that there is many *a true word spoken in jest*; and many a dream that *comes true!* God in his mercy forbid that *this* should; but who will now dare, who will have the boldness, who will have the profligacy, to laugh at Mr. Windham's awful predictions? The *jests*, which, as the newspapers told us, the *sprightly* Lord Hawkesbury cut upon that gentleman's most solemn and impressive speech of the 29th of October, 1801, may possibly be turned into bitter mourning; and, could that mourning be confined to himself and to those who, with him, made and defended the treaty of Amiens, we, for our parts, should feel little inclination to repine.—Let no one charge us with vindictiveness; we can have no *private* interest to answer, no *private* feeling to gratify; but, we cannot view the present state of things, we cannot contrast it with the time when our army had just re-conquered Egypt, when our fleets blockaded Brest, Cadiz, and the Texel, when all our colonies and our trade, were in perfect security, and when this island itself was a scene of tranquillity and happiness; we cannot make this comparison, and particularly we cannot think of the danger which has menaced, and which, perhaps, yet does menace, the precious life of our revered and beloved sovereign, without feeling resentment against those "*safe* politicians," whose ignorance, weakness, pusillanimity, and selfishness have already thus plunged us into a state of jeopardy little short of revolution.—That the conspiracy is to be ascribed to the peace, and to the peace *alone*, no man of sense and sincerity will attempt to deny. All the elements of it, as far as they have yet been made public, arise out of the peace. The peace has taken off certain legal restrictions; the peace has opened a free channel to and from France; French republicans and regicides can come here, and English traitors can go there; French regicides have been introduced in the Royal Society of England. But, we shall be told, that this must have happened at *any* peace; and that, to avoid it, we must have had "eternal war." *Eternal war*, dreadful as is the thought, would have been preferable to the present situation of this country. But "eternal war" was not the only alternative. It is the *tone* and the *terms* of the peace, and not peace itself in the abstract, which has produced all our dangers, and which has, in a more particular manner encouraged the republicans to renew their nefarious projects. That *tone* and those *terms* convinced them, that the government was become weak and pusillanimous; the humiliating the disgraceful conditions, to which this country had stooped, effaced, in their bosoms, the last remaining traces of regard for it; and, if it be true, that DESPARD had conceived the design of raising his hands against the sacred person of his Sovereign, who can say how far that damnable design ought to be attributed to the triumph of the traitor Napper Tandy? And, indeed, who will venture to assert, if DESPARD should be found guilty and condemned, that he also does not expect, nay, that he also *will not find* a friend powerful enough *to demand and to obtain his release?* — Thus do all our troubles, all our dangers, naturally flow from the peace: from that measure, which sunk the government in the eyes of the people; and the nation in the eyes of the world — One word more: it is said, that there is an intention again to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act. We shall not stop here to remark on this as a symptom of that "*perfect security*," that "*calm delight*," that "*tranquil repose*," so forcibly and elegantly described by Lords Castlereagh, Belgrave, and Hawkesbury, but shall just express our anxious hope, that, while we are at *peace* with France, the *discretionary power of imprisonment* will never be lodged in the hands of the present ministers, notwithstanding even Buonaparté bear testimony of their "*prudence*."

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FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

At the Court at St. James's, the 3d of November, 1802, Present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—His Majesty having been pleased to appoint Geo. Prevost, Esq. Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Dominica, in America, he this day took the usual oaths appointed to be taken by the governors of his Majesty's plantations.

War-Office, Nov. 8. 1802.—His Majesty doth hereby direct and require, that all the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, residing in South Britain, who were discharged from their respective corps, as serjeants, corporals, drummers, or private men, (those resident in London, or within twenty-five miles thereof, who are to attend at Chelsea on such days as the Commissioners of the said hospital shall appoint; the out-pensioners from the late Horse Guards, and Horse Grenadier Guards, the Life Guards, and Royal Regiment of Horse Guards; such men as, by the hospital books are now more than fifty-five years of age, or had served twenty-five years in the army previously to their discharges; those who have lost a limb, or their eye-sight, or are cripples, and the letter-men excepted,) do personally appear at the places, and on the days hereinafter mentioned, in order that such of them as, on examination, shall be found fit, may be sent to garrison duty, viz.—[Here follows an enumeration of the different places at which, and of the days when they are to appear.]—His Majesty is graciously pleased to declare, that, every man found fit for duty shall be entitled, on his arrival at the garrison to which he shall be sent, to receive a bounty of one pound five shillings, or so much thereof as shall remain after supplying him with proper necessaries; and those who, on examination, are found unfit for duty, shall be dismissed with proportionate subsistence to carry them back to their homes.—And it is hereby further notified, that all out-pensioners in South Britain, discharged as aforesaid, as well from the cavalry as infantry (except as above excepted) who shall not appear at the times and places herein appointed, will be considered as otherwise provided for by government, or as dead; and they will accordingly be struck off the books of the out-pension of the said hospital without any prospect of being restored thereto,

By His Majesty's command, *C. Yorke.*

BANKRUPTS.

Salomonson, Solomon, of New-street, Bishopsgate-street, merchant.—Ercks, Henry, Gloucester, sugar-refiner.—Cockerell, Michael, Walpole, Suffolk, shop-keeper.—Lang, Thomas, Liverpool, merchant.—Prosser, William, Hatton-Garden, white smith.—Peach, Robert, Wakefield, wool-stapler.—Vincent, James, Wapping-wall, cheesemonger.—Lake, William, Bishopsgate-street, merchant.—Trippass, William, St. Martin's-le-grand, bookseller.—Clark, William, Newport, Isle of Wight, perfumer.—King, John, Portland-place, banker and merchant.—Sandoz, Charles, Richmond-buildings, watch-maker.—True, Thomas, Stamford, Lincolnshire, draper.—Champion, William, Worksop, Nottingham, common-brewer.—Dring, William and Daniel, Brightelmstone, shopkeepers.—Levy, Samuel, King-street, Tower-hill, slop-seller.—Blunt, Thomas, Godalming, Surrey, money-scrivener.—Chapman, John, Yarmouth, linen-draper.—Dulbuntz, Mary, and Ann Baker, Sackville-street, milliners.—Furtardo, Isaac, South-street, Finsbury-square, merchant.—Chaplin, Thomas, Kingston, merchant.—Osbaldeston, Alexander, Bruton-street, worsted-man.—Twiss, Richard, Upper Titchfield-street, paper-manufacturer.—Seymour, Henry, Maidenhead, Berks.—Satcliffe, John, York, chemist.—Bennet, William, Greenfield-street, Mile-end, merchant.—Leach, James, Jewry-street, wine merchant.—Smith, John, Wakefield, hatter.—Welsborne, Charles, Evesham, grocer.—Craik, James, Broad-street, broker.—Williams, Thomas, and William Pondered, Little Sutton-street, tin plate workers.—Spencer, Rich. Liverpool, merchant.—Haywood, Joseph, and Joseph Cotterill, Bromley, farmers.—Wimpenny, Joseph, Elland, inn-keeper.—Leplastrier, Robert, Holywell-street, potatoe dealer.—Ward, Joseph, Brentwood, publican.—Button, Amy, Reading, inn-keeper.—Bird, Henry, Clifton, shoe-maker.—Krogi, Francis, Strand, Italian merchant.—Bennett, Joseph, Blackman-street, carpenter.—Rawlins, James, Red Lion-street, hardwareman.—Stanley, John, King's Norton, farmer.—Sheldon, Daniel, Wood-street, warehouseman.—White, Thomas, Rosemary-lane, cooper.—Hill, James, Lombard-street, jeweller.—Lukin, George, and Wm. Neve, London, merchants.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 23d ult. Lady Margaret Maclean, of a son.—On the 30th ult. the Lady of the Right Hon. and Rev. Lord Charles Aynsley, at his Lordship's seat, Littleharle Tower, Northumberland, of a daughter.

Marriages.—On Wednesday, at Taunton, Col. de Visme, late of the Coldstream Guards, to Mrs. Halls, at Edinburgh.—On the 29th ult. the Hon. Archibald Macdonald, to Miss Jane Campbell, of St. Andrew's-square.—Major Alexander Armstrong, to Miss Clarke, of Waterford.—At Kew, by Dr. Wm. Foster, the Rev. William Philpot, of Kew, to Mrs. Lewis, of Richmond.

Deaths.—On Wednesday, at Bristol, the Rev. Dr. Hunter.—On the 20th ult. Lady Hamilton, of Rosehall.—On the 26th ult. the Rev. John Fairfax Franchlin, Rector of Attleborough, Norfolk.—At Taunton, Capt. Corfield, of the Royal Pembrokeshire Legion.—On the 30th, at Catisfield, Hants, the Hon. Mrs. Blackwood.—On the 27th, the Rev. W. Paul, of Saint Cuthberts.—Of a complaint in his lungs, M. de Calonne, in his 57th year.—On the 21st ult. His Excellency Philip Charles Alvensleben, Minister of State, at Berlin.—On Wednesday last, Sir Walter Vuravaso, Bart. of Haslewood, Yorkshire.

☞ *Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Lord Auckland, respecting the abuses in the General Post-Office, together with several other articles are unavoidably omitted; but shall appear in our next.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 21.] *London, Saturday, 27th November*, 1802. [PRICE 10D

CONTENTS.—*Let. to Ld. Auckland*, 674. *Fox and O'Connor*, 687. *St. Domingo*, 688. *Egypt*, 689. *Emp. and Swiss*, 689. *Despard*, 689. *Parl. King's Speech*, 690. *Sum. Pol.* 693. *Swiss*, 693. *Exped. Louisiana*, 694. *House of Baring*, 696. *French Importation of Hemp*, 697. *French Commercial Agents*, 702.

ABUSES IN THE GENERAL POST-OFFICE.

It will be perceived, that the following letter was written to the noble lord, to whom it is addressed, so long ago as the month of June, 1801. The writer received an answer almost immediately, but that answer was in terms that left him perfectly in the dark as to his lordship's intentions. He has, therefore, waited patiently for redress; till, perceiving no likelihood of seeing that redress take place, he thinks it not improper to lay his complaint before the People, by whose opinion, now-a-days, the Ministers themselves are, or affect to be, guided. The writer has now no private interest that can possibly be affected by the abuses of which his letter complains; and he begs the reader to observe, that it could in no wise have originated from the violence committed on his premises by the clerks in the Post-Office, seeing that it was written nearly twelve months *before* they were guilty of that crime. On the contrary, however, he cannot help observing, that he had good reason to suspect, that it was the people of the General Post-Office who headed the mob in the demolition of his house in October, 1801, that is to say, in four months after the letter was written; nor will he be denied the justice further to make known, that CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. William Beloe), and CHARLES WAGSTAFFE, the two clerks, who were convicted of having headed the mob at his house, in April last, were *not only retained in their places in the General Post-Office*, but were *never suspended for a moment*, on account of a crime, for which they were committed to jail, for which they were indicted, and of which they were convicted.—The truth is, that the writer of this letter did intend to publish it at the meeting of Parliament, last year; but he was restrained by the fear, that the publication might possibly tend to excite disaffection towards the Government (not the *ministers*), a fear which is now completely subdued by the hope of preventing the Post-Office clerks from continuing (through the means of the abuses here complained of) to circulate over the kingdom, the libels, published at Paris, against his Majesty and his Government.

Pall Mall, June 15, 1801.

MY LORD,—I take the liberty to submit to your lordship some facts and observations on a matter which, in my humble judgment, calls for the interference of his Majesty's Post-Master-General. — Unaccustomed as I am to the making of applications of this nature, I trust that your lordship will overlook any little irregularity that may be perceived in my mode of proceeding, as I assure your lordship that I approach you with all the deference and respect which are due from the most humble to one of the most exalted of his Majesty's subjects.

When I began the publication of my Newspaper, the Poroupine, I placed great dependance on the circulation which it would obtain in the United States of America, in his Majesty's Colonies on that continent, and in the West-India Islands, where my former customers were very numerous, and whence a previous intimation of my design had brought me in advance a great number of orders for my London Porcupine. To this intercourse, which promised much advantage to myself, some increase to the revenue of the kingdom, and, as I hoped, no harm to the political interests of his Majesty's Government, I met with an insurmountable obstacle, precisely where I expected to find the means of conducting it with facility. I mean in the General Post-Office.

The King's packet-boats are, more especially in time of war, the only frequent, regular, and sure means of conveying Newspapers to either of the countries above mentioned, and I naturally concluded that the terms of sending papers by those boats were similar to those on which they were and still are sent to the different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland. I supposed that they were carried post-free to Falmouth, and that they were, after being landed at Kingston or at Halifax, for instance, conveyed post-free to the person to whom they were directed. And with re-

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spect to the United States, I could not possibly conceive that newspapers were loaded with a sea-postage, seeing that even letters, which bring no stamp duty to the revenue, are encumbered with no such charges.

Under this impression I took the liberty to apply to Mr. Freeling, the secretary and surveyor of the General Post-Office,* for information as to the mode of transmitting papers through that office. In answer to this application, Mr. Freeling informed me,† that the exclusive privilege of forwarding newspapers and other periodical publications to the West-Indies and America had been granted to him, as a remuneration for public services, and that his charge for forwarding a daily paper to either of those countries was *five guineas a year*.

This information, together with the very high terms it specified, astonished me much. I was deceived by the Red Book, if Mr. Freeling did not receive, as secretary and surveyor, twelve hundred pounds sterling a year, fixed salary; and though I could form no judgment of his public services, I humbly conceived that whatever farther remuneration his Majesty's Government might think proper to make him, was never intended to enhance so greatly the expences of newspapers to those who happened to reside in the Colonies, particularly when it was considered that such enhancement must materially injure the revenue, at the same time that it operated as a bar to our most useful, commercial, and political connexions, and, which I thought of still greater moment, as a novel and very dangerous controul over the Liberty of the Press. The rate appeared to me to be out of all reason. Five guineas a year for a daily paper nearly doubles the original cost, and must inevitably operate as a severe check on the exportation of an article, which, if not very necessary to the importer, is at least very productive to the State.

My desire to execute the orders I had received, did however urge me to endeavour to surmount this formidable obstacle. I wrote again to Mr. Freeling,* stating that the expence of five guineas a year on each paper was more than I thought myself at liberty to impose on my friends, without having previously obtained their consent for so doing; that I should, therefore, for the present, endeavour to send my papers by the merchant ships; that I should write to my customers, informing them of his terms, and that in the mean time I should be glad to know if he had any objection to

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* *Pall-Mall (No. 18), Nov.* 24, 1800.—Sir,—There are several files of the Porcupine ordered in Canada and Nova Scotia, and the gentlemen who have ordered them inform me, that they have been in the habit of receiving other papers through the General Post-Office, franked by you, and without any additional expence on account of postage. Being a stranger to the mode of doing this business, I take the liberty to request that you will be pleased to inform me how and at what time the papers are to be sent to the Post-Office.

am, Sir, &c. &c.

(signed) Wm. Cobbett.

General Post-Office, Nov. 25, 1800.

† Sir,—I have received the favour of your letter, relative to the mode of forwarding newspapers to America.

In reply to which I beg leave to inform you, that the exclusive privilege of forwarding newspapers and periodical publications to the West-Indies and America has been granted to me, as a remuneration for public services, and that the expense of forwarding a daily paper to America is £5 5 0 per year. Any papers which you may wish to send to America, you may depend on being forwarded with the utmost regularity by my Clerk, as they being sent to him at this office. I am, Sir, your most humble Servant,

F. Freeling.

Pall-Mall, Nov. 25, 1800.

* Sir,—A Nova Scotia gentleman led me into a mistake, or I misunderstood him. I conceived from what he said, that the paper, if sent through the Post-Office, would cost no more to a customer in Nova Scotia than to a customer in London. Had this been the case, I should have sent by the packet several hundred sets to America and the West Indies, but the additional expence of five guineas a year is more than I think myself at liberty to impose on my friends, without having previously obtained their consent for so doing. Till, therefore, I receive an answer to the letters which I shall immediately dispatch, I shall send the papers by *ship* to New York and Kingston. In the mean time give me leave to ask, if you have any objection to my inserting a notice in my paper, specifying the terms on which it may be had by the King's packet? This would save me a good deal of trouble in writing, and would be an useful article of information to a great many merchants here, who wish to send out papers to their correspondents, and who do not know any thing of the regulations which have been established at the Post-Office.—I am, Sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) *Wm. Cobbett.*

Francis Freeling, Esq.

P. S. I shall have in America and the West-Indies about 500 constant customers. Three hundred and ninety-seven sets are already ordered. Would not *a couple of guineas* a year for each customer, (considering the great number) be an allowance worth accepting of? I should think it would, especially if I paid you the 794 guineas down in advance, which, were we to agree, I should have no objection to do.

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my inserting a notice in my paper, specifying the terms on which the paper might be had by the King's packet-boats. I informed him, at the same time, that I should send three hundred and ninety-seven papers, and asked him if two guineas a year for each paper would not be worth his acceptance, provided that I paid him down the seven hundred and ninety-four guineas in advance.

To this I received an immediate and a very polite answer from Mr. Freeling,* who was so good as to say that he was very desirous to meet my wishes to the utmost of his power, and to converse with me on a subject on which our mutual interests seemed to be so materially concerned. He proposed a meeting at the Post-Office; or, if more convenient to me, he condescended to offer to call upon me, the next day, in his way to the Treasury, which latter, for the reasons mentioned in my letter † was preferred.

Mr. Freeling accordingly called upon me at my house in Pall-Mall. He now offered,‡ to forward my papers at the rate of three guineas for a year's papers, in consideration of my paying down the whole of the money in advance, as hinted in my letter (see p. 676); but observed at the same time, that my papers, by arriving abroad at a lower price than those of other persons, would certainly cause mine to be taken in preference to those of others; and therefore, he hinted, that it would not be proper to make our contract known, lest other printers should think themselves ill used. He desired me to think of his proposal, and to let him know the result, which closed our conversation on the subject. I did think of the proposal; but the

* Mr. Freeling presents his compliments to Mr. Cobbett, he is very desirous to meet Mr. C.'s wishes to the utmost of his power, and if Mr. C. can call at the Post-Office to-morrow morning before twelve, he shall be glad to converse with him upon a subject in which their mutual interest seems to be so materially concerned—or, if it be more convenient to Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Freeling will readily call upon him at one o'clock to-morrow on his way to the Treasury.

General Post-Office, Nov. 26, 1800.

† Sir,—In acknowledging your favour of this morning, I am sorry it is not in my power to say, that I will wait on you, but I trust you will have the goodness to excuse me for requesting you to call here, when I assure you, that it is absolutely impossible for me to stir from home without neglecting some part of my multifarious business. I am preparing large shipments of books, &c. for America and the West-Indies. I have invoices, letters, &c. &c. to prepare, and have not a soul to assist me. If, therefore, you will do me the honour to call here to-morrow at the hour you mention, or at any other hour more convenient to you, you will very much oblige, Sir, your most humble and most obedient Servant,

(Signed) *Wm. Cobbett.*

Francis Freeling, Esq. Sec. Gen. Post-Office.

Pall-Mall, Nov. 27, 1800.

‡ Memorandum.—Mr. Francis Freeling, Secretary of the General Post Office, called on me at my house to-day. He proposed to send my papers to America and the West Indies, at the rate of three guineas for a year's papers, in consideration of my sending such great numbers, and also in consideration of my paying down the whole of the money in advance, as hinted at in my letter to him of the 25th instant. He observed that my papers arriving abroad at a lower price than those of other persons, would certainly cause mine to be taken in preference to others; and therefore he hinted that it would not be proper to make our contract known, lest other Printers should think themselves ill used. He expressed a great desire to do me or my paper any service in his power, I replied I could take the liberty to ask him for nothing but the advertisements from his office. These he assured me I should have; and he farther said, that the only reason that prevented me from having received the advertisements hitherto was, that it was not the custom of the Post Office to send them to papers, till those papers were established by a probation of three months; but that I might *now*, (when my paper had been begun only 29 days) depend upon having them, and upon receiving every other assistance he could give my paper. I observed that there were doubtless other papers to which he might very reasonably be more attached, and that I should think it no hardship not to be permitted to participate in his favours with those papers. In answer to which he said, that there were no papers that merited more favour from him than mine did; and that every friend of the Government and the country ought to look upon it as his duty to assist me. He next asked me why I refused to publish the advertisements of his father-in-law, Mr. Newbery, the medicine-seller? I told him I had no objection, provided the advertisements contained no obscene or filthy expression or allusion. After this he pulled out a letter which he had just received from Hamburgh, dated Nov. 18, giving an account of an express having arrived from Russia, stating that the Emperor Paul had laid an embargo on all the British ships in the port of Riga, amounting to seventy in number. We then returned to the newspaper business;—He desired me to think of his proposal and let him know the result. I told him I would, and so we parted. (Signed) *Wm. Cobbett.*

Certificate.—William Cobbett of Pall-Mall, appeared before me, John Gifford, Esq. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Counties of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Kent, and swore to the truth of the contents of the above memorandum.

Given under my hand and seal, this fifteenth day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one.

(Signed) *John Gifford.* (L. S.)

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more I thought of it, the more I was convinced of the impropriety of acceding to it. Previous to this interview, I might have consented to give even the three guineas a year for each set of papers; but when, from the conversation of Mr. Freeling, I found I should, under a promise of secresy, thereby obtain an unfair, if not an unlawful advantage over my cotemporaries, my mind revolted at the clandestine compact, and I resolved neither to avail myself of the proffered terms, nor to encourage the continuance of what I could not help regarding as an abuse of office, with which his Majesty's Post-Master-General was totally unacquainted.

Such, my lord, are the *facts* which I have thought it right to lay before you. The observations which I am about to add, are submitted with great deference to your lordship's better judgment.

The regulations of which I complain may be considered under four points of view: to wit, 1. The hardship which these regulations impose on his Majesty's subjects who reside in the colonies. 2. The injury to the political influence of Great-Britain. 3. The injury which they do to the revenue of the kingdom. 4. The undue influence which they give the Secretary of the Post-Office over the Press.

1. I humbly presume that while those of his Majesty's subjects who reside in the United Kingdom are furnished with newspapers free of postage, there can be no solid reason why those who reside in the Colonies should be compelled to forego the amusement, the information, and satisfaction to be derived from this source, the amount of the price which is paid by those of their fellow subjects who remain in Europe. That the inhabitants of the Colonies, whether on the Continent of America, or in the West-Indies, are as deserving of the indulgence of the government as are the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, I am persuaded will be denied by no one who is acquainted with their loyalty and public spirit. *

2. The influence of the Press on the opinions of men, and finally on the affairs of nations, has now become fearfully manifest, even to the most superficial observer, and that this influence must be felt abroad as well as at home there can be no doubt. *

* *

With the Colonies a constant communication through the channel of the press is still more necessary. As the affections of separated relations are kept alive by the aid of letters, so are those of the Mother-Country and her Colonies by the aid of the Press. The perpetual motion of this potent machine preserves the chain from that rust which first corrodes, and finally cuts it asunder. Every tax, therefore, under whatever name it may be imposed, that lessens the exportation to the countries above-mentioned of the productions of the English Press, has a direct tendency to destroy the influence of Britain, and to sever from her that attachment which it is her undoubted interest to preserve.

3. The injury to the revenue from this privilege of Mr. Freeling is very great. It prevents me from exporting as many papers as would yield a stamp duty of £1600 a year, to which must be added the duty on the paper before it is printed, which is very considerable. Besides newspapers, the monthly publications are also loaded with this franking impost; and it appears to me that at a very moderate computation, the loss to the revenue, from the operation of the privilege I complain of, cannot be less than one hundred and forty thousand pounds a year.

4. But, not any nor all of these considerations, important as they are, are of nearly so much importance as the great, the undue, and dangerous influence over the Press, given by this privilege to the Secretary of the General Post-Office. The *Freedom of the Press* has for many years been a favourite in this island, and however it may have been abused, it is yet a favourite. It is the boast of Englishmen. But the Freedom of the Press does not consist merely in the right of printing and publishing. If the circulation of a thing be impeded after it is published, the liberty to publish it is of very little use to the public or the nation. Viewing the impediment in a more mercantile light, the success of the printing trade, like that of every other, ought to be left to depend on the industry, the enterprise, the talents, and integrity of the tradesman, and ought never to be interfered in by government; for if the government, either by exclusive licenses or by exclusive privileges, grant to one man, or to any number of men, the sole power of vending newspapers, for instance, in a certain district, or the sole power of sending

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them there to be vended, as far as that license or privilege extends, it completely annihilates that fair competition which is the great spur to individual exertion, and the never-failing source of national prosperity. Were Government to propose a tax, a certain fixed and uniform rate on the franking of newspapers and other periodical publications to America and the Islands, the regulation would, in my opinion, be a great hardship on the Colonists, and would be very injurious to our foreign connexions, as well as to the revenue; but to authorise a secretary to the Post-Office to vary the rate as his personal partialities, his private interests, or his political opinions may dictate, is to vest in a single subaltern officer of Government, a power which I conceive never ought to be entrusted to any Minister, or to any department of the State; a power so extensive in its influence, so dangerous in its consequences, so contrary to the spirit of our laws, and so abhorrent from the best sentiments of Englishmen, that I cannot help regarding the exclusive privilege of Mr. Freeling, as an assumption entirely unwarranted by his Majesty's Post-Master General.

Having ventured, my lord, to trouble you with this grievance, I beg leave to trespass a little farther on your time with the representation of some others, part of which appear to me to have grown out of it.

Since it was found, from my long silence, that I would not submit to the terms of the Secretary, I have experienced every species of injury that it was possible for him and his inferiors to do to my undertaking, which, without the effects of their enmity, has had, God knows, difficulties enough to struggle with.

My American newspapers, which generally come by the merchant ships, and are deposited in the Post-Offices at Dover, Bristol, or Liverpool, were, previous to my rejection of Mr. Freeling's proposal, delivered to me at the rate of ten shillings and sixpence for a package; but since that time they have been presented to me, as before, with the enormous charge of five or six guineas on them, and have not, upon a discovery of the contents of the package, even been offered me upon lower terms. These papers are of great value to me; but the Secretary doubtless conceives that a greater "public service" is rendered by committing them to the flames, than by delivering them to me, though about ten guineas a year would thereby be added to the treasury of the kingdom.

But, my lord, these things are trifling, compared with another kind of hostility which I have every reason to believe the Post-Office is carrying on against my undertaking. The clerks of the roads exercise the business of newsmen; that is, they receive orders from the country, in consequence of which they send newspapers by post from London to the persons giving those orders. His Majesty's General Post-Office is thus rendered a sort of newsman's rendezvous, by which means the Secretary, clerks, &c. obtain a very great, though indirect, influence over the press, which influence it would require an uncommon portion of charity in me not to suspect, when employed to the detriment of my undertaking. Since it must have been well known that I had resolved not to yield to Mr. Freeling's proposal, I have received from almost every part of Great-Britain complaints of the irregular conveyance of the Porcupine. In many instances complainants have stated, that the paper was frequently replaced by the *True Briton*, the *Herald*, the *Times*, and in many instances by the *Morning Chronicle*. Detection is next to impossible; but when I compare this circumstance with the general conduct of the Post Office towards me, I can have little doubt as to the source of this cowardly hostility.

As to Hamburgh news, my lord, the clerks of the General Post-Office possess an almost absolute controul over the newspapers of the whole nation. When the Hamburgh Mail arrives, an abstract translation of the news which it brings is made out at the Post-Office; copies of this translation are taken, and carried to the several newspaper-offices, from the proprietors of each of which the clerks demand *a guinea* each time. Thus not only are the proprietors of newspapers laid under a heavy contribution, by persons who are already paid by the public, but the news with which that public is supplied, is left to the selection of men, on whose judgment, or on whose principles, I can see no reason for placing such implicit reliance.* If I am told that the receiving of the transla-

* This observation is now completely verified by the introduction of the Argus, an English paper, published at Paris, abounding in the most false and infamous libels on his Majesty's person and government, and which is imported and sold by the clerks in the Post-Office.—We beg our readers to remember, too, what Professor Robison, in his "Proofs of a Conspiracy," says about the French *gaining in the Post-Offices*, in the different countries, whose governments were to be subverted.

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tion from them is the *voluntary* act of the proprietors of the several newspapers, I answer that it is not so. If the mail arrives too late for that day's delivery, then the proprietor of each morning paper must submit to give a guinea to these venders of what ought to be regarded as the secrets of the mail-bag, or his paper must be ruined by the advantage which others will thereby obtain over it; so that the purchasing of these translations is far from being a voluntary act, on the part of the proprietors of newspapers, who yield to the extortion from necessity and not from choice. The people of the Post-Office may, in these cases, demand whatever sum they please. They have the exclusive privilege of selling; a complete monopoly; however exorbitant their price, or insolent their manner of demanding it, it must be submitted to. Were the Hamburgh papers sent round to the several newspaper-offices as soon as they arrive, be it when it may, the translations would be left to the talents and industry of the several proprietors of papers, each of whom would thereby avoid an expense of about 30 or 40l. a year; and it is certainly as easy to send round the foreign papers themselves as to make out and send round a translation from those papers. The people of the Post-Office would, indeed, by such reform, be prevented from extorting about a thousand pounds a year from the proprietors of newspapers; but I am certain your lordship would not regard that circumstance as a diminution of the credit of the office over which you preside.

It is, my lord, in the nature of abuses to increase; accordingly the people of the Post-Office, having, without interruption, followed the trade of *newsmen*, and that of *editors*; having bought and sold manufactured newspapers, and supplied the manufacturers with the raw materials, conceived at last the idea of becoming manufacturers themselves. I have now before me a paper, having the King's arms at the head of it, and bearing the title of "General Shipping "Commercial List," purporting to be "published by subscription at the General "Post-Office, every Monday, Wednesday, "and Friday," and further purporting, what I was much astonished at, that it is published "conformably to a plan submitted to and "*approved* by His Majesty's Post-Master "General." This paper, my lord, always contains what I am sure your lordship never intended it should. It is called a "List," but is to all intents and purposes a *newspaper*, though the proprietors have the assurance to send it forth *without a stamp*, in open defiance of the law. This "List" contains an account of the price of stocks, foreign and domestic; of the course of exchange; of the rates of insurance; of the prices of corn and coals; of inward and outward bound vessels, as well ships of war as others; of captures and other occurrences at sea, and in the different parts of the world; of the situation and movements of His Majesty's fleets, and of those of the fleets of his enemies; of accidents, battles, defeats, and victories. If this be not a *newspaper* there is no such thing. Yet it is published *without a stamp*, and that too under the pretended sanction of your lordship. For a proof of what I have here asserted I could appeal to the whole of the numbers of this publication; but I shall here lay before your lordship an extract which I think will suffice.

"The Pheasant, from New Providence, "arrived at Bermuda the 18th of April, "brought intelligence there that H. M. "frigates Cleopatra and Andromache, went "on a secret expedition to cut out a number of Spanish ships from a port on the "north side of Cuba, near Punta Malas, "with all the boats they could collect, but "succeeded in taking possession only of one "armed schooner. The Spaniards were "apprized of the attack by a schooner "which sailed from New Providence three "days before the frigates, and were ready "with their gun-boats, batteries, &c. Lieut. "Joseph Taylor and two midshipmen of "the Cleopatra, with eight men, were killed, and a number wounded."

This extract, my lord, which I have copied from the "Shipping and Commercial List" of Monday, June 8, 1801, will, I am persuaded, leave no doubt on your lordship's mind as to the illegality of that publication. The injury which it is calculated to do to other news-papers, all of which are loaded with a heavy stamp duty, is evident. There are many persons who want to hear no news but that which this paper contains, and such persons will certainly prefer a three day in the week paper, which costs but 1l. 5s. a year, to one which costs 3l. 18s. This Post-Office paper prevents also the publication of a great number of commercial advertisements, the place of which it supplies, and does thereby, as well as by narrowing the circulation of stamped papers, very great injury to the revenue. This paper enjoys other peculiar advantages. Not only are the proprietors paid for their time by the public, but their paper is printed and published in the buildings appertaining

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to the Post-Office, and is conveyed through London and its environs by the letter-carriers, who are also paid for their time by the public: and further, the proprietors of this unstamped paper have a privilege which even members of parliament do not enjoy, to wit, that of sending their paper *postage free* by the Penny-Post. With an undertaking thus supported at the public expence, what private individual, my lord, can be supposed capable of maintaining a competition? For my part, I am so fully convinced of the injustice and illegality of this establishment, that, had it not assumed the sanction of your lordship, I should long ago have brought it to the test of the law.

But, my lord, it is not the injury that my interests have sustained, and do yet sustain, from the regulations of the Post-Office, and the conduct of its inferior officers, that would justify my having taken up so much of your lordship's time; it is the more serious injury which I am convinced must arise therefrom to the cause of truth, of real liberty, and of unfeigned loyalty, that has urged me to take up the pen on this occasion. From what I have stated, it is evident that the Secretary of the General Post-Office and his subalterns, possess an influence over the press which no man, or set of men, ever ought to possess. We may talk about the liberty of the press, my lord, but while the Secretary has the power, in virtue of his exclusive privilege of franking, to give one newspaper or other periodical publication a preference over another, in America and the West Indies, while this privilege enables him almost entirely to exclude from those extensive and populous countries any paper, or other periodical publication, which he happens to dislike; while his power of exacting the full postage for packets from America or elsewhere, or of remitting that postage at his will, places every newspaper at his mercy in a very important branch of its foreign concerns; and while the discretion vested in him, of giving or with-holding, as his interest or prejudice may dictate, the advertising custom of the General Post-Office, creates, as it ever must do, a strong temptation in every news-printer to truckle to his will;—while the clerks of the roads, by carrying on the business of newsmen, have it in their power to add to the sale of one newspaper, and to diminish that of another, at the same time that the public purse supports them in a very unfair rivalship against the newsmen of London and Westminster: while the clerks in the Foreign Letter-Office assume the sole proprietorship of the news that arrives by the Hamburgh Mails, which news they compel the proprietors of papers to purchase, which they sell on terms that they themselves dictate, and that they can vary towards different persons at their pleasure: while some people in the Post-Office, (no matter who) are permitted to publish a newspaper without a stamp, to print it in, and issue it from, buildings appropriated to the public use, and to circulate it, through the medium of the Penny-Post, postage free, at the same time that all other news-printers are compelled to pay a heavy stamp duty, to print and publish their papers in buildings provided at their own expence, and to allow a considerable per centage for the circulating of them; while these things are, my lord, we may, as I before observed, *talk* about the *liberty of the press*, we may think we possess it, we may even boast of it as the birth-right of Englishmen, but it will exist no where except in the imaginations of those who are unacquainted with the facts which I have submitted to your lordship. * * * *
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With all becoming respect and humility, with a full assurance that none of the abuses of which I have complained have been tolerated by your lordship, with a perfect submission to your superior judgment, and a perfect reliance on your impartiality and your justice, I remain, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant, (Signed) WM. COBBETT.*

Right Hon. Lord Auckland.

* I have no desire to swell the catalogue of neglects and abuses in this important office, otherwise I could give no very pleasing account of the Packet-Boat service, which is, in numerous instances, conducted, by the inferiors, in a manner scandalous to the last degree.—At home, too, I might mention the shameful imposition of what is called *early delivery-money*; that is, money levied, by the people of the General Post-Office, by way of payment for the delivery of letters, to particular persons, at an hour much earlier than letters are delivered to persons who do not submit to this imposition; whence it comes, that some persons, at the west end of the town in particular, have their letters at ten o'clock, while others, in the very same street, may not get their letters till twelve, or, perhaps, one or two o'clock; and there can be little doubt, that the *general delivery* is greatly retarded, in order to compel persons to pay for the *early delivery*.—Far be it from me to insinuate, that the Post-Master General winks at this abuse: it is impossible that he should: but, where is his secretary, where are his comptrollers, where the numerous host of inferior officers that are maintained by the public in this exorbitantly expensive department?

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MESSRS. FOX AND O'CONNOR.

In p. 338 *et seq.* of this work, Mr. Cobbett addressed a letter to the former of this pair of patriots, towards the close of which the following questions were put to him: "But, suppose, for a moment, that you "were really obliged to go to Paris on this "affair" [to examine manuscripts], "was "ARTHUR O'CONNOR obliged to meet you "at Calais, and to pass the evening with "you *tête-à-tête?* Was he, soon after your "arrival at Paris, obliged to follow you "thither, in the company and in the carriage of Lord Oxford? And was Mr. Erskine obliged to break off from the enchantments of a jubilee, in order to meet "you in the capital of the world?"—The correctness of the first of these assertions (for they are assertions in an interrogative form), has frequently been doubted by persons unacquainted with our scrupulous attention to facts; but, we think, that the following article, which we have extracted from the ARGUS (the English paper published at Paris) of the 20th instant, will completely remove all doubt upon the subject.—It should be observed, that O'CONNOR himself is one of the persons employed in conducting the ARGUS, and, of course, the article here extracted may be fairly looked upon as containing his declaration on the subject of which it treats.

Extract from the Argus of Nov. 20:

The Morning Chronicle of the 11th Nov. after heartily abusing the Argus, in the same paragraph levels its scurrility against Arthur O'Connor, by observing, "that he is the man, whom even *Irish* "*rebels* must despise, and whom *every honest Eng-*"*lishman* must detest. It must be endured, be-"cause it cannot be prevented, that this man "should walk the streets of Paris, boasting of his "treasons, and rendering society odious to its "English visitors, by his intrusions." We wish to know upon what principle ARTHUR O'CONNOR is to be despised by *Irish rebels*. Is it, *because he saved the lives of Oliver Bond*, and other *Irish patriots*, that he is to be detested by *Irishmen?* Does the Morning Chronicle forget their abuse against the *late administration* for the system they pursued in Ireland? Did they not cordially agree with Mr. Fox, when, speaking on the affairs of Ireland, at the *Shakspeare Tavern*, on the 10th of October, 1800, he made use of the following words.—"From what has happened in a neighbouring "country, it appears still more clearly, that there "is a *fixed and systematic plan for depressing the cause* "*of liberty, and enslaving the people. Tumults were* "*excited* by the most unjustifiable measures, and "afterwards were quelled by means of the most "dreadful atrocities. *Villages were set on fire—* "*torture in its most horrid forms was employed to gain* "*discoveries*, and military power was freed of all "CONTROUL *from civil authority*. Yet both in this "*country*, and *in Ireland*, government had been "complimented for suppressing the rebellion, "though it had been suppressed by acts still "more reprehensible than those which originally "fomented it. That unhappy country has now, "by a continuation of the same system of ty-"ranny and oppression, been *forced* into what is "called an union, and thus deprived of every "thing dear to it as an independent state. I do "not speak of the policy of the measure in the "abstract, nor pronounce that in no circum-"stance it could have been advantageous or ad-"viseable; but I most strongly condemn the "manner in which it was brought about. By "the means of a Parliament, which it was allow-"ed, did not fairly represent them, and was ut-"terly incapable to govern them, these people "were compelled, against their inclination, to "give up their independence, and to abandon "their separate existence."

After these expressions, could Mr. Fox, with any propriety, *decline seeing Mr. O'Connor in Paris?* But we are very certain, that the moment the Editors of the Morning Chronicle shall have learnt, from MR. FOX and MR. ERSKINE themselves, *that they were* REALLY IN HABITS OF INTIMACY *with* MR. O'CONNOR, they will instantly change their tone, and no longer talk of MR. O'CONNOR having been *obnoxious to the opposition members, during their stay in Paris!!!*

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Paris, Nov. 22.—Citizen Bruyers, aid-de-camp to General Leclerc, is arrived at Paris; he left the Cape on the 10th of Oct.—General Leclerc, Gen. Dugua, and Gen. Rochambeau, were at the head of their troops, and in the *best state of health*; the rains had been this year fifteen days later, and the sickness at the Cape still preserved all its malignity. On the 7th, however, the first rains fell, and already in the interior the sickness has ceased. —Gen. Leclerc had collected in the arsenals 45,000 muskets, of which the blacks had been disarmed: 12 or 15,000 more were still expected.—A negro general of the name of Bellair, had revolted, and assembled around him some hundreds of the brigands, who had set fire to several habitations in the plain of the Cape; he had, however, been arrested and shot.—A strong fermentation manifested itself amongst the blacks during the latter end of August, and beginning of September. Seeing our hospitals crowded with sick, and our soldiers unable to quit their cantonments on account of the excessive heat, the negroes were emboldened to act.—The Polish Legion, which disembarked on the 7th of October, displayed great bravery and courage in the pursuit of the Brigands.—Gen. Leclerc visited the hospitals and the barracks, and did all that was possible for man to do, to diminish the effects of the dreadful yellow fever.—Madame Leclerc on her part refused to quit the colony, and declared that she would not leave it until she was certain that her care was no longer necessary to her husband, and that the sister of the First Consul ought to know how to die in the midst of a camp.—The convoy of troops from Carthagena, and one of the convoys from Rochefort, were not then arrived.—*(Moniteur.)*

A part of the Deputies of the Helvetic Republic, arrived at Paris some days ago. A deputa-

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tion of fifteen of them had an audience last Tuesday, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Cairo, Oct. 12.—The Pacha, who takes at Cairo the title of Viceroy, is fortifying with great activity the palace which Buonaparté occupied, under the apprehension that he may be besieged there by the Beys, who have taken possession of Upper Egypt, and extend their power even to the Pyramids. The troops of the Pacha have been five times beat by those of the Beys.—The English are still at Alexandria. General Stewart commands there with 4000 men.—The Turks have 3000 men at Damietta, 2000 at Rosetta, and 20,000 at Cairo.

Banks of the Mein, Nov. 16.—The English Ambassador, at Vienna, transmitted lately to the Count de Cobentzel a note, relative to the affairs of Switzerland, the object of which was, to engage the Emperor to interfere with the French Government, in favour of the re-establishment of the ancient *régime* in Helvetia; but the Court of Vienna not only formally refused to interfere in the affairs of that country, but moreover, as it is said, ordered M. de Diesbach, who was desirous of presenting letters of credence, in the name of the diet of Schwitz, to quit the Austrian States.

Berne, Nov. 11.—Orders had been given for the disarming of the people of Helvetia in general: but representation having been made upon this subject, it is now determined that those only shall be disarmed who took part with the insurgents.

DOMESTIC.

On the 24th instant, his Majesty held a Levee at St. James's, which was numerously attended, it being the first after the opening of Parliament. The presentations were, Mr. Portalis, Secretary to the French Ambassador, accompanied by Messrs. Geveria and Bague, Aid-de-Camps, by Andreossi; Lord Lowther, Lord Robert Tottenham, Lord Glendore, and the Hon. Mr. Lambe.

The Privy Council met on Friday the 19th inst. for the further examination of Col. Despard, and the other persons taken up on suspicion of treasonable practices. Two printed copies of the Oath administered at the Oakley Arms were found in the Colonel's pocket. He is fully committed to Newgate to take his trial for High Treason. Among the papers found in the possession of the prisoners, were seditious toasts and songs, but the most material was, one declaratory of certain rights, with a copy of the oath taken on becoming a member. It begins with—"Constitution, Independence of Ireland and Great-Britain, Equalization of all Civic Rights." Then follows an assurance that the members will unite to maintain the families of all those heroes who may fall in contending for their rights.

It appearing that this alarming combination had agents in different parts of the country, particularly in the manufacturing towns, messengers have been dispatched to the magistrates of these places, with instructions to take the speediest and most effectual measures to make every possible discovery relative to the subject.—On Saturday the 20th inst. several of the persons implicated underwent a further examination. The whole of the persons yet discovered amount to 36, amongst whom are four soldiers of the Guards.

The Privy Council met again on Wednesday the 24th inst. Fourteen of the persons in custody were brought up for examination; and several warrants were issued for the apprehension of other persons supposed to be implicated in this conspiracy.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.*

November, 19, 20, and 21.

On the above days no business of importance was transacted. Both houses were chiefly employed in swearing in new members.

Tuesday, November 23.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—This day at half past two, his Majesty went in state to the House of Peers, and being seated, in his royal robes, on the throne, the Commons attended at the bar. His Majesty then opened the session with the following most gracious speech:—

HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,—It is highly gratifying to Me to resort to your advice and assistance, after the opportunity which has been recently afforded, of collecting the sense of My People.—The internal prosperity of the country has realized My most sanguine hopes; We have experienced the bounty of Divine Providence in the produce of an abundant harvest.—The state of the Manufactures, Commerce, and Revenues of My United Kingdom, is flourishing beyond example; and the Loyalty and Attachment which are manifested to My Person and Government, afford the strongest indication of the just sense that is entertained of the numerous blessings enjoyed under the protection of our happy Constitution.—In my intercourse with Foreign Powers, I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of Peace. It is nevertheless impossible for Me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other States are connected with Our own; and I cannot therefore be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of My People.—You will, I am persuaded, agree with Me in thinking, that it is incumbent upon Us to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to My Subjects the Blessings of Peace.—*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*—I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I rely on your zeal and liberality in providing for the various branches of the Public Service; which it is a great satisfaction to Me to think, may be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burdens of My People.—*My Lords and Gentlemen,*—I contemplate with the utmost satisfac-

* A correct report of the debates in both houses of parliament, from the commencement of the present session to the Christmas vacation, will be given in the SUPPLEMENT to the present volume of the Register, which will be ready for delivery on the 15th of January, 1803, at farthest. This Supplement will also contain "*A Complete Collection of all the Debates upon the Preliminary and Definitive Treaty of Peace with France*;" in which collection the prominent passages of each speech are particularly pointed out.

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tion, the great and increasing Benefits produced by that important measure, which has united the interests and consolidated the resources of Great-Britain and Ireland. The improvement and extension of these advantages, will be objects of your unremitting care and attention. The trade and commerce of My Subjects, so essential to the support of public credit, and of our maritime strength, will, I am persuaded, receive from you every possible encouragement; and you will readily lend your assistance in affording to mercantile transactions in every part of My United Kingdom, all the facility and accommodation that may be consistent with the public revenue.—To uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the Constitution in Church and State, are the great and leading duties which you are called upon to discharge. In the performance of them, you may be assured of My uniform and cordial support; it being My earnest wish to cultivate a perfect harmony and confidence between Me and My Parliament, and to promote to the utmost the welfare of My faithful subjects, whose interests and happiness I shall ever consider as inseparable from My own.

Lord Arden moved the address, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech, and was seconded by *Lord Nelson*. A debate took place on the danger to be apprehended from the encroachments of France. It was commenced by the *Marquis of Abercorn*, and supported by *Lords Carlisle, Grenville*, and *Caryfort*: the speakers on the other side of the question were the *Duke of Norfolk, Lord Pelham*, and *Lord Hobart*. The address was agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*.

Lord Wilsingham was appointed chairman of the committee of privilege, of all the committees of the House, and of the private committees during the session.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The House was engaged until half past two in swearing in members; when the Usher of the Black Rod appeared at the bar, and stated his Majesty's command, that the House should attend him forthwith in the House of Peers. The *Speaker*, accompanied by several members, proceeded accordingly, and on his return, the House resumed the swearing in of members.

Mr. Wallace brought in the Clandestine Outlawry bill, which was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time.

The usual committees of privileges, grievances, courts of justice, trade, and standing orders, were appointed. The several standing orders of the House were read and agreed to.

The *Speaker* then read his Majesty's speech (see p. 690) The address was moved by *Mr. Trench*, and seconded by *Mr. Curzon*: after which, an interesting debate ensued, on the conduct of France, since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and on the inability of ministers to conduct a war, if war should be found expedient. This opinion was maintained by *Mr. Cartwright*, who was followed on the same side by *Sir John Wrottesley, Messrs. Canning, Windham, T. Grenville*, and *Sir H. Mildmay*: the speakers on the other side were *Mr. Pytches, Mr. Fox, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Addington, Lord Castlereagh*, and *Mr. Whitbread*. The address was voted, *nemine contradicente*.

Wednesday, November 24.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—The *Lord Chamberlain* brought a message from his Majesty, informing their lor ships, that he would be ready to receive the a dress of the House, at St. James's, at thr o'clock.

A variety of arrangements were made relati to the hearing of Scotch appeals; and some pr ceedings respecting private business took place.

The Lords went with their address to t James's, at half after two.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Sundry unimportant p titions were presented: petitions were also pr sented against the election of the members for t following places, viz. Great Grimsby, Penryn, B rough of Stanmaer, Nottingham, Barnstaple, Chi penham, Caermarthenshire, Coventry, and Bridg water.

Mr. Trench then brought up the report of t address on the King's speech. On the questic for the second reading, *Mr. Wilberforce* rose, a delivered his sentiments on the propriety of abr doning continental connexions, and on the necessi and wisdom of maintaining peace, a debate of a milar nature to the one of yesterday. *Mr. W force* was supported in his opinions by *Sir F Burdett, Mr. Johnstone, General Maitland, Mr. J Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, Sir James Pulteney, Lo Hawkesbury*, and *Mr. Bragge*. The speakers on t other side of the question were *Mr. Ellis, M Dillon, Lord Temple, Mr. Windham, Lord Morpeth*, a *Mr. Canning*.

The report of the address was agreed to *nem con*.

Mr. Vansittart gave notice, that the Chancell of the Exchequer would move to-morrow, f leave to bring in a bill for the better establishi and regulating the militia of Ireland.

Mr. Vansittart moved for "An Account of t Produce of the Permanent Taxes for the Ye ending the 10th of Oct. 1801, and the 10th O 1802." "An Account of the Amount of Bo ties paid on the Importation of Corn and Rice the same periods," and "An Account of t Amount of Exchequer Bills, issued under the A of the 41st Geo. III. ch. 4, now outstanding a unprovided for."

Thursday, November 25,

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Two naturalization B were brought in; and some arrangements w relative to the hearing of Scotch appeals.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—*Mr. Burdon* move leave to bring in a bill for continuing the su sion of an Act of the 15th and 17th of his pr Majesty, prohibiting the circulation of Promi Notes, under a certain value.—Leave granted. petition was presented from the Burgh of Kir bright, in Scotland, complaining of an undue tion.

Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bi the Regulation and more effectually enrolli the Militia of Ireland.—Leave granted.

Mr. Vansittart moved, that that part of his jesty's speech, relative to the public service sh be read: he also moved, that a supply be gra to his Majesty; and that that part of his jesty's speech should be referred to a comm of the whole House to-morrow.

At a quarter before 3 o'clock the House journed, and the *Speaker*, accompanied by se members, proceeded to St. James's with the dress.

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note addressed by the French Minister at the Diet of Ratisbon, to the Imperial Plenipotentiary, and to the Sub-Delegate for Bohemia, and which had been communicated to him by the said Minister, and afterwards by the Russian Minister.

The undersigned received on the 26th inst. a Note of the Imperial Plenipotentiary and the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, containing the communication of the same wishes which they made at the opening of the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire: he finds with confidence, and with the most lively interest, the hope of the approaching co-operation of his Imperial Majesty, in the intention of the mediating powers, and is very far from doubting that his Majesty has not made propositions the most proper, to remove every difficulty. That object may, however, be accomplished, without the deputation suspending its labours, which are too necessary for the tranquillity of Germany, and which at the same time will actuate the moment so much desired by his Imperial Majesty himself.—The undersigned seizes with true pleasure, this opportunity of renewing, as well to his Excellency the Imperial Plenipotentiary as to the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, the assurance of his high consideration.

Ratisbon, Oct. 30, 1802. (Signed)—*Laforêt.*

Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia at Hildesheim.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, &c. our most gracious Sovereign, after an examination of the accusations spread against the order of La Trappe, in obedience to an order of the Cabinet, of the 18th ult. has been pleased to allow the monks of La Trappe to remain in the country for the present, and till their further destination shall be arranged, but on condition that they shall neither take novices, nor bring into the country members of any other establishment of monks of La Trippe. They are also commanded, under the severest penalties, immediately to give up their establishment, for the education of children, and to restore all their pupils to their parents. All parents and guardians, whose residence is not known, are hereby required immediately to take back their children, and to apply for that purpose to the magistracy at Paderborn, who are commanded to lend them all possible assistance in claiming their children.—Done at Paderborn, Nov. 1, 1802, by his Majesty's special command,—*Schulenberg.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

St. James's, Nov. 17.—This day General Andréossi, Ambassador from the French Republic, had his first private Audience of his Majesty to deliver his Credentials:—To which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and conducted by Sir Stephen Cottrell, Knt. Master of the Ceremonies.

Nov. 18.—This day General Andréossi, Ambassador from the French Republic, had his first private Audience of her Majesty:—To which he was introduced by Edward Desbrow, Esq. Vice-Chamberlain to her Majesty, and conducted by Robert Chester, Esq. Assistant-Master of the Ceremonies.

BANKRUPTS.

Barrat, Phineas, Strand, goldsmith.—Fowler, William, Shefford, coal merchant.—Turner, W. Floore, baker.—Mills, Daniel, Liverpool, merchant.—Moyser, Jos. Sutton, miller.—Curtis, Michael, and J. Scott, Watling-street, wine merchants.—Ball, James, Taunton, hawker.—Fowler, Wm. Shefford, and Matthew Hayes, Hatton Garden, merchants.—Stretch, Thomas, Grafton-street, grocer.—Hambly, Wm. Bell-alley, merchant.—Hore, James, Inner Temple, scrivener.—Bird, John, Park-street, butcher.—Prager, Mark, Finsbury-place, grocer.—Ketland, James, Bishopsgate-street, merchant.—Payne, Jos. Birmingham, upholsterer.—Lewis, Timothy, Newport, coal merchant.—Burbage, Samuel, Fenny Stratton, inn-holder.—Tinniswood, Jos. Brampton, linen-draper.—Terrane, George, Jermyn-street, merchant.—Wigstead, Wm. Charing Cross, stationer.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	178½	—	—	179¼
3 pr. C.R. An.	67	67	67	66¾	66⅝	66⅞
3 per C. Con.	68	67⅞	67⅞	67⅝	67⅛	67¼
4 pr C. Cons.	83⅜	83⅜	83⅜	82⅞	82⅞	83
5 pr Ct. Ann	101½	101⅝	101⅝	100⅝	100⅜	100⅞
Bank L. Ann.	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	100⅜	100⅜	100⅝	100	99⅝	100
Omnium ...	10¼ di	10¼ di	10¼ di	10½ di	10¼ di	10¼ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 6	2 us.	Leghorn 50¾
D°, at sight	11 4¾		Naples..... 42½
Rotterdam	11 7	2 us.	Genoa 46¼
Hamburgh	33 10	2½us.	Venice, 51 livres piccole
Altona....	33 11	2½us.	effective per £. ster.
Paris 1 day	23 6		Lisbon..... 67¼
Paris.....	24 10	2 us.	Oporto..... 67¼
Bourdeaux,	24 11		Dublin..... 11¼
Cadiz	35½	eff.	Bilboa ..... 37 D°
Madrid ..	36¼	effective	Agio, bank on Hol. p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq.	50s. to 69s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 230s
Rye.....	80..84	Hay per load....	60..150
Barley.....	31..38	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	46..51	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats	14..23	Veal	4s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Pease (white)....	39..42	Pork....	5s. 6d. to 7s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	35..38	Tallow	3s. 1od.
Flour per sack ..	50..54	Av. of Sugar pr cw	34s. 3d
Seconds.....	45..50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	49..45	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

*** *The Letter to Lord Auckland, which could not be divided, and which relates to a subject deeply interesting to every body, has compelled us to postpone the insertion of several valuable articles from Correspondents.*

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The last week has not, that we have yet heard, seen the destruction of any kingdom or principality, except, perhaps, in the Empire of Germany, where the work of *indemnifying* does not appear to be quite finished: when it is, Citizen Talleyrand will, perhaps, condescend to supply the surrounding nations with a list of the states of Europe, as the Consul intends them to remain. Whether Switzerland will be a name upon this list, or whether it will form a department or two of France, appears, at present, to be altogether uncertain. And here we cannot refrain from observing on the infatuation, which has prevailed in England, with respect to the Swiss and their government. At first the success of the "patriots" was regarded as certain; their triumph in some trifling skirmishes came in confirmation of this opinion. Buonaparté issued his proclamation; this was to fill the Swiss with indignation and fury; it had a contrary effect; it produced a promise of *submission*, and yet the words of the Swiss themselves were not believed; it was certainly a "*compromise.*" The next post brought us word, that the Diet of Schwitz was absolutely dissolved, and that French troops had marched into every principal post in the country. This looked more like subjugation; but still there was "*great hope* in the "exertions of REDING and his comrades." To blast, however, this last foolish hope, we are now informed, that Reding and the principal patriots have been arrested by an order of the French government, and imprisoned in the Castle of Challon, on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, where, we dare say, they are full as secure as, in the days of "despotism," they would have been, in the Bastile of Paris. But, this is not all, the "Helvetic government," that is to say, Buonaparté's Swiss government, that is to say the government which we left in that country, at the date of the treaty of Amiens, and which we *tacitly acknowledge* by that treaty, has, amongst the first of its new series of oppressions, issued a proclamation, (which we shall insert in our next sheet), by which it calls upon the miserable people to "*furnish* EXTRAORDINARY CONTRIBUTIONS *for the support of the French troops, which their insurrections have caused to enter the country.*"—Long may the countries we love, long may Ireland, long may England and Scotland, long, very long, may they be free from such contributions! It is our humble and hearty prayer that they may, but that they *will* we have not the confidence to say.

There are, it seems, two demi-brigades of French troops, consisting of about 3,000 men, expected to embark very shortly, from Helvoetsluys for *Louisiana*, where several French engineers and commissaries arrived in September last. *Provisions are to be furnished by the Dutch*, and the men are to be conveyed in *fifteen American merchant ships*, under convoy of two French frigates from Brest. The American ships have been engaged in Holland, and will, of course, be paid for by the Batavians, whose new name has already cost them pretty dear. Thus, then, of this whole armament, which, in its object, is one of the most important that ever sailed from the ports of Europe, France furnishes, at her own expense, only the two frigates, which are, perhaps, besides, manned, in great part, and victualled altogether, by the Dutch! And yet there are persons, who are still weak enough to rely, for the security of England, on the *poverty* of France; on her want of "credit, capital, and confidence!"

For about the 20th time, it is reported, that LECLERC is dead, at St. Domingo. This may, at last, be true *; and we wish it were not more probable than those other accounts, which we hear of, from the same quarter, of insurrections and plagues, that are likely to induce the French to *evacuate* the Island! From our souls we wish, that we may not be compelled to evacuate the Island of Britain sooner! We are perfectly serious. In no time or country did infatuation ever prevail in so great a degree as in this country, at this time, and upon this particular subject. The produce and the trade of the French part of St. Domingo are already greater, *far greater*, than the produce and trade of Jamaica; and we call upon the friends of the ministers to contradict this statement if they can; if they *dare*, we have proofs, indubitable proofs, wherewith to establish our assertions. But, as we have constantly observed, it is not as a source of direct gain, that St. Domingo, or any other part of the West Indies, is valuable in the estimation of France. Our sapient ministers, our "*safe* politicians," have proclaimed to the world, that we have made peace for the "*wise* purpose of recruiting our

* Since our writing this the French papers have brought us the intelligence that will be found in p. 688, and which once more mars the hopes of those who relied on the alliance of the yellow fever of St. Domingo, once more disturbs the "paradise of fools" and of cowards.

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"strength, of husbanding our resources," in order to be able, in a few years' time to cope with France; and this, therefore, is what France will prevent us from doing, by destroying our commerce and colonies as much as lies in her power. She does not want to *take* Jamaica for the sake of any other sort of gain than that which she will derive from our loss. *Eight thousand* French troops arrived at St. Domingo, from Europe, late in September, when the sickness must have been nearly over; and, on the 10th of October another convoy of troops was daily expected from *Carthagena* and a third from Rochefort. There were upwards of *twenty thousand* already there, besides disciplined blacks, making, altogether, an effective army of not less than forty thousand men; and these men commanded by some of the most skilful and enterprising officers in the world, and lying at no more than five hours sail from the most valuable of all our colonies. A descent on the Island of Jamaica is so practicable, so easy, that, if it be not accomplished before this day twelvemonths, unless we greatly augment our force in the West Indies, we shall be disposed to join Mr. Fox and lord Castlereagh in extolling the *moderation* of Buonaparté.—On this subject, too, we cannot but refer to the arguments of those, who, afraid to rely upon their own exertions, would fain persuade themselves and their hearers, that France must ultimately fail, in the West Indies, or elsewhere, for *want of money*. What does she want money for? "Man and steel, the soldier and his "sword," her own fruitful, and now almost boundless territories produce in abundance. What does she want money for? Not to enable commissaries and quarter-masters-general to return home with the fortunes of Nabobs; not to enable her generals to take *leave of absence*, and to lounge away their time in the laps of the harlots of Philadelphia and New York, and there *to libel their master both by their actions and their words*. For what, then, does she want money? She wants money to pay for the provisions necessary to the support of an army of fifty thousand men, and this money she finds, not in France, nor in Spain, nor in Holland, nor in America, but *in England!* In answer to objections like those above referred to, it was, in the letters on the peace, p. 186, observed, that France would find capital on the *Royal Exchange of London*; and, this conjecture is now fully established by the fact, to which, we suspect, Mr. Windham alluded, in the debate of Tuesday last, in the House of Commons, and which we think it our duty fully to explain. As soon as Buonaparté determined, after the signature of the preliminaries, to send out a fleet and army to the West Indies, application was made to the house of Willings, of Philadelphia, to supply them with provisions. This application was accompanied with a proposal, that Messrs. Willings should draw, for payment on the joint firm of three of the most respectable houses of Paris, which the Americans wisely refused, and preferring one house in London. This was agreed to; the house of Sir Francis Baring was fixed on, and that house has actually paid Messrs. Willings for the provisions so supplied. For this statement we have unquestionable authority. We do not mean to insinuate, that there is any thing at all blame-worthy in the conduct of the house of Sir Francis Baring. It is a mere mercantile transaction, of which, if that house had refused it, another would, undoubtedly, have accepted. We have been led into this explanation by the desire which we have to undeceive our readers on a subject, with respect to which a very great and very dangerous error prevails; to wit: that France has neither "capital, credit nor confidence," which we possess to such an unlimited degree, and without which no nation is capable of exertion, particularly beyond the limits of the mother country. It is notorious, that the conquerors of St. Domingo sailed out of Brest Water with *sixteen thousand pounds* in their military chest, hardly enough to lay in sweet-meats for one of Mr. Dundas's heroic West India generals; but, as we observed once before, if France be poor in purse, she is rich in friends. She is perfectly at home, in every country in the world: first she drew upon the Dutch, next upon the Spaniards, but, unwilling to exhaust her poor neighbours, she took the laudable and generous course, and drew upon us, who had been boasting of our wealth.

We have heard no more of the sailing of the Toulon fleet, which we suppose is yet in port. It consists of twelve sail of the line and seven frigates, and it is certain that troops have been marching into Toulon for some time.—On the subject of French naval preparations, we observed in our last (p. 647.) that Buonaparté had launched *eighteen ships of war* since the signature of the preliminaries, but, by a mistake of the press, they were called ships of *the line*. There were, we understood, seven of the line, six frigates, and five of smaller size, which account we perceive agrees with Mr. Windham's statement in the House of Commons, except as to the smaller vessels.—The circumstance,

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mentioned by the same right hon. gentleman, respecting the quantity of hemp imported by France from Russia, during the season which is now about to close, is, too, of very great importance. This quantity was stated at *ten thousand tons*, far, we believe, within bounds, but certainly equal to the quantity imported for the use of the British navy in any one year even of war. Yet France has *no money!* Great part of this hemp has, too, been shipped from Russia to France by *English merchants*, and in English bottoms. And yet France has neither "credit nor confidence!" Not a single sailor has she discharged, and it is notorious, that she has taken thousands of ours into her pay. And yet we are confidently told to rely upon her *poverty* for our safety! We do not fear, that France will be able to create a navy capable of *disputing with ours the sovereignty of the sea*: she has no such foolish intention. But, we do fear, that she will very soon be in a situation to give us continual uneasiness; we do fear, that she will, by keeping up an army of *embarkation* in the Netherlands, be able to fix our regards on the county of Essex, while she falls upon Ireland, an object for which we should not be at all surprized if the Toulon expedition be intended, more especially when we consider, that our retention of some of the places to be restored would furnish a plausible, and, perhaps, a justifiable, pretext for such a most dangerous act of hostility.

The French official paper, the Moniteur, which we, from day to day, see more and more reason to call *le livre des destins*, has put forth a sort of manifesto against our East-India domination. The passage (in the Moniteur of the 17th inst.) we more particularly allude to is this:—"The affairs of "India are not foreign to *any* of the powers "of Europe. The *spoils* of India serve, "not merely to enrich those who appropriate "them; the conqueror employs them *to* "*corrupt the counsellors and agents of other* "*princes and states.* With gold in his hand, "he procures the adoption of resolutions "contrary to the national interest; and, on "this account, *European tyranny cannot be* "EXTENDED *in India*, without the *peace and* "*prosperity of Europe* being menaced and dis-"turbed."—This passage makes part of a sort of preface to a translation of our parliamentary papers *respecting the deposition of the Nabob of Arcot*. Their object and tendency are evident. The jealousy, the envy, and the hatred, which they are admirably calculated to excite against us; in all the courts and countries of the continent, will be necessary to insure the connivance of those courts and countries, with respect to a project, which is intended to cut off the principal arm of Britain, if the blow aimed at her heart should fail.—Nothing can be more fully descriptive of the rooted hatred, of the unquenchable thirst of destruction, which the republicans of France have with respect to this country; and, whatever traitors and fanatics may unite in saying to the contrary, that hatred, that desire to destroy, are general through the republic. The whole of France, as she now is, has, with one voice, one mind, and one heart, sworn not only our ruin and disgrace, but our utter extirpation. —To resist a foe thus disposed and resolved, and having at her absolute command more than half of the human power in the world, we have the skill and the courage of the Hawkesburies and the Addingtons!

Since our last, his Majesty has met his Parliament, and has graciously condescended to deliver to them a speech from the throne. His Majesty was, on this occasion, received by the thousands who were assembled to see him, with every demonstration of joy, with every expression of loyalty, veneration, and love!—Would to God, that the heads of his ministers were as good as the hearts of his people!

To describe the system of Ministers, to guess even at the measures they mean to adopt, would be no easy matter. They are so light in themselves, and receive their impulse from so many and such conflicting directions, they are so truly a reed shaken with the wind, that it is impossible to say which way they will next bend, or into what form they will next be blown and battered. Nothing can more strongly mark their imbecility, their total ignorance of foreign affairs, their absolute incapacity for conducting any thing of moment, the contempt in which they are held all over Europe, than their *late*, compared with their *present* tone and conduct with respect to Switzerland. It was on the 4th of October, that they published, in the True Briton, (which is as much their *official* paper as the Moniteur is the official paper of Buonaparté), their first manifesto against the encroachments of France. In that paper, they asserted, that the interference of the Consul in the affairs of Switzerland, made "the cause of that "country a common one with every power "not a voluntary slave to the influence of "France;" and, added they, "*a resistance* "*to* THE SYSTEM *at present pursued by Buo-*"*naparté, becomes a duty in the rulers of every* "*free country.*"—On the 14th of October,

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(we still quote the True Briton): "The "cool sneering insolence, the haughty supercilious arrogance, of this last proclamation" (the proclamation of Buonaparté) "would provoke *the resistance of the most timid, to put a stop to a* SYSTEM OF AGGRESSION, *a submission to which has* TARNISHED THE HONOUR, and NEARLY DESTROYED THE INDEPENDENCE OF EUROPE."—On the 19th of October: "Scarcely *one month* has passed, since the *signature of the preliminaries of peace,* which has not been attended with the adoption of measures on the part of the French government, calculated to excite the just jealousy and *apprehensions of this nation* * * * They" [the Ministers] "will not quietly *suffer* Buonaparté to *destroy the independence of Switzerland:* they will not *suffer* him, by a virtual infringement of the peace he has made with us, to oppress and subdue other nations, or to aggrandize his power, so as to increase the danger to ourselves. * * * * * They will not suffer the country to be conquered in peace—they will not permit themselves to be deluded by *the name,* when they cannot obtain the thing; and they know, that the result, even of *an* UNSUCCESSFUL *war would not, in all probability, be more fatal to us than the completion of that system, on the part of France, of which we have spoken.*"—On the 30th of October: "His Majesty's ministers cannot proceed to carry into effect the articles of the treaty with France, which relate to the cessions to be made, *without new stipulations.* If the Chief Consul annexes Piedmont to the Republic, let *us* keep *Malta*—if he interferes in the affairs of Holland" [which he has never ceased to do], "let us keep the *Cape, Demerara,* and *Essequibo.* * * * * Ministers wish for peace, if we can preserve it without a sacrifice of our honour and our interests—but to cling to a feverish, restless peace, denying us the advantages of a state of real tranquillity—to make use of the interval to restore our conquests—and to see (what the conduct of France gives us too much reason to suppose we should see) the war break out again, as soon as we had made all our restitutions, would be to take a line of conduct which his Majesty's ministers *will not adopt,* and which none can recommend, except those *who would see with pleasure the aggrandizement of France and the ruin of the British Empire.*"—This was their language on the 30th of October; in five days afterwards their tone was thus softened: "The King's ministers "will be *moderate* but firm.—They must, at the same time, recollect how much the relative situation of France with this country is changed since the signature of the Treaty of Amiens; but, if any *compromise* can be made with respect to the conquests we still retain, reserving to us *even* LESS *than our* JUST demands, we trust *they will be disposed to evince their moderation by accepting such compromise, rather* THAN HAVE RECOURSE TO THE DREADFUL ALTERNATIVE OF WAR."—Now, it behoves us to enquire what could have wrought this great and sudden change in the language and sentiments of those "*safe* politicians." Not any alteration in the system, not any relaxation in the violent proceedings of Buonaparté, who had actually marched his troops into Switzerland, who had done what the ministers had declared they would not *suffer* him to do, and who, in addition to his actions, had made use of words declarative of his resolution, not only to persevere in his system, but had so explained that system as to leave no doubt of his intention to cut us off, for ever, from all connection with the Continent of Europe. But (mark well the important circumstance) the same manifesto (see p. 565), which contained these insolent and domineering threats against their country, also contained an observation, that Buonapaté *approved of the Ministers themselves,* and deprecated the views of those who wished to *remove them from their places.* This, this it was, which, in our opinion, changed the tone of the men, who have "an *hereditary disposition to office.*" We are perfectly serious. From our souls we believe, that to this and this alone we have to attribute, that we are now at peace. People laugh at the Addingtons and Hawkesburies: they laughed at the Helvetic government; but the latter is now mocking the mocker, and the former will keep their places, in spite of all the efforts that can be made against them, unless such an *union* can be brought about as would conciliate the wishes and rouse the spirit of the people, and command the respect and confidence of foreign nations; and that such an union should be formed is the most improbable of all improbable things. The very men, with some few exceptions, who support the Ministers, agree with us as to their total incapacity to conduct the affairs of the nation; but, as to the *remedy,* we differ. The calling in of Mr. Pitt, would, *without a radical change of system and of notions,* and without an

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union of talents, character, and courage, in *every* department of the State, only serve to eke out the disgraceful existence of the country for a few years, or, perhaps, a few months; and, if we are to be sacrificed, it is little matter by whom; the meaner the instrument, as far as we know, the better; it would be a poor consolation to see the name of Pitt, a name in which we have gloried, coupled with the final destruction of England. "To *defend* Gibraltar," said Burke, "is worthy of the "genius and the courage of an Elliot; to "*deliver its keys to the enemy*, is a task which "had better be performed by a drunken "invalid."

We congratulate the ministers on the support which they are likely to receive from the hearty and united efforts of Messrs. *Fox* and *Wilberforce*, and *Sir Francis Burdett*. We could not listen to the long and painful endeavours of the former of these, to persuade the nation that we have nothing to prepare against but a *rivalité* in *trade and commerce*, without recollecting a most remarkable passage in the letter of our valuable correspondent SWENSKA, p. 132. "Buonaparté intends *to amuse* you with a *rivality in trade and national improvement:* if "you believe him, *you will not long be his rival in power*"—To this we have nothing to add, except it be to remark, that the letter was published in London so long ago as the 7th of August.—Mr. Wilberforce reproves the country for putting its trust in *talents* and *human wisdom*, instead of listening to the counsels of *simple, common men*, men in the *middle class of society*, a reproof, which it certainly does not merit.

Every thing that has transpired, during the last four or five days, tends more and more to convince us, that England is fast approaching to her final doom, and that she *deserves* no longer to escape the chastisement of Heaven. She has on her all the marks of a degenerate and falling nation. Since the 1st of October, 1801, how rapid has been her decline! We may be mistaken; we hope we are; but, with the consciousness that we stand in the presence of God, we do declare it to be our opinion, that, if the present course be pursued, a very short time will see this island in the possession of France.

POSTSCRIPT.

Our readers will perceive (p. 689) that the Emperor has refused to have any connection with us, in remonstrating in behalf of the Swiss Cantons.—This is as it should be. W are "too honest," the receivers of Trinidad and Ceylon are "too honest;" those wh gave up Guiana, and who abandoned the Stad holder and the French Royalists, are trust "too honest" for the Emperor of Germa to be connected with!—It is to be hope that the Ministers will take an early oppo tunity of laying before Parliament, the p pers relative to the *remonstrance* which th made to Buonaparté, in behalf of the Swis and also those relative to the overtures ma to the Emperor. Were we in their plac we should be very anxious to unload ou selves of the accumulation of disgrace, whi has grown upon them since the last M Parliament, by adopting their resolut had the goodness to take the burthen o their shoulders.

Just as this sheet was going to the pres were informed of the arrival, in this co of a number of those French *consu agents*, of which we spoke some time They are all understood to be experience military and naval matters, and are inten to reside in our several *sea-ports, naval* as as *commercial*. Our wise and courag ministers were alarmed at the propositio sending such persons as these to line coasts, as it were; and they actually ref to receive them, which refusal formed of the subjects of dispute between the countries. In the mean time, one of was sent to the island of Jersey, where Governor refused to receive him; but, w he has nevertheless remained, and does remain, setting the Governor and his go ment at defiance; and, we are infor that ministers have not had the cour order him to be removed.—Impunity h hardihood; accordingly a whole swa these agents have since been sent to En in defiance of the declared will of His jesty's Government; they are now ar and are actually, at this moment, in Lon One of them, at least, is, we unders *destined for Ireland!!!*

*** Our next will contain a letter from Mr. BETT to the HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX, re a misquotation which the latter made f Political Register, and to divers other m ticularly the "LIBERTY OF THE PRESS," of Mr. Fox, till he breathed the all-regenerati of ST CLOUD, was a constant defender.

The next sheet will also contain a letter to Mr. WILBERFORCE, on his address to his honest Yorkshiremen, particularly those parts of th address which relate to Parliamentary Honour Continental Connections.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CONTENTS.—*Picture of France*, 705. *Musical Concert*, 709. *Caractacus' Let. to Editor*, 711. *Mr. Cobbett's Let. to Fox*, 714. *Proc. in Parl.* 720. *Proc. to Ireld.* 722. *Vienna*, 724. *Switz.* 724. *Brit. Power in India*, 725. *France*, 727. *Sum. Pol.* 727. *Germ. Ind.* 727. *Bavaria*, 728. *India*, 730. *Logwood*, 732. *C. Stahremberg*, 736.

PICTURE OF FRANCE IN 1801.

The following extracts from a quarto volume, of 800 pages, recently published by CHAPTAL, the French Minister for the home department, under the title of "*Analyse des Procès Verbaux des Conseils, session de l'An IX.*" (1801), while it will enable our readers to form a correct idea of the miserable internal situation of the country, to which Britain, in that same fatal year, for the first time, bowed the knee in sign of submission, will also give them a prospect of the probable consequences of that base and disgraceful act.—We are confident, that no work (the "Bloody Buoy," and the "Cannibal's Progress," excepted) exhibits such a combination of misery and crimes, and we are not at all surprised, that Citizen Chaptal's book should have been *suppressed*; but the more we look at the horrid picture the more resentment we feel against the feeble, the cold, and selfish men, who laid the glory of England at the feet of France, and won, in that weak and wicked act, exposed our country to all the horrors which this shocking picture presents to our view.

LAND-TAX, in the department of the ESCAUT: This department in extent is a 230th-part of the Republic; it pays a 58th-part of the land-tax.—MANCHE. The land-tax amounts to one-half of the net rent.—ROER. In many of the communes the land-tax amounts to one half, or two thirds of the net rent.—SOANE *(haute)*. In granting new leases, proprietors of land are obliged to lower their rent a 4th or a 5th below its amount in 1790.

AGRICULTURE.—SARRE. Agriculture is entirely neglected. For want of markets, farmers only sow as much as is necessary to provide for their families and their cattle.

SHEEP.—SEINE *(inferieure)*. The number of sheep is diminished one-third since 1790.

WOLVES.—AISNE. The number of wolves is greatly increased.—CANTAL. The increase of wolves is very alarming.—LOVART. Wolves have multiplied to an alarming extent. The damage they commit is incalculable.—VENDÉE. Wolves carry off the cattle, and attack them even in their stalls.

COMMERCE.—FINISTÈRE. Foreign commerce is annihilated. Three fourths of our coasters have been either captured or destroyed.—MANCHE. The only remains of our trade are a few fishing boats, and a few privateers.—MONT TONNERRE. Smuggling is become very injurious to our commerce; the custom-house officers engage in this traffic. It is ascribed to the high duties on foreign merchandise.—RHONE. We think that English goods should be prohibited; and that the fancy works of Lyons should be brought into fashion, both in France and abroad, by means of presents.—SEINE *(inferieure)*. France, in order to acquire the rank among the commercial nations of Europe to which she is entitled by her position, her industry, her force, and her riches, ought to establish an effectual act of navigation; to obtain from Spain the right of supplying South America with manufactures; and the privilege of importing Spanish wool, as a favoured nation; to form a commercial treaty with Russia, on a different plan from that of 1788, and with Denmark and Sweden; but, if possible, to avoid entering into a commercial treaty with Great Britain.—SOMME. The English are our most formidable rivals. Prohibit the introduction of their manufactures; burn them in the market place; post up the names of those who sell them; and determine what are English goods by judges selected from persons who are engaged in similar manufactures.

HOSPITALS.—BOUCHES DU RHONE. All the hospitals in this department are in a wretched state.—CREUSE. The state of the hospitals is worse than it was last year: they will soon cease to exist.—GARD. The distress of the hospitals in this department is general:

They require annually ..... Livres	250,479
Their revenues amount to	98,838
They are in arrear	213,951
They have lost.....	1,861,760

LANDES. The hospitals are threatened with total destruction: the sick can neither procure food nor medicine.

FOUNDLINGS.—ALLIER. The nurses have five years wages due to them: they will, therefore, receive no more foundlings. Nine tenths of them are lost.—CANTAL. Extreme penury obliges this department to feed its foundlings with goat's milk. Seven-eighths die before they are one year old.—CHARENTE *(inferieure)*. For want of pecuniary means the establishments have ceased for two years to send their foundlings to nurse. Of two hundred infants received into the hospital at Saintes one only has lived.—CREUSE. The foundlings perish in consequence of neglect. Twelve or fifteen are suckled by two nurses.—LANDES. Infants enter into the hospital to die there by thousands: there are no means of providing nurses.—PYRÉNÉES *(hautes)*. Between the year two and the year nine, 3066 infants were received into the hospital at Tarbes: there are only 124 alive.

SOLICITATIONS FOR RELIEF.—GARD. The land-holders are ruined, and can no longer cultivate their vineyards. An immense number of labourers are without bread, and reduced to desperation.—NORD. The whole country exhibits marks of warfare. The fields have been stripped, the proprietors plundered, their houses burnt;

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and yet the inexorable collectors of the revenue insists on receiving taxes from farms which have been wholly unproductive.

PRISONS.—Aveyron. None of the prisons are both wholesome and secure; most of them are neither the one nor the other. The dungeons of Ville Franche are so damp, that straw, placed there, rots immediately. No where are women separated from men, or the convicted from those who are simply detained.—Bouches du Rhone. The prisons of this department are in so unwholesome a state, that humanity is disgusted, and the public safety endangered. When the Rhone is high its waters filtre through the walls of the prison at Tarascon, and inundate its cells. No one comes out without a rheumatism for life. (We cannot do justice to the French expression—*il n'en sort que des ouvrages rhumatisés pour la vie.*)—Doubs. Contractors for supplying prisons, in order to indemnify themselves for bad bargains, reduce the quantity of clothing and food allowed to prisoners; who have never been so ill treated as they are at present.—Manche. The prison at Morrain has no roof: the court yard of this prison is a complete common-sewer. The same may be said of the prison at St. Lo. The prison at Mount St. Michel is a wonderful piece of art: but, in its present state, it threatens to crush two hundred prisoners. Its lead and gutters have been carried off. The prison at Avranches is a subterraneous dungeon in which living victims are immured.—Marne. The prison is in such a state, that the prisoners are threatened with instant death by its fall: they are, also, exposed to destruction from the mass of putrefaction which surrounds them.—Oise. A dungeon ten feet square, five feet high, and sunk seven feet below the level of the ground, constitutes the prison at Breteuil. The innocent, the accused, and the convicted, are all heaped together, in this tomb, without distinction of age or sex. During the year nine, it has altogether received 2278 prisoners. (Quere, if the little town of Breteuil, in one year, received 2278 persons into its prison, what number may we reasonably suppose, to have been immured during the same period in all the prisons of the Republic? We advise those Middlesex jacobinical orators, who can read, to peruse the whole of this chapter on prisons. It will furnish them with many embellishments for their next description of what they denominate an English Bastile.)

GREAT ROADS.—Loire *(inferieure)*. The great roads are in a wretched state. 7,000,000 livres (about £300,000) are required to repair them, or rather to make them anew.—Rhone. The roads in every direction, through France, are impassable.—Vosges. The roads are so entirely ruined, that the country people carry off the paving stones to build houses or to form enclosures. (The Prefect of the department of "the Var," in his statistical account, lately published, says, that the roads are a muddy abyss which sometimes swallows up carriages, horses, and drivers).

CROSS ROADS.—Maine and Loire. The roads are so execrable, that some *Communes*, for several months, have no intercourse with each other. Men and cattle are swallowed up.—Nord. The cross roads in this department are so bad that they may be fairly said not to exist.

CANALS.—Yonne. The canal of Burgundy has already cost sixteen millions (above £600,000) which will be all thrown away, if the completion of this canal is not speedily attended to.

PORTS.—Manche. The works at Cherbourg have been neglected; and are therefore in a state of ruin.

BRIDGES.—Bouches du Rhone. The bridges are in as bad a state as the roads.

NAVIGATION.—Seine *(inferieure)*. A navigation act (like that of England or Sweden) is much wanted.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—SCHOOLS.—Aisne. All the schools have been sold: few of the buildings remain. The children are left in a state of idleness and vagrancy; they have no ideas of a Supreme Being, and no notions of right or wrong. It is owing to this that our manners are harsh and barbarous, and that we are a ferocious people.—Forêts. Few persons in the country can sign their name.—Gironde. Our schools have too many holidays. The masters are obliged to shut their schools on the *Decades*; and parents will keep holy the days which the Christian religion appropriates to rest. So that, instead of correcting the abuses arising from too many holidays, we have increased them.—Lys. Most of the schoolmasters in the primary schools have obtained their situation by no other qualification than a readiness to take the oath which their predecessors had refused.—Marne and Loire. In all the little *Communes* there is no kind of school whatever.—Meuse *(inferieure)*. It is to be feared that in fifteen years not one person in a hundred will be able to write.—Pas de Calais. Children are left in the most profound ignorance, and the most alarming profligacy. Vandalism has destroyed almost every building appropriated to the purposes of education.

MUSEUMS.—Escaut. Nothing has afflicted the inhabitants of Belgium more sensibly than the loss of their pictures.

THEATRES.—Deux Sevres. Young persons are grown extremely fond of theatrical declamation. May this taste accord with patriotism, with good morals, and with virtue!

POPULATION.—Cantal. The population of this department is evidently reduced. In the year 3 (1795) it amounted to 244,016 persons: in the year 8 it was only 220,304.—Charente *(inferieure)*. Its population is decreased from 420,000 persons (the amount in 1790) to 399,000. The causes of this difference are war—the wretched state of hospitals, the abandonment of infants, the repeal of the law which allows fathers and mothers to inherit from their children, the facility of procuring divorces, and early marriages, which are entered into through dread of military requisition.—Gironde. It is said, that population is diminished considerably in all the *Communes* of this department, and that it is reduced one-tenth in Bourdeaux. The causes (which are common to all France) are a destructive war by sea and land, emigration, proscription, famine, corruption of morals, the ruin of manufactures and of commerce, the want of labourers, and excessive fatigue.

REMARKS ON GOVERNMENT.—Oise. The council observes with regret, that their labours and their efforts are useless. Their last session has produced no improvement. Their requests and their informations have not been attended to. They ascribe these evils to the war; and they hope that peace will enable government to attend to the internal concerns of the republic.

REGISTERS.—Arriége. Not only negligence, ignorance, and inattention to duty, but wilful

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mis-statements are found in the registers. To preserve friends from the military conscription and requisition some persons have made such entries in the registers, that it appears from them, that a woman, sixty years old, has married thirty-six conscripts, and that a mother six years old has been delivered of a son.—FINISTÈRE. Some *Communes* have no registers.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

"Music has charms to soothe the savage breast;"

How much greater, then, may we not expect its influence to be on the minds of a cultivated assembly of noblemen and gentlemen. As there seems to be a more than usual quantity of discord among our statesmen at present, I would advise the minister to try the effects of *harmony*. Instead of circular letters from the Treasury, how much better would it be, to send round a polite invitation to a Concert! The inclosed is a sketch of the selection which I think might form the First Act.—I am, Sir, your constant Reader,

G. Crotchet.

Concert of Music, Vocal and Instrumental, to be performed at the Great Room.

DEAD MARCH IN SAUL.

Glee for three Voices.

MR. ADDINGTON, LORD HAWKESBURY, and LORD CASTLEREAGH.

We are three poor Ministers,
Such as the CONSUL please;
From bluster to humility
We change about with ease.
Shall we again go round, around, around?
Shall we again go round?
If FOX will be our bully-boy,
With him we'll kiss the ground, the ground, the ground.
We care not for those martial men,
That our poor peace disdain;
But we care for those merchant men
That do our stocks maintain.
With them will we go round, around, around,
With them will we go round;
With them and FOX our bully-boy
Again we'll kiss the ground, the ground, the ground.

Bag-Pipe CONCERTO *by* GENERAL MAITLAND: *in which will be introduced the favourite tune of* "De'il take the Wars," *with variations.*

ANTHEM ON THE PEACE.

(As performed at Bisham Abbey)

MR. WILBERFORCE *and* MR. VANSITTART.

MR. WILBERFORCE.

The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed, and taken: and what wisdom is in them? Jer. viii. part of ver. 9.

The way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein. Isa. xxxv. 8.

MR. VANSITTART.

They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly. Saying, peace, peace, when there is no peace. Jer. viii. 11.

MR. WILBERFORCE.

Why do we sit still? assemble yourselves and let us enter into the defenced cities and let us be *silent* there. Jer. viii. 14.

MR. VANSITTART.

We looked for peace, and no good came: and for a time of health, and behold trouble. Jer. viii. 15.

SOLO *on the Irish Harp by* COL. ARCHDALL, *who will introduce* "Croppies lie down."

QUINTETTO *from the Padlock.*

Mr. FOX, Mr. ADDINGTON, Mr. HOBHOUSE, Mr. NICHOLL, and Mr. WILBERFORCE.

Mr. FOX.

O thou, whose peace enchants my heart,
Hear me my politics explain.

Mr. ADDINGTON.

I must not hear—no more impart—
Too small, alas! is my desert
An orator, like you, to gain.

Mr. FOX.

Then do I seek your love in vain?

Mr. ADDINGTON.

It is another's right;

Mr. FOX.

——————— and he,
Seceder! is preferr'd to me,
Who here the brunt sustain?

Mr. HOBHOUSE.

(From the Bench above the Treasury.)

Come over, Charles, I've been to try.

Mr. NICHOLL.

(From the Stranger's Gallery.)

And so have I.

BOTH.

The Cabinet is not too high:
If you please,
You'll mount with ease.

Mr. FOX to Mr. ADDINGTON.

Can you a nod, a smile deny!
Shall it be so?
If you say no,
I cannot go.

Mr. ADDINGTON.

I to say no, or yes, am loath.
But, should PITT his room require,
Will you promise to retire?

Mr. HOBHOUSE.

Oh! you shall hear him take his oath.

Mr. FOX.

By what BUONAPARTE told;
By his liveries, green and gold;
His Mamelukes that still attend;
His more than royal state and cargo.

Mr. WILBERFORCE.

Lord have mercy! how he swears!
He makes my hairs
All stand on end.

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Mr. HOBHOUSE.

Come, that's enough—once more, my friend!

ALL.

Let us join, while join we may,
While at Bath, Pitt keeps away.
Rats, when puss is absent, play:
PITT may come, if we delay.

Full Piece by the Treasury Band.

TO THE EDITOR.

MR. EDITOR,—I live in the country, and my time is chiefly spent in retirement and study: but I am a very attentive observer of every event in this important and critical period. Among the various productions of the present day your Register is the most popular, and I read it with pleasure and with instruction. The spirit of a real Briton animates every passage, the ardour of a loyal patriot for the welfare of his country glows in every sentiment, and the most profound knowledge of its political relations is conspicuous in every number of your publication. Is it then, Sir, extraordinary that it should be read with eagerness by every class of society? You alone, unawed by that dastard spirit of submission to a man, who is aiming to grasp the sceptre of the globe; that dastard spirit which, originating in the present timid ministry, and abetted, by those worthy Citizens Messrs. Fox and Burdett, enervates the courage, and depresses the vigour of this once glorious, but now falling, nation; you alone have stood in the gap of destruction, you have called upon us, you have warned us, you have painted in the most expressive colours the dreadful perils which surround us on every side; without, an implacable foe; and within, domestic and pernicious traitors; and your ideas are conveyed in a bold and free style, a masculine eloquence well suited to the conceptions of your fearless and sagacious mind. Sir, your fatal predictions from the moment of signing the preliminaries to this day were, alas! but too well grounded in truth: part of them have been literally fulfilled, and the rest are in a course of evident accomplishment. The prognostications of Mr. Burke on the progressive evils of the French revolution, then in its infancy, have been so exactly answered by subsequent facts, that posterity will be tempted to regard them as historical records collected long after the events. The same may be predicted of your own writings. If Porphyry, having industriously collated the testimonies of prophane historians, casual and undesigned, to the authenticity of Daniel's Prophecies, and found them uniformly harmonious, could explore no better means of relieving himself from the pressing difficulty than by a gratuitous affirmation that they were published after the transactions which, as he said, they affected to foretell; truly, Sir, so accurate have you and Mr. Burke been in your anticipations of what was to happen in this terrible convulsion of society, before it did actually happen, that we cannot reasonably censure another age if it look upon you both as no more than historians or annalists. But be that as it may: if an unexampled combination of moral depravity, inflicted by the righteous judgment of offended heaven upon a degenerate nation, had not deafened our ears against the most solemn proofs, appeals, and admonitions, you, Sir, would have roused again the antient energies of our valiant country, which the opiates of her present unskilful and dangerous physicians have now plunged in so deep unconscious a lethargy, as, I much fear, is a prelude to that leaden sleep of death from which she will awake no more. You would have stimulated her, while still flushed with health, to resist in time the ambition of the Corsican, which no compromise short of her destruction can satiate, and whose rooted enmity the grave only can extinguish.

> Et si fata Deûm, si mens non læva fuisset,
> Impulerit ferro Argolicas fœdare latebras.

I mean this letter as an *introduction*; and, if you deem it worthy of a place in your Register, I shall be happy to maintain an occasional correspondence. In that case my next will consist of cursory remarks on the tergiversations of that political weather-cock, that Vicar of Bray in all changes of men and measures—MR. HERIOT, as they are prominently exhibited in his two stupid and heavy prints, the Sun and True Briton: of short, but, I hope, striking observations on the nature of that extraordinary bargain which MR. FREELING, Secretary to the General Post-Office, attempted to drive with you; against whose proposal your upright mind, impelled by the noblest motive, to your eternal honour indignantly revolted: and in order last, but in consequences far more important and interesting, a copious examination of some very novel positions in the late speeches of Mr. Charles Fox, as they are given to the public in the Morning Post. The first person, if we consider him intrinsically as to his natural talents, or to his acquired knowledge, is of a character so neutralized, or, to speak with more logical

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precision, so completely insignificant, as to be intitled to no more notice than any individual selected from the promiscuous multitude. But because newspapers are either useful or mischievous in proportion as they are, or are not, conducted upon the basis of genuine patriotism, and he is the proprietor of two (mere transcripts indeed from each other; but no matter, it does well enough for his purpose) admirably singular for their flexible accommodation to the ministerial powers that be

"O'er bog, o'er steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare."

I will bring him forward on the scene just for a moment, and then, dismissing all memory of his name for ever, wish him a safe and speedy voyage to the gulph of that oblivion which is the proper termination of his political services. The second person is distinguished for his elevation, from an inferior department of the post-office on the western road, to a high station, and to great opulence: but I am not therefore convinced that he should have the privilege of limiting or extending *ad libitum* the periodical publications of the British press. This, forsooth, would be a marvellous conclusion! Of his public services, which he urged to you, I know nothing; and the world, I believe, knows just as much. The last personage is of more majestic port; a veteran in parliamentary evolutions and convolutions; a constant opposer of every measure, right or wrong, which during the last thirty years has emanated from government; the most ardent and indefatigable pupil in the school of Locke; a loud preacher of original compacts, and of resistance, not as a question of morality, but of prudence; a proclaimer of liberty to the whole earth in his speeches to the Senate, to the charmed populace in Palace-yard, and in the midst of copious libations at the merry meetings of the Whig Club.—But, O the wonder-working man! he has suddenly changed his tone; and, having for more than ten long years denounced vengeance and extermination to all tyrants and arbitrary Potentates, Kings, Czars, Emperors, Grand Signiors, Great Moguls, Beys, and Tartarian Khans, he now trumpets forth in the astonished ears of his country the virtues of her deadliest enemy; the praises of the fiercest despot that ever shook a rod of iron over the human race; and, good man! he strenuously advises Britons—or rather those who, alas for the deed and for the cause! were once Britons—not to think of checking his ravage by war: O by no means! that would be very unkind and very ungrateful, that would create a schism in the "*western family*:" but to submit like dutiful and affectionate children to their protecting parent. Nay, he deprecates, might and main, the least symptom of rudeness and incivility from our insulted press to the gentle, to the moderate, to the dove-like Buonaparté, who has no other object in view but *the rivality of trade and commerce between France and England*. Well said! indeed, indeed, I give worthy Mr. Fox great credit for this most curious, most ingenious, and most miraculous discovery. Who now talks of war? Away with that odious and terrific vocabulary. After so consoling a piece of intelligence, the fears of the meek Addington will subside; each perturbed spirit will be at rest, and we shall all sleep in secure repose upon our pillows. I am, Sir, your, &c. &c. CARACTACUS.

Nov. 29, 1802.

TO THE HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

SIR,—It is, I assure you, with great reluctance that I take up the pen for the purpose of addressing, in this public manner, another letter to you: not because I feel any of those lingerings of respect, which still appear to restrain the indignation of some of my contemporaries, nor because I entertain the least dread of your vengeance; for, of the manifold sins, of which I have to repent, that of having, either in thought, word, or deed, ever been the adherent of Charles Fox, is certainly not amongst the number; and, there is not, that I know of, in the whole creation, a human being of whom I should be more ashamed to be afraid. My repugnance arises from an apprehension, that the subject is beneath the attention of my readers: it is, therefore, necessary for me explicitly to state, that, if I have thus a second time broken through the silence of disdain, the effort is to be entirely ascribed to the consequence which you derive from the countenance and friendship of the Consul of France.

That you should, on all proper occasions, evince your gratitude towards the person, who has honoured you with that countenance and that friendship, and whose powerful influence may have in store for you honours still greater, is perfectly natural; and, in particular cases, especially where the precious life of your friend may be exposed to danger, I can readily excuse that exaggeration, to which the vehemence of passion is apt to give rise. But, Sir, give me leave to say, that your anxiety for the

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safety of Buonaparté led you, during a recent debate, totally to misrepresent a passage, to which you alluded, in the Political Register, which passage was written by me. You observed, that the London newspapers had published what redounded to their shame, particularly one of them, which had said, that "Great-Britain ought to "fight him" [meaning Buonaparté] "with "fleets and armies, and that Frenchmen "ought *to fight him with something more than a* "*pen*;" and this language you represented *as tending directly to instigate the* ASSASSINATION *of the person at the head of the government of France*. It is true, indeed, that you were instantly contradicted by acclamation; but you renewed the charge, and persisted in hinting, that the passage was matter for the animadversion of the Attorney General.

Passing over, for a moment, your misquoting of the passage in question, I shall allow, for argument's sake, that it contained the very words you gave it, and I defy you to prove that those words tend directly, or, indeed, at all, to instigate *assassination*. "*Frenchmen* ought to *fight* him "with *something more than a pen*." Is it not fair to presume, that the Frenchmen here spoken of were the Royalists, including the Royal Family, of France; those whom Mr. Burke called *the French nation out of France*? And would any one but the friend of O'Connor style this numerous and respectable body of men *assassins*? Besides, what is it said, that they ought to do? To *assassinate* Buonaparté? No, no; but to "*fight* him with something more than a "pen." That is, perhaps, with swords, muskets, and cannons, instruments with which men are not said to *assassinate*. In short, it must be obvious to every man endued with the common powers of comprehension, that the words, as recited by you, have no such meaning as that which you endeavoured to affix to them.

But, besides this glaring and shameful misconstruction, you thought proper to make a misquotation also. The passage, to which you evidently alluded, was very different indeed, from the words on which you chose to comment. The subject was the threatened prosecution of M. Peltier: the words as follows: "If M. Peltier re"frains from future attacks on Buonaparté, "nothing, we hope, will be done; and, if "our advice be of any weight with him, "it is *that he should so refrain*. After ten "years of labour, in the cause of mo"narchy, against the infernal Republicans, "it would be very hard to be thrown into "Newgate for the rest of his life. Besides "we doubt of the policy of attacking "Buonaparté for his present acts *in* France. "We think it somewhat inconsistent that "M. Peltier should at all unite with the "Republican Journalists of London, the "principal ground of whose hatred to "Buonaparté, is, that he has blasted, for "ever and ever, the hopes of themselves "and their rebellious supporters. As "ENGLISHMEN, we would resist, we "would attack Buonaparté, *with fleets and* "*with armies*; and, were we FRENCHMEN, "*we would not attack him with a pen*." (Register, p. 284)—Is this "*directly* instigating to *assassination*?" Will it bear any such construction? Does it not, when taken altogether, rather tend to dissuade from assassination? I must confess, that, when I wrote it, assassination never came into my mind: I did not think of it: I was blaming M. Peltier for joining with *your old friends* in abusing Buonaparté for having destroyed the hopes of the Republicans: and in the concluding sentence, I had evidently nothing more in view than to say, that, neither the British Nation nor the Royalists of France *had any thing to hope from a war of words*. I appeal to every man of sense and sincerity, whether this be not the obvious meaning of a passage, which you have construed into a *direct* instigation to *assassinate* the person at the head of the government of France. As you are fond of a dilemma take this: either you had not read the Register, p. 284, or you had. In the one case you were guilty of making a violent and calumnious assertion, without having troubled yourself about the fact; in the other, of having wilfully mistated my words, for what purpose is evident enough.

As to my *sentiments* respecting the "hor"rid deed," the very idea of which has caused such emotion in your tender bosom, be assured, Sir, that, as I would not give the price of the sheet of paper, on which I am now writing, to *preserve* the life of your friend, so would I by no means advise the *destroying* of that life. Another friend of yours, who conducts the Paris ANOUS, has also accused me of instigating the assassination of Buonaparté, a charge which is absolutely false. Whenever I have spoken on the subject (as I recollect I did at the time of the "*infernal machine*,") I have unequivocally declared, that, whether in time of peace or war, such a deed, on the part *of an Englishman*, whether by his own hand *or the hand of another*, would be *infamous*. With respect to the same deed, on the part of a

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French Royalist, who had never owned allegiance to the present government of France, and who should act in behalf of himself, his fellow subjects, and his native lawful sovereign, I have never given an opinion. It will be time enough for me to turn casuist, when I see some execrable black-hearted traitor attempting to *cashier* my own sovereign, and to plunge my country into slavery, misery, and blood. No, no, Sir, it is not men of my stamp that would assassinate your friend, or that would even wish to hear of his being so disposed of. Our sentiments on this subject were thus expressed a very few weeks ago: "Buonaparté has returned to Paris, safe and sound, in spite "of the prayers and predictions of the timid "herd, who were in hopes of losing their "fears in his loss of life. There are none "but the basest of cowards, who look to "the death of this man as a deliverance "from danger. Yet, disgraceful as is the "fact, the hopes of no small portion of the "advocates of peace have no better, no "more honourable foundation. Those who, "like ourselves, were opposed to a disgraceful peace with Buonaparté, do not, nor "ever did, entertain any such foolish hope; "we know that if he were dead to-morrow, "another, perhaps even more dangerous, "would arise to fill his place: we are for "the employment of no base means of of"fence or of defence, but are for a fair and "honourable contest between the two na"tions, in which, with God's good help, "we should hope to come off victorious, "and to rescue our country from impend"ing ruin and slavery." (Register, p. 666). These are our sentiments, Sir. It is your bawlers for *peace and plenty on any terms*; your philanthropic haters of *all war*; your men who would "rather be *kicked a little* than *fight much*;" these are the men (if, indeed, they are worthy of the name), who would gladly contribute half-a-crown a piece to purchase the death of the Consul; not because he is the enemy of their sovereign and of the glory and independence of their country, but because his restless and ambitious mind may conceive such projects as will deprive them of their wealth, or compel them to defend it. The very same motives of selfishness and cowardice, which led them to embrace Buonaparté, would also lead them, if they could do it with the certitude of impunity, to slip a dagger in his side. That *cowards are always cruel* is a maxim, which has been most amply verified by the statements, the predictions, and the wishes of those English prints which have been loudest in the defence of the peace. How often have they encouraged their readers to believe, that the Consul's life was in jeopardy! How many stories have they hatched about plots and conspiracies! With what delight have they counted over and over again the thousands of French troops, slain in St. Domingo! What monstrously exaggerated pictures have they drawn of the ravages of the yellow fever! Horrible enough, God knows, it is; but they have made it ten times more horrible, while they have most hypocritically affected to pity "the poor sufferers!" Is any thing of this sort, any thing savouring of cowardly malice and cruelty, to be found in the Political Register? Is there any sentiment, which would authorize a belief, that the writer would be content to owe the safety of himself or his country to the hand of an assassin or the ravages of disease? If there be such a sentiment, from the first page I ever wrote in my life to that which is now under my hand, I will suffer that hand to be burnt from my body. No, Sir; one of my objections to the peace of Amiens, one of my reasons for beholding that measure with detestation, is, that it has reduced this once brave and honourable people, a people famed for the frankness of their professions and the fairness of their combats, to affect friendship for those whom they hate, and to hope for security from the lowest and foulest of means.

While, however, I thus show the groundlessness of your charge against me, and those who think like me with respect to Buonaparté, I cannot help congratulating that favourite of fortune in having found in you so affectionate, so zealous, and so vigilant a friend. During your visit to "the capital "of the world," I have frequently heard it asserted, that you were become the most listless and most torpid of mortals; nay, some persons went so far as to doubt, whether you were not asleep at the time you crossed the channel, and whether you would, at your return, recollect that you had been in France! Nor was this opinion altogether contradicted by your conduct. You had just informed the patriots of Westminster, that, if they re elected you, you did not know that your attendance in parliament *would be more constant than it had been*. You saw no *probability of doing any good there*. Thanks to the air of France, thanks to the animating friendship of the First Consul, which have rouzed you into life, activity, vigour, and watchfulness!

It is impossible to observe your anxiety for the personal safety of Buonaparté, and to

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hear your animadversions on whatever you choose to regard as tending to excite hatred and violence against him; it is absolutely impossible to see and hear this, without adverting to your conduct with respect to the murder of the lawful King of France, and also with respect to those repeated attempts which have been made to destroy the throne and the life of your own Sovereign. Did you ever express your detestation of the men who murdered Louis the XVIth.? Is there one of the French regicides, who has to complain of your censure? I do not say, that you ever have, in so many words, commended them for murdering the prince to whom they owed, and to whom they had formally sworn, allegiance; but this I do say, that almost all the rebels and regicides of France have, at different times, been, even individually, the objects of your praise and admiration. And where, I pray you, Sir, shall I look for a proof of your dislike to the rebels, the traitors, the regicides, and the would-be regicides of England and Ireland? Shall I find it in your loathsome calumnies on the House of Stuart, in your miserable attempt to defend the characters of Russel and Sidney, in your testimony at Maidstone, or, in your silence at the time of the mutiny in the fleet? Where, where, Sir, shall I find, in all the cumbrous volumes of harangues, which you have uttered, during the last ten years of treasons and conspiracies against the throne and the life of your sovereign, where, pray tell me where, I shall find one single sentence or phrase, expressive of your abhorrence of those diabolical machinations? Will you refer me to your speech at the Shakespeare Tavern, on the 10th of October, 1801?—"The peace is glorious to France "and to the FIRST CONSUL, and *I rejoice at "it.* We have *not* gained the object of the "war, and I like the peace *so much the "better.*"—"France has set AN EXAM-"PLE, *which will be highly useful to all the "nations of the earth, and, above all,* to "GREAT BRITAIN."—"I fear, that, "from the nature of the contest, in which "you have been engaged, you may have "contracted principles of admiration for "unlimited monarchy, but the peace, *fol-"lowed up by a good understanding between "the two countries,* will do them away. I "hope we shall *return to the temper* which "we were in when we CASHIERED *one "king, and elected another.*"—And is it you, Sir, you, who could utter these words to a senseless, a heated, and a soured rabble; is it you, who are now so alive to every expression and word, that may, even by *possibility,* tend to excite hatred and violence against the most implacable and most formidable enemy of your country? The difference in your sentiments and feelings on these different occasions is so strongly marked, and the conclusion to be drawn therefrom is so evident, that any attempt at a further exposition of your *motives* would be totally superfluous.

It was my intention to have concluded this letter with some remarks on the furious assault, which you have recently made on the London news-papers, in which, though you did, indeed, only repeat, almost word for word, the charges before preferred by Buonaparté's official Journal, you have, at once, not only given up, but flatly contradicted, all your former opinions and declarations respecting that "precious gem of the British "Constitution," that "palladium of free-"men," that "birth-right of Britons," called the *liberty of the press,* which an honest Chinese, after hearing a translation of one of your famous harangues on the subject, once took to be *the meat, drink and clothing of the inhabitants of this kingdom!* It was my intention to have made a comparison between your former and your present notions; to have traced you down to the last Shakespeare dinner, and to have shewn how sudden and surprising your conversion has been; but, want of room compels me to defer this subject until another opportunity; which I do with the less regret, as I leave you in the more able hands of a writer in the Morning Post, whence, I trust, you will not escape, until you have been exhibited in your true and proper colours to every man, woman, and child in the kingdom.—I am, &c. &c.

London, Nov. 30, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The public are curious to know, why the anniversary of your election *has not been celebrated this year*; and also, why the rump of the Whig Club *has discontinued its meetings.*—As to the *Stuart manuscripts,* too, which it was pretended you went to Paris to consult; it is still averred, that the far greater part of those manuscripts were destroyed long ago, and that what remains of them is at *Edinburgh* instead of Paris.—You are very much mistaken, Sir, if you think, that *silence,* on your part, will operate in your favour.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, November 26.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Speaker stated, that His Majesty had been waited on with the

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Address, and had been pleased to return a most gracious answer. Petitions complaining of undue elections, were presented from Nottingham, Bridgewater, Inverness, Liskeard, Waterford, Drogheda, and Hereford county. The order of the day being read, for taking into consideration that part of his Majesty's speech relative to the supply, the House resolved itself into a committee of supply, *Mr. Alexander* in the chair. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, that a supply be granted to his Majesty, which was agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday. — *Admiral Berkley* wished to know whether any arrangement had taken place with Spain since the peace, relative to the cutting of logwood and dye-woods, in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras? *Mr. Addington* replied, that no arrangement had taken place with Spain on the subject.—*Mr. Burdon* brought up the bill for suspending the operation of the 15th and 17th Geo. III. prohibiting the circulation of Promissory Notes under a certain value. Bill read, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

Monday, November 29.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petitions complaining of undue elections, were presented from Ilchester, East-Grinstead, Glasgow, Oakhampton, Harwich, and Berwick-upon-Tweed. —Petitions were presented from the Malsters and Brewers of Bristol; Coventry, Plymouth, and Leominster, praying the repeal of the Act regulating the Process of Malting.—The report of the committee of supply was brought up, read, and agreed to.—Estimates of the ordinary expense of the navy; of the charges necessary for building, &c. ships of war; of the guards, garrisons, and other land forces; and also of the ordnance-office, for the year 1803 were ordered to be laid before the House.—*Mr. Vansittart* brought up an account of the amount of Exchequer bills outstanding, and unprovided for.—A clerk from the Customs presented an account of the bounties paid on corn and rice.—An account was also presented of the receipts, disbursements, and progress of the London Dock-Company.—The Country Bank Note Bill was read a second time.—A petition was presented from the Chymists and Druggists, praying the repeal of the Medicine Act of last session.—A committee for considering such laws as are about to expire was appointed.—The time for receiving private petitions was limited to the 14th of February.

Tuesday, November 30.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. — *Admiral Berkeley* presented a petition from the prisoners in the gaol of Gloucester. Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from Liskeard, Taunton, Bolton, Malmesbury, and Stirlingshire.—*Mr. Alexander* brought up the report on the Expiring Laws.—*Mr. Vansittart* moved for an account of the amount of Exchequer Bills issued under an Act of the 42d Geo. III. outstanding and unprovided for. — *Mr. Praed* brought up the report of the committee on the Petition of the Subscribers to the Grand Junction Canal.—*Mr. Addington* informed the House that the number of seamen at present employed in the public service was 50,000.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Proclamation to the Helvetic People, from the Government of Helvetia.

CITIZENS OF HELVETIA.—In announcing to you, four month ago, that the French troops were about to quit our soil, the Council of Execution at the same time declared to you, that a constant obedience to the laws, a spirit of confidence and peace, the union of all wishes for the maintenance of the established order of things, could alone protect your independence; while the contrary dispositions, disobedience, tumult, and dissensions, would infallibly bring back a foreign army.—You have not attended to our words, Citizens of Helvetia! Ambitious men have induced you to embrace the cause of their interests and their passions; and while one party amongst you roused itself at their calling to overturn the constitutional and national government, the other party became, by its silence, an accomplice in the civil war.—What is the result? A few weeks have scarcely passed, when the French troops, ten times more numerous than they were last spring before their departure, penetrate into your Cantons; they take from you the arms which you have turned against your government, and thus declare to all Europe that you are at once incapable of remaining at peace, and unworthy to protect yourselves.—Tell us then, Citizens of Helvetia, to whom you owe the return of these troops? Is it to the Senate and to the Council of Execution, whose fault was, on the contrary, to consent too soon to their departure, and whose whole study latterly tended to prevent, by a frank and loyal acceptance of the mediation of the Chief Consul, the evils which we had to fear from his indignation? Or is it to the Insurrectional Authorities, to the assembly which dignified itself with the name of the Confederate Diet of Schwitz? To that Assembly which, rejecting the conditions of the proposed mediation, promising to dissolve itself, and notwithstanding continuing its intrigues, announcing peace, and keeping the soldiers under arms, wishing that a foreign force might enter the country, that they might have it in their power to say, "we yielded only to force!" Miserable vanity, which gratifies itself at the expense of a whole nation! Wretched ebullition of pride, calculated to precipitate the country into complete ruin, and which it would have done, if the generosity of the Chief Consul had not equalled his power, notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies, and of yours, he had not still persisted to wish your welfare.—However, Citizens of Helvetia! the Council of Execution is informed of it; the members of that seditious assembly, and the committees which it had established in the Cantons, not content with having consecrated, in formal protestations, their foolish pretensions, still seek to mislead the people respecting their real situation, to spread false hopes of foreign succour, to frighten them by menaces, and to belie the intentions in which the Helvetic Go-

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vernment addressed itself to the Chief Consul, to invite him to make himself the supreme arbiter of our differences.—But we will answer these men, that they likewise have invoked that mediation. The letters of the chiefs of the Little Cantons to the Chief Consul, and to the ministers of France; the plans of constitution on which they openly called for their good offices; the sending deputies to Paris, are so many proofs of the desire which they had of interesting the French government in their cause. It was only when the First Consul had previously demanded and exacted the cessation of a war which armed citizens against citizens, and brothers against brothers, that they rejected the mediation solicited by themselves, and which they then artfully turned for the purpose of increasing the number of their partizans.—We will tell them again, that if we have called for the mediation of the First Consul, it is because, of all the powers called by their position, to take an interest in the destinies of Helvetia, France is the only one which has recognised our independence, consecrated, by its means, in a solemn treaty: the only one which can exercise over us an influence of protection and support. The history of Switzerland for five centuries, our revolution, and the years which have succeeded it, sufficiently prove how much it is our interest to follow the political system of France. It is this truth which, engraved on the hearts of our ancestors, protected the cradle of the Confederation, and we, Citizens of the Helvetic Republic, have a thousand times more reason still to be convinced of it.—Lastly, we will say no longer to these men, for they will not understand us, but to the Nation itself, that the Equality of Rights amongst the Cantons, the abolition of Hereditary Privileges, the Liberty of the Citizens, being a deposit placed in our hands to be preserved at any price, it was not permitted to us to waver respecting calling for the mediation of the only government which can preserve to us these principles.—Thus, our conduct in this respect has been only the necessary consequence of the national will, expressed in favour of these same principles at the time of the acceptance of the constitution.—Such is the answer which the Council of Execution owes to that part of the accusations of its enemies.—With regard to the other accusations by which it is attempted to raise against them a factious hate, they despise them, well knowing that they cannot cite a single family of which it has caused the ruin, or a single person in whom the rights of a citizen have been violated. It is, on the contrary, for having been too indulgent, too confident in the justice of its fellow-citizens, too little severe, in short, that it has experienced misfortunes. The insurrectional Authorities ordered in four weeks ten times more arrests, odious inquests, and measures of rigour of every kind, than it had ordered during the whole course of its existence.—Citizens of Helvetia! you will be required to furnish extraordinary contributions for the support of the troops which your insurrection have caused to enter your country. Submit yourselves to a necessity which you cannot tax with injustice; open your hearts to dispositions of fraternity and social order; it is the only means of abridging the period of your misfortunes. Shew yourselves, in short, worthy to be called a Nation, and you will become one.—Bonaparte only desires to have still the power of interesting himself in your destinies.—For us, Citizens, thanks to the care of this generous Mediator, our task will soon be finished. Returned into the class of private individuals with those who have so cruelly calumniated our conduct, we shall be always ready to answer their imputations. Henceforth there is no sacrifice to which we are not resigned, if it can only be profitable to our country. *Done at Berne, Nov. 3, 1802.*

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Vienna, Nov. 3.—The Emperor returned from Presburgh the day before yesterday.—The Spanish ambassador, Prince Castel Franco, had yesterday his first audience.—The French ambassador yesterday gave a splendid ball, at which the archdukes, the Grand Duke Constantine, and above 800 persons, were present.—*Nov.* 12. His royal highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany wrote to the First Consul, to announce to him the death of the archduchess his wife, and at the same time to remind him of his royal highness's present situation. The First Consul, in his answer, expressed much concern for the loss the prince had sustained.—Our court is at present occupied in procuring for the Archduchess Amelia, who will soon leave her residence at Parma, an income suitable to her rank.—The French minister has notified to our Government the *annexation* of Parma, Placentia and Guaitalla to France.

Barcelona, Nov. 6.—A Portuguese squadron of four sail of the line arrived lately at Carthagena, to purchase provisions; they afterwards sailed against the Barbary powers.—We have but slight hope that our disputes with the Algerines will be settled without considerable sacrifices on our part.—The English minister, Mr. Frere, is daily expected at Madrid.

Manheim, Nov. 17.—A dispute has arisen between the courts of Munich and Carisruhe, respecting the museum, gallery, library, &c. belonging to this city. The Elector of Bavaria has sent Count Rumford and M. de Hacfelin here, for the purpose of removing to Munich all the objects of arts and sciences which could be considered as public property. A representation having been made to our new sovereign, the Margrave of Baden, he gave orders to fix seals upon the doors of the museum, &c. Count Rumford has sent to Munich for further orders.

Switzerland, Lucerne, Nov. 8.—M. M. Aloys Reding and Aufder-Maur arrived here, escorted by fifty French hussars, and one hundred infantry. While they were here, no one was allowed to converse with them. They are gone to the fortress of Arbourg. They likewise speak of the arrest of M. M. Zellwegen, of Troguen; Peister, of Schaffhausen; Merian, of Basle; and Reding, of Baden, ex-senators. These are to be conducted to the castle of Chillon, in Geneva.—*Basle, Nov.* 13. The French commandant of this city has received orders to arrest M. Merian, deputy of the canton to the last diet of Schwitz; but the order has not been executed, in consequence of his flight. A detachment of thirty men has been lodged in his house, and will remain there till

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he re-appears.—*Berne, Nov.* 20, On the 15th instant, dispatches arrived at Berne from Paris, and on the same day General Ney had a long conference with the executive council. On the next day, the general left Berne. It is not known whither he is gone. The municipality of Berne have appointed M. de Mulinen to represent them at the consulta of Paris, and he has accepted the appointment. This is the same person whom the provisional government sent to Paris six weeks ago. He went to General Ney, and solicited the release of Reding and others; but all that he could obtain was a permission for M. Thorman, formerly secretary of state, to see Aloys Reding, at Arbourg. Hartmann, of Thurstetten, the former sub-prefect of the districts of Wangen and Lanzenthal, has been taken up. He is accused of having attempted to foment a new insurrection in the country parts. It is said also, that some Bernese, who went lately into the Pays de Vaud, have been arrested. The Ex-Landamman of Underwald, Warsch, has been removed to the prison of Lucerne, and thrown into a dungeon. But as soon as M. Basingen, curate of Stantz, and who had been dispossessed of his cure during the time of the insurrection, by the influence of the Landamman, was informed of the circumstances, he went to Lucerne, and interceded so strongly in his favour, that the Landamman obtained permission for him to be confined in an inn of the town. The Ex-Landamman of Appenzel has been sent to the citadel of Arbourg. The canton of Zurich has appointed the Ex-Director Laharpe as its deputy at Paris. He is thus the representative of three cantons, Zurich, Zug, and Berne. On the 6th, several persons had assembled in order to appoint a deputy to the consulta, and to draw up a memorial to Buonaparté, of whom they proposed to solicit a popular government. This measure appeared to be illegal in the eyes of the constituted authorities, and the peasants were sent back to their respective houses. More troops have been sent into the eastern cantons. Arrests multiply, and the number of patriots who have been arrested is very great indeed. Disconsolation in Switzerland is general and deep.

Stutgard, Nov. 18. (*very important article*).—One of the most important considerations which at present appears to occupy the attention *of the several continental powers*, is, *the restraining the political influence of the English in Europe, and other parts of the world, within the limits of the British dominions.*—Since there exists no other formidable power to whom commerce is necessary, and since the productions of their native soils are inadequate to the supply of civilized nations, among whom industry and art require new materials, and luxury fresh sources of enjoyment, England has become, in some degree, a central power in the new world, of which the ancients seemed to entertain a very weak idea: she finds in our tastes, our necessities, our commercial relations, our habitudes, and our speculations, a powerful lever, of which she well knows how to avail herself in moving the different political bodies, which have been formed since the revolution effected in the minds of men about two centuries since: those consist of nations to whom nature has afforded opportunities of self-aggrandizement, to make advances, and, in fact, to establish themselves with advantage in the new empires, of which civilized men have achieved the conquest. In order to exercise her power *in Europe*, England has never moved from the center of this part of the political world.—It is, however, *in both the Indies*, in all the seas, and in various colonies, that she has established the principle of this power, which never will cease, in a manner, to be continental, as long as the continent itself continues the colonial system, or *as long as England continues so important a part of the colonial dependencies*, which are, in some degree, an integral part of Europe.—Do we not see that *this uniformly ambitious nation* has secured her power, in consequence of her always extending it, and becoming, in a certain point of view, more and more European, by her aggrandizement, and consolidating her power in Asia, America, and on the coast of Africa?—The possession alone of the city and fortress of Alexandria, is more interesting to it than the possession of a rich province. *The retention for some weeks, and the enjoyment of the post of Malta*, is but a part of a system, which leads her to regard, as an important acquisition, every naval station, which can, in any degree, enhance her maritime strength.—*England is too powerful in India, for any part of Europe to escape her influence.* France alone is capable of *counteracting* this preponderance—the question regards that of a power, founded principally on the possession of riches; and though France be happily situated by nature, for contesting, one day, that power which she has so often contested with advantage, it cannot be denied that the misfortunes of the latter times have not retarded the epocha which ought to re-animate the industry and exertions of a powerful nation. The consciousness of its greatness, the necessity of its forming new establishments, and the incitements of a species of glory which alone appears to be a stranger to the French nation, that when delivered up to intestine commotions and continental wars, she has been able to employ her naval strength only to fight and to attack, and not to aggrandize and enrich herself in another hemisphere.—The French power in both the Indies, has, at all times, been less burthensome than that of England. This antient reputation must necessarily be favourable to French commerce, when once established in those countries. We already learn from Asia, that the aggrandizement of the English, and the manner in which they gained possession of the wealth and dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, have excited general resentment in that quarter. *The colonial power of the English is arrived at its acme, and in future it will certainly decline. This consideration promises a gleam of hope to the maritime powers of the Continent, by the prospect of being enabled to aggrandize their fortune, and*

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by a wise and happy administration of their resources, to open to themselves new sources of wealth and prosperity.

France.—Paris, Nov. 20.—On the 16th, the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, demanded an audience of the minister for foreign affairs, by whom he was received with the greatest consideration.—*Nov.* 26. An arrêté, passed by the Consuls on the 19th inst. relative to the island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, contains the following articles:—Art. I. All local lists of emigrants formed in the colonies are suppressed, and to be regarded as of no effect. They cannot be urged in bar of the claims of proprietors to be put in possession of their effects.—II The emigrants only from the European territory of the republic, are to be considered as such in the colonies when they are unable to produce vouchers of their names having been erased, or their having been included in an act of amnesty, conformably to the laws, arrêtés, and senatus-consulta, passed upon this subject. III. In consequence of these dispositions, none of the proprietors of colonial estates, who have resided on the European territory of the republic since the month of May, 1792, can be put in possession of those estates by the prefects, or other administrators in chief of the colonies, until they have produced the requisite proofs, according to the forms hitherto in use, relative to their residence, their non-emigration, or erasure, or that they have been admitted to enjoy the benefit of the amnesty, pronounced by the senatus-consultum of the 26th of April last.—*Nov.* 27. A Neapolitan frigate has arrived at Toulon, with several valuable antiques, which his Sicilian majesty had sent as a present to the First Consul.—The Count Stahremberg, minister extraordinary from his Imperial to his Britannic Majesty, passed, on the 22d of this month, through Nancy to Paris, where he will remain a short time before he sets out for London.—By a decree of the Chief Consul, the table allowance for officers in the navy serving in America, Asia, or Africa, is to be doubled upon their arrival in any of the colonies.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The final settlement of the affairs of Germany (that is to say, till France chooses to make another change in them) seems to be near at hand; and, it is probable, that the world will shortly be put in possession of an authentic account of the new distribution of the power, rank, and territory of the Empire, through the columns of the Moniteur.—It was, by some of the newspapers of last week, stated, that the Duke of Tuscany was to receive part, at least, of the dominions of Parma, the whole of which, as we observed before, belonged eventually and of right to the House of Austria; but, we find (see p. 724), that the French Ambassador at Vienna has announced to his Imperial Majesty, that the Duchy of Parma and its dependencies are *united to the Republic of France*; and we are not informed, that the Emperor has said a single word in reply.

In the mean time, the Elector of Bavaria seems to be new-modeling his government and dominions upon the French plan; and, we should not be at all surprized, if the Prince of Baden, whom the honest Talleyrand has surnamed "*the good*," were to follow the example of his neighbour. In fact, the whole of the Empire of Germany is, either directly or indirectly, under the influence, and, indeed, under the command of France. Had *we* kept the colonies and the sea, the powers of the Continent would have retained some degree of hope; but, seeing us basely yield the only remaining counterpoise to the monstrous power of the common enemy of all independent nations, they hastened to save themselves from the effects of her vengeance, by an early and implicit submission to her will.

Our foreign intelligence furnishes nothing, respecting Switzerland, but the mere continuation of that series of events, which began with the proclamation of Buonaparté (see p. 423), and which is no more than a dull repetition of what we have seen acted over and over again, in all the countries which France has subjugated. Troops have been marched into the country, in order to maintain its liberty; and, extraordinary contributions have been raised (see p 722) in order to maintain the troops. The people of the country have been disarmed; those of known hostility to France have been arrested and imprisoned, and will, doubtless, never more be suffered to deprive their country of those "*blessings of peace*," which Buonaparté has in store for it. While those patriots are (totally unpitied by the universal patriot Fox) passing their time in the same dungeon, perhaps, which holds the unfortunate Citizen Toussaint, their more pliant countrymen, who, like our "*prudent* ministers," have the happiness to please the Chief Consul, are, in obedience to his proclamation, assembling, at Paris, for the purpose of forming a new constitution for their country. The persons thus collected together are to be called a *Consulta*; and, though they will not, probably, come to a determination in terms exactly similar to those of the Consulta of Lyons, we venture to predict, that, in substance and effect, there will be but very little difference in the two. Devoted as the Swiss Deputies, composing this Consulta, may well be supposed

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to be to the will of Buonaparté, it has not been thought adviseable to trust the business entirely to them; and, accordingly, we find, that the Ex-Director Laharpe has been chosen *to represent no less than three of the Cantons*; a precaution, however, which would seem entirely unnecessary, since it appears, that Citizen Hautrive (a clerk in the honest Talleyrand's office), has had the goodness to undertake the drafting of the constitutional act!—Nay, reader, mock not the poor Swiss! Gibes, on such a subject, but ill become Englishmen of the present day; very ill indeed they become these, who, for the sake of "peace and a large loaf," have basely surrendered the honours handed down to them from their forefathers, and who are now patiently waiting to receive the yoke, which already encircles the necks of the descendants of William Tell. Mock not the mountaineers of Switzerland: they had not the means of resistance; we have money, navies, and armies. Mock them not, nor their *Consulta*; for, be you well assured, that, unless a great and speedy change takes place in the policy and the conduct of this government, there will be a *British* Consulta at Paris, before this day two years. "Oh! it is impossible," say the listless, selfish, cowardly, canting tribes; "it is IMPOSSIBLE *that the French should come here!*" —So said the people of Berne, and so they continued to say, not only till the French troops entered Switzerland, but to the very morning of the day that they entered their own city!—We cannot dismiss this subject, without adverting to a passage in the Ministers' official paper of the 29th instant. It contains their answer to the remarks in page 701 of our last sheet.—"A very strong "public feeling, on the subject of Switzer- "land, has evidently been mistaken by "some for a wish *to renew the war*; which "has, however, been completely disproved "by the recent proceedings in Parliament. "Possibly *our own sentiments*, on this sub- "ject, may have been *too strongly expressed*. "If we have been in *an error*, we shall "find abundant allowance for it, in the "breast of every generous cotempo "rary!"—As coming from the worm, who is the owner and the ostensible conductor of this paper, passages like this are, of course, unworthy of notice; but, as coming from the ministers themselves, or from their immediate confidential agents, they are not only worthy of notice, but are to be regarded as documents little short of official declarations. The above miserable apology, then, is all that this injured, this insulted, and disgraced country, is to receive by way of answer to the *remonstrance* which was presented in behalf of the Swiss, and which Buonaparté treated with that contempt, with which every thing emanating from the present ministry will be treated. This apology is, too, to compensate for the rebuff which we have met with at Vienna. The Emperor thought, doubtless, that, as we were "*too honest*" to have continental connections, it was pity to endanger the morality of so innocent and modest a people; or, which is, indeed, much more likely, he thought it the height of inconsistency in us to interfere for the *independence* of a people, whose *dependence* we had tacitly sanctioned by the treaty of Amiens. He thought too, most probably, that it would be absurd to expect good faith from a nation and ministry, who, with all their overstock of honesty, had retained Ceylon and Trinidad at the expense of the Queen of Portugal and the King of Sardinia; and who, by way of a reward to the Stadholder, for services rendered to England, sent him to seek an indemnity in the plunder of the Empire of Germany. His Imperial Majesty further thought, perhaps, that no great reliance was to be placed on the courage of those, who had surrendered the honour of the British flag; and who, at the command of the Consul, had unbarred the prison doors to the traitor Napper Tandy. These, these are the circumstances, which will, which must, occur to every court, with which we shall attempt to form a connection, even of the most trifling kind. The treaty of Amiens, particularly as it has been illustrated by the subsequent conduct of our government and that of France, is, to this nation, a mark of infamy, which, if not indelible, will not be easily worn away. It will require time, and pains and patience; it will demand liberality, fortitude, and courage; we must tread back, not a part, but the whole of our steps, since the month of March 1801; we must, in short, so think, speak, and act, as to efface from our own minds and from the memory of the world, that we have ever been governed by the counsels of the Addingtons and the Hawkesburies.

In our last (see p 699) we quoted a passage from the Moniteur of the 17th ultimo, relative to our domination in India, the object of which, as we then observed, was, to excite against this country, the jealousy, the envy and the hatred of the nations of the Continent. Another article of the same tendency (see p. 725) has since been published at Paris, in the Gazette de France,

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after, as it would appear, having been first published, in the German language, at Stutgardt, in the Duchy of Wirtemburg. We beg leave to request our readers to peruse this article with great attention: it aims at several points, and all its shafts are barbed with poison. The truth is (and it is a truth of the utmost moment), that France, having completely severed us from the continent of Europe, having taken effectual means for our ruin in the West-Indies, and for shutting us out of the Mediterranean, has only one more object to accomplish, preparatory to our final destruction; and that is, to shake our power, and disturb our trade in the East Indies; and, in order to avoid all impediment in this enterprize, she is beginning, beforehand, to persuade the nations of Europe, particularly the maritime nations, that the colonial greatness of England is the great cause of all the evils they have endured and do yet endure; that it is Great Britain alone who with-holds from them their just share of navigation and commerce; that it is she who has involved them in wars, and, of course, that the curtailing of her colonial domination and wealth, would tend to increase their opulence and to insure their tranquillity. That this is impudently false we know, and the nations, or, at least, the governments, of the Continent know it too; but, those courts, one only excepted, are afraid of France, they are in her power, and, in order to lengthen out their own existence, they will assist in furthering her views, not, perhaps, with ships or with men; but with their no less hostile and mischievous neutrality. Mr. Dundas, full of confidence in those "four-pounders," which, in his answer to Dr. Laurence, he contended were so much superior to the stipulations of treaties, will, doubtless, smile at these artful manœuvres of France; but, we can assure him, that, after having lately read the observations of a French commercial writer on the speech to which we have now alluded *, we are far from feeling that exultation which seemed to animate his breast, when, backed with his trusty clan, he so bravely commanded his opponent to "put his motions in his pocket." —The troubles of India are, we fear, about to begin. The whole world, without the exception of one single country, grudges us the possession of the riches which we derive from the East, and which, though in reality immense, have been magnified a million fold by the envy of other nations. While, indeed, we maintained our antient reputation for power and for courage, the effects of this envy were confined to the breast of those who entertained it; but, now that we are lowered in the just estimation of the world, now that we have, by a solemn act and deed, proclaimed to the universe, that we are become *inferior* to the rival against whom our fathers so long, so bravely and so successfully contended; now that we are degraded, stripped of our honours, and branded with the marks both of dishonesty and cowardice; we have no right to hope, that the world will leave us in the enjoyment of our wealth.

During the last week, mention has been made in Parliament of the impediments, which the operation of the treaty of peace has thrown in the way of our trade to the Bay of Honduras. ADMIRAL BERKELEY asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether any communication or arrangement had taken place, since the conclusion of peace, between the government of this country, and the court of Spain, *respecting the right of this country to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras and Campeche.* To this the Chancellor replied, that no arrangement of this sort had *as yet definitively* taken place; but that it long had been in contemplation to settle some commercial relations with that country, the completion of which was still retarded by circumstances. He might however observe, he said, that *no special arrangement was yet fixed upon concerning our right to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras and Campeche.* What! is it come to this already? Are there to be *arrangements*, then, respecting this right? And are these arrangements, *as yet, not fixed upon?* Well do we remember, that the opposers of the definitive treaty insisted, that by the omission, in that fatal compact, to *renew former treaties*, we had lost, or, at least, greatly endangered, several of our rights, and, amongst the rest, that of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, which right was particularly mentioned by Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence, and several other speakers. The reply of Lord Hawkesbury was, "that the "right to cut logwood in the Bay of Hon- "duras was ceded to us in 1787; that it was "a settlement which we *possessed of right*, "and to which the Spaniards were as much

* *Etat Commercial de la France, au Commencement du dix-neuvième Siècle, &c. &c.* P. J. BLANC DE VOLX.—This work is just published. The part to which we allude is extremely interesting. It is now under the hands of the translator, and will appear in the Supplement to the Volume, which will be published in the middle of next month.

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" bound to refer as we: it was, he said, in " truth, *no omission at all.*" (*Speech, 13th of May*, 1802.) His lordship's expressions are by no means of the clearest; but, it is evident enough, that he regarded our right to cut logwood, not only as not impaired, but as *not at all put in doubt*, by the treaty of Amiens. The Master of the Rolls, whose opinion is, on every account, of more weight than that of Lord Hawkesbury, said, " that our right to " cut logwood, &c. was a *right of possession*; " preserved *throughout the war*, and *not an-* " *nulled by the peace*;" * and, Sir Frederick Eden, adopting implicitly the opinion of the Master of the Rolls, insisted, that " if " the non-renewal of treaties had any effect, " as to this point, it must be *disadvantageous* " *to Spain*; since, by retaining possession " of this settlement, *unfettered* by any stipu- " lations, we should be freed from the en- " gagement entered into by the 17th article " of the treaty of Paris, to demolish our " fortifications erected in the Bay of Hon- " duras." He added, " that Great-Britain " would NOT ALLOW *other nations to avail* " *themselves of the non-renewal of former trea-* " *ties to set up ancient and exploded rights of* " *sovereignty.*" (See Sir F. M. Eden's Letters on the Peace, 2d edit. p. 193.) This was the high tone made use of by the defenders of the peace, in May last, which when compared to the tone now held by the ministers, may serve to show how far we are fallen in the short space of six months: like Falstaff we have a wonderful alacrity in sinking!— This " *right of possession*," this " *unquestion-* " *able right*," is now, it seems, not only questioned, but the question is not determined: it is matter of " *arrangement*," and " no ar- " rangement respecting it *has yet been fixed* " *upon.*" At the time, when the omission to renew former treaties was discussed, we made, in speaking of the rights, which had been endangered by that omission, the following observations.—The language of the country to the ministers is this: " either you " have given up those rights, or you have " not; if you have, then do you merit all " the reproach that has been bestowed on " you; if you have not, *let us now see* " *whether you will defend us in the enjoyment of* " *those rights.*" (Register, Vol. I. p. 555). This is the language, which we, in common with the rest of the nation, now address to these " *safe* politicians," these precious guardians of our rights, who, instead of giving an answer to our claims, will set themselves gravely to work to convince us, that the net proceeds of no one right are sufficient to balance the expense of a war, however fortunate and however short its duration. Upon this principle, we may now as we said then, the treaty of Amiens has been concluded; upon this grovelling principle right after right will be yielded, branch after branch, limb after limb, will be lopped off, till this once spreading, lofty, and flourishing empire, becomes a naked, sightless, sapless trunk, fit for nothing but to be hewn down and cast into the fire.—And shall we, the sons of Englishmen, the subjects of the best of kings, stand tamely by while our beloved country and more beloved sovereign are shorn of their honours, impoverished, ruined, and annihilated, to humour the fears and to gratify the avarice of a dastardly and selfish faction! Shame, then, everlasting shame and infamy on our heads!

For an answer to the ever returning question: " *Will there be peace, or war?*" We must beg leave to refer the querists to Buonaparté or the honest Talleyrand; for certain we are, that the sages of Downing-street, " the *prudent* Ministers who govern Great-Britain," know nothing of the matter. They have asked for, and will, of course, obtain, 50,000 sailors for the whole of the ensuing year. They are hurrying out the militia; they are " *keeping an eye* " *on* the affairs of the Continent;" they are " *watching* the encroachments of France;" they know not what the price of the funds will be to-morrow; they, and we along with them, are fairly entered upon that state, described in the Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace: " The consequence of " this state of mistrust, uneasiness, expense, " and danger, on our part; and of threats, " intrigues, and hostile preparations, on the " part of France, will enable her, sudden- " ly, and with the greatest advantage, to " renew a war, which will be pregnant " with the greatest danger to England, in- " asmuch as the French will have had time " to collect their forces and their means of " attack, so as to bear upon the points " which they have in view; and as they will " moreover have it in their power to choose " both their time and their point of at- " tack." *—Is not this precisely our situation? Are not our predictions, as far as time would permit, most fatally fulfilled? And who, then, shall say that our present apprehensions are groundless?—" Resist- " ance would be *right*, but it is not *expedient*, " until we can find *allies*." Thus, we are *keeping an eye upon the Continent*, and the Continent is *keeping an eye upon us*: we are

* Speech, 14th of May, 1802.

* Cobbett's Letters on the Peace, 2d edit. p. 101.

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both raising our hands in mutual astonishment at each other's blindness, perverseness, folly, and degradation, while France is employed day and night in contriving the means of our final destruction. But, the Continent is less, far less to blame than we: the Continent is already in chains; we are, as yet, at liberty; and we have the baseness to wait till our fetters are prepared. Every day, every hour, the means of resistance are diminishing: in a few months we shall see 50,000 men stationed on the shores of the channel, looking us constantly in the face. Not a soldier of the Continent will stir. We shall be kept in a state of constant alarm: no one will know what to rely on: the public funds will be constantly, as they now are, in the hand of Buonaparté, or his successor: men will grow tired, as they are already grown ashamed, of their dishonoured country: they will, by degrees, grow familiar with notions of vassalage to France; till, at last, the question being put, for further submission or war, we greatly fear, they will determine for the former; and then farewell, a long, an everlasting farewell to the independence, and even to the *name* of England!

By a reference to our domestic articles, it will be perceived, that, in a military and naval view, the kingdom is left still more defenceless than we, on a former occasion, stated it to be. We said, that the Admiralty could not, if an emergency required it, send ten ships of the line out of the ports of England and Ireland. It appears, that, even now, they have but nine ships of the line in commission in Europe; and we are well informed, that, there are not men enough on board the nine to man five of them for sea. The frigates are in the same state. Their names and numbers may serve to fill up the columns of a report to the House of Commons; but, were they, with their present hands, to be sent to sea, very few of them would ever return to port: our coast would be strewed with wrecks.—This is the *economy*, for which the noble Admiral at the head of that department has been extolled. With all his economy, however, he has not yet thought proper to strip Jamaica quite so naked. That island, which, during the last peace, was guarded by *one fifty gun ship and two frigates*, has now *nine ships of the line, nine frigates, and nine ships of war*, notwithstanding the French have, by our connivance and assistance, *removed all danger*, from the threatening shores of St. Domingo! How does this force at Jamaica agree with the predictions of the "*prudent* ministers?" And how does it agree with the ministerial tales of mortality, amongst the French troops? We remember, that the Lord Chancellor (quoting the Duke of Norfolk), said, that, "*appearing to distrust the French* was making "peace with a drawn sword in our hands." (*Debate, May* 13). We not only *appear* to distrust them *now*; but we openly acknowledge that distrust to be the principle of action, the very system on which we proceed.—How long will this last?

It is said, that his Excellency Count Stahremberg, being a few days ago at Paris, on his way from Vienna to London, received an order from the French government to quit the territory of the Republic in *twenty-four hours*. To obey this order is, as every one must know, *absolutely impossible*; and, therefore, if such an order has really been given, the object must be to expose the Count to arrest and imprisonment in some obscure town or village, where * * * * * *. Let Capt. D'Auvergne tell the rest, which, by the bye, he ought to do, and under his own name: it is a *duty* he owes to himself, to his country, and to the world.—Count Stahremberg has, during his visit to Vienna, received, from the hands of his Imperial Master, the Order of the Golden Fleece; a very great honour most assuredly, but not half so great, as that of being the object of the jealousy and hatred of Buonaparté. We hope he will escape from the dangers that threaten him, and arrive once more safe in England, where he will be greeted, not with the shouts of the brutal rabble, not by the hypocritical smiles of opulent poltroons, but with the applause of all sensible, honest, and honourable Englishmen, who must know, that if we ever again attempt to make head against France, it must be with the co-operation of the illustrious prince and the gallant and faithful nation, of whom his Excellency is, in every respect, the worthy representative.

☞ *The Letter to Mr. Wilberforce in our next.*

*** *In consequence of the great demand for the last number of the Register, containing* MR. COBBETT'S LETTER *to Lord Auckland, on the* ABUSES IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, *the Public are respectfully informed, that it has been reprinted, and is now ready for delivery.*

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CONTENTS.—*Let. on State of Europe and of Parties,* 737. *Let. to Sir Jo. Banks,* 743. *Let. to Mr. Wilberforce,* 744. *Proc. in Parl.* 751. *Abst. Army Estimates—Turkey,* 754. *Dutch and Barbary Powers—Ratisbon—Vienna,* 755. *Basle—Bey of Tunis and Buonap.—Boudet's Rep. of St. Domingo,* 756. *French News—British Colo.* 757. *Distri. of the Bri. Navy,* 758. *Army—Names of Persons to be tried for Trea.—Meetings Ship Owners,* 759. *Sum. Pol.* 762.

ON THE SITUATION OF EUROPE, AND THE PARTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir,—"The *public* FEELING," we are told in one of our journals, "*is with* MR. "WINDHAM, *and the public* REASON *with Lord* "HAWKESBURY." Such it was "most con- "fidently affirmed," was the result of the debates on the speech from the throne. If this be true, never surely was there an administration that more exactly fulfilled the duty which it owes to the Sovereign and his people, and whatever may be the state of the continent, that of our own country is highly "satisfactory." For this is the great end of all government, this is the leading object which human wisdom has aimed to secure, by all the different institutions of political society,—*that the public* REASON *should prevail over the public* FEELING. But, however confident is the assertion, however pretty and quaint is the antitheses, in which it is conveyed, tricked out, too, with all the decoration of *italics* and CAPITALS, to catch the eye, and surprise the judgment, it is not so that a question of such serious importance can be determined. To satisfy the reason, something of closer examination and deeper discussion is required. As a plain man, therefore, having no party interest to manage, and thinking for myself, I shall endeavour to discover and exhibit truth, in her own unadorned simplicity.

Let us, then, look a little into the ground of this assertion. I have, indeed, in some degree, chosen to begin this letter with the passage I have quoted, because the explanation which the writer gives of his meaning, is well worthy of attention.—"It is a "struggle," (he goes on to say), "between "a sense of two sorts of dangers; the dan- "gers of peace, and the dangers of war. "The first," (he assumes) "are somewhat "distant and uncertain, and may be averted "by events: the latter are immediate "and inevitable. Hence, (concludes he) "to risk the former is preferred; but the "choice is made with a sigh, and with "heavy forebodings." Alas! Sir, "sighs "and heavy forebodings" do not usually accompany the clear and steady decisions of satisfied reason: they rather speak the confused and tumultuous victory of one ill-defined feeling over another. If, however, we for a moment put out of our view the positive truth or falsehood of the comparison, which is assigned as the motive, I do believe this to be a sufficiently faithful account of the gloomy, dull, dead acquiescence which the majority of Parliament certainly, and possibly of the nation, coldly and doubtingly yielded to the ambiguous intimations of Ministers, and the more intelligible rhetoric of their powerful champion and protector, Mr. Fox. Our day-dreams of the blessings of peace are fled for ever. We distinctly perceive that our present situation is, what, if I remember right, some of the Minister's own connexions described it to be,—nothing better than "*a hollow armed truce*;" that very truce, which, when desired before, under its proper name, was refused, with the warm approbation of every honest man in the kingdom; but when offered to sale, as a favour and a boon, under the specious name of peace, was eagerly purchased by our rulers, at a price never yet given for the safest and most beneficial settlement of our own interests, and the liberties of Europe. There is, in fact, no question now between war on the one side, and peace on the other. The only choice is between two evils of the same kind; the war of the sword, and the war of journals and gazettes, of memorials and remonstrances, of tariffs and cockets, of intrigues and influence (if any influence we can ever regain) in all the foreign courts of Europe; attended, at every turn, with mutual preparations for actual hostilities; and ultimately leading, at no great distance of time, to a more obstinate and dubious contest for our independence, or to absolute and final submission.

To this point, Sir, FEELING and REASON have journeyed on amicably together; but here, it seems, they take different roads. The former, with HONOUR for her companion, holds on the steep and arduous, but plain and direct track that rises before her: the latter stops short, and led by INDOLENCE, turns away, to wind as she imagines,

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by a gentle declivity, along the side of the mountain that opposes her progress. I fear, however, that she will soon find her path rough with stones, and perplexed with brambles and briars, carrying her downward with more precipitous descent at every step, till she sees the gulph of ruin and infamy yawning under her feet; from which there is no escape, but by clambering up the over-hanging rocks with tenfold difficulty and danger. Indeed, she has taken an ignorant and deceitful guide; and, with a little departure from her own character, forgot to look at a map of the country before she set out upon her travels.

If, Sir, the choice has been made on such a notion as this writer holds out to us, of *the dangers of war compared with the dangers of peace*, I do not hesitate to say, it has been rashly as well as erroneously made. No such question has ever been discussed, certainly not in the debate on the King's speech, by which it is said to have been determined. For this I have what the writer whom I have quoted must allow to be incontrovertible authority. The report in the same paper will shew him, that he has, with consummate justice, pronounced sentence against Mr. Windham, without hearing him. That gentleman is there represented as having expressly distinguished that he did not mean to consider at all the expediency or inexpediency of immediate war. The words attributed to him are:— "Not being in an official situation, *I am* "NOT SUFFICIENTLY INFORMED *to advise particularly; but I* THINK *we should weigh well in what situation we shall be*, when "the war shall come upon us; for come it "will, and sooner than I wish to say. *I* "THINK *it would be the wiser way to anticipate* "*the blow*; BUT THIS IS MORE THAN IS "NECESSARY FOR ME TO ENTER INTO, "as it is for Ministers to determine." And the other reports all concur in making a similar reservation. As I am no respecter of persons, I am not concerned whether Mr. WINDHAM may be thought to have done right or wrong in thus treating his subject. All which I think it important to observe, is, that in fact he did so treat it. He seems to have designed no more, than to impress the country with a just and awful sense of its present situation; professedly leaving every thing beyond to future deliberation, whenever sufficient knowledge shall have been obtained to light the *public* REASON to a sound and well-informed conclusion.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE and the other speakers on that side of we may trust the same channels of intelligence (and I have n other) confined themselves within still na rower limits. They chiefly protested again one passage of the address, which, they a prehended might otherwise be interpret into a declaration of confidence in the pr sent administration, and as in propriety th were bound to do, they stated why they d not think that confidence to have been d served. It was, that while France h been continually month after month taki some new measure of violent and dangero aggrandizement, openly attempting to i terfere in the internal concerns of this cou try, for the purpose of silencing the Briti Press, and at the same time endeavouri to prohibit us from interfering in the affa of the continent; in proportion as she i creased her military and naval force, t establishments were gradually reduced, a our conquests continued to be delivered u under the treaty, till a sudden alarm, w had not yet been told wherefore, all once changed the whole course of our p ceeding; new orders were dispatched countermand the cessions which had be directed; and new invitations were thro forth to re-assemble the men, whom we lost no time, and spared no expense to d charge and disperse. I restrict myself the speeches in the House of Commo because to them only allusion is made; the tendency of what passed in the Ho of Lords appears to me to have been v similar. And in all this what is there raise a question between FEELING a REASON in the comparative dangers of w and of peace.

But the DANGERS OF WAR, truly! "*immediate and inevitable*"! DANGERS of w Oh! Sir, how are we already degrade this pusillanimous peace! This is the time, I believe, that ever such an argu was addressed to our fears. While the lasted, when the preliminary articles the definitive treaty were debated, we h indeed of the *injustice* of the war, of *inutility* of continuing the war, of the *h and expense* of all war, of the *horror* of contrasted with the blessings of peace; not a syllable of the positive dangers, "immediate and inevitable" dangers war. I am persuaded, that the spirit of nation was not then so far broken, as have tolerated such language. And is possible even now, that the people, who years since, when all our allies, some fr caprice, some from over-ruling necessi one by one dropped away; when we w not only opposed single-handed to Fra

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and all her allies, but the very Russian troops, which had been made prisoners while fighting, were accoutred, armed, and mustered to be led against us; when in a time of scarcity we were partly dependent on the Northern States for the very bread which we hoped to eat; yet cordially applauded and strengthened the energy of that government, without waiting for an explanation, which anticipated and provoked a war with all the rest of the maritime powers of Europe;—is it possible that such a people can bear to be represented as shrinking from the peril of renewing hostilities, in a just cause, against France?

What does experience teach us of these pretended dangers? When we laid down our arms, did our merchants feel any trepidation for their rich fleets, which every wind wafted across every sea, laden with all the precious products of the world? Did our colonists in the West fear, as in former wars, lest they should be torn from the protection of the mother country? Were we under any alarm, lest France might detach to the East an army capable of putting our possessions there once more to the hazard? Could she with impunity traverse, what she affects to call her own sea, to seek in Egypt at once a compensation for the American colonies which she had lost, and the means of distant and future attack on our Indian empire, which she could not immediately approach? Could she send out a naval expedition, a cruizer, or a merchant ship in safety? There was, there could be no danger—but of public distress in our finances, or of an invasion. The first is, in other words, the plea of necessity, so strenuously renounced alike by the late and present Chancellor of the Exchequer, before the peace, and up to this very moment; for within these few days, Mr. ADDINGTON, I perceive, has asserted, that without laying any very inconvenient pressure on the country, he could readily find resources for a seven years war. And if there be any point on which such an authority is entitled to peculiar respect, it is here. What, then, is the only remaining terror? That of being compelled to fight for our existence on English land? The menace is not new; It has been perpetually repeated in former wars, but never carried into effect. It has long since become the object of mockery and derision in our popular songs and ballads. Are we then changed? or has that danger become so much more formidable? I am far, very far from thinking, that it is not considerably increased by the possession, or use, which our adversary will now have, of so many harbours and naval stations opposite to the eastern, the most defenceless coast of our island. Yet, let us seriously reflect, that if we admit the preponderating weight of this argument, we we must also admit at once the necessity of absolute, unqualified submission. In any future war, whenever begun, and from whatever cause, that danger must equally be encountered.

It may be said, perhaps, in answer to these topicks from past experience, that we do not stand in the same advantageous position now, as at the conclusion of the late war. It is true, the treaty of Amiens has indeed made a lamentable change. France has augmented her army by more than 100,000 men. She and her allies have obtained from us a supply of seamen sufficient to man between 40 and 50 ships of the line. Their exhausted dock yards are replenished. They have actually at this moment more ships of the line commissioned than we. In the West-Indies they have Martinique, the key of the circumjacent islands, now rendered inexpugnable by our labour and at our cost; and from the relicks of their force at St. Domingo, if they despair of that enterprise, they may furnish an expedition at least of doubtful success against Jamaica. With regard to the East-Indies, we know not at this instant, whether if hostilities should now break out, we shall have a resting place for the necessary refreshment of our troops, who will otherwise go, not to the garrisons and camps, but to the hospitals of India.

If we then turn our eyes homeward, we shall discover with mortification and shame that we have forfeited the confidence and affection of Europe, which never considered what France had over-run, as totally lost, till we abandoned all at Amiens. Then we did not gradually descend in reputation; we were at once plunged from the summit of glory to the lowest abyss of disgrace. The first sentiment, was, a disbelief of the fact; the next astonishment;—that which too soon succeeded, and which will long remain, was,—contempt. And, whatever we have lost in character, is more than added to the intimidation, which France inspires.

Such is the alteration worked by a single year of this ill-omened peace: what, then, are we to expect from its continuance? Is the strength of the French empire likely to grow with its duration, or to be dimi-

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nished by natural decay, or the shock of internal riots. Are the dangers of peace as they have been described, "*uncertain*" and "*such as may be averted*," in the ordinary course of human events? For, innocent as we are, in comparison with our adversary, we are not yet a nation so pure in ourselves as to reckon on a peculiar interposition of Providence in our favour; and, the superior crimes of one people, as history both sacred and profane will teach us, are sometimes made the instrument of divine punishment on the rest of the world.

To the considerations which I have hinted at, and to many others, which have been made use of to deaden the spirit of the people, *as well as the paltry views of party interests, which they are most unworthily designed to answer*, I am most anxious, Sir, to proceed: —but I am afraid, that I have already occupied more space than you can well afford me. I shall, however, resume the first opportunity, and, with the blessing of God on the humble efforts of an obscure individual, endeavour to go through this important subject. In the mean time, I hope, that your readers will search their own bosoms, and breathe a little from the only terror which any man can reasonably pretend, that of an invasion. Let them remember, that the sooner they venture to raise their eyes in the face of this danger, the better they will be prepared to meet it: and, upon this fear will all the future policy of France turn, till it has been fairly met and baffled. Yet, let me not be misinterpreted. Be the advantages of an early renewal of hostilities, over a protracted truce (such as we at present have), what they may, we ought not, on that ground alone, to break a treaty, however injurious, which we have solemnly ratified. We must have a just cause of quarrel; we must be satisfied, that there has been some attack on our interests or our honour.

A FREEHOLDER.

Highgate, Dec. 1, 1802.

TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART.

SIR,—Although the unmerited neglect which my last letter experienced at your hands might offend a more captious correspondent, I cannot with-hold my compliments on your reinstatement in the chair which you lately occupied with so much dignity, fidelity, and discretion: and indeed, Sir Joseph, you have reason to expect from me not congratulations only, but excuses, because the event of St. Andrew's day has shewn that the charge of vilifying the Royal Society was unfounded.—If that learned body should require a champion in future, I would recommend to them some gentleman of the bar, accustomed to defend the most worthless of mankind; perhaps Mr. Erskine would accept the office; for my own part, I abandon those who have abandoned their own honour, being of opinion that to suffer calumny is indeed a common lot, but to court the calumniator, to abet our own abasement, is the lowest depth of turpitude. —The men who have prostituted their suffrages on this occasion aspire, undoubtedly, to share with you a seat in "that first literary society of the world," the National Institute of France; and since they deserve the stigma, I trust they will obtain it; in which case your memorable address will supply them with a model of thanksgiving: but as the process of individual election may seem too tedious for their philosophical impatience, I beg leave to suggest a more compendious mode of accomplishing their purpose, by procuring (through the joint influence of you and Mr. Fox) a consular decree to merge the London Society in that of Paris. Should this affiliation be effected, though it might not be expedient to assume at first the maternal name, it would, however, be requisite, or at least decorous, to relinquish their ancient title, and substitute that of Philogallican Club, or Regicide Academy, or any other which you may deem appropriate to their views and dispositions; the metonymy to commence on the 21st of January, the anniversary of your incomparable letter and of the murder of Louis XVI. —Your management of the Royal Society proves you to be an apt disciple of the French School; for as it prepares its empire by insulting and debasing the nations which it designs to vanquish, and finds the conquest easy in proportion as the prey becomes contemptible, (a scheme of policy which is now pursued steadily and effectually against England) so you, Sir Joseph, have applied the same rule to subdue a herd of literati. It is true that this display of science was perfectly gratuitous, and that if to maintain the credit of your Society you had manifested a portion of that zeal which you have exerted to pollute it, your re-election would have been equally secure; and, in the judgment of such unsophisticated men as I am, the Presidency so retained would have been more honourable to yourself. But herein again you imitate your masters, whose liberal and enlarged ambition heeds not the condition of their subjects, and prefers the unqualified submission of impoverished and

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despicable slaves to the voluntary friendship of a generous but independent people: and if they accomplish the end which they have constantly in view, and which is the chief object of their insidious and unremitting machinations, assuredly they will not suffer us to retain any particle of those blessings that have long been the inheritance of our island; they will plunder us of our wealth (that will be a trifling concern), they will bereave us of our force, our laws, our liberty, and, above all, of that proud and undaunted spirit, the source of our ancient happiness and glory.

Before I conclude this letter, I must congratulate you and your French brethren on their recent acquisition of the arch-patriot of Palace-yard, a man qualified in every way to justify their choice in the class where they have ranged him; the steady partizan of all the conflicting governments of France, the bitter enemy of *all* her enemies, the apologist of her crimes, the eulogist of her frenzy, the abettor of her aggrandisement; he assimilates with the Institute in *morals* as well as in *politics*, and his piety is as orthodox as your own.

And now, Sir Joseph, I take my leave of you and your associates probably for ever: the indignation excited by your conduct subsides into contempt; and the British public will no longer deign to interest itself in your proceedings, foreign or domestic, ostensible or occult, unless peradventure they become a subject for legal animadversion. I am, &c. &c. MISOGALLUS.

Dec. 7th, 1802.

TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,—I have long had an intention to investigate your political opinions, conduct, and motives; and, if adversity be the season, in which nations, as well as individuals, may be taught to see and to abjure the causes of their disgrace; if the people of this country be not more senseless and more hardened than the most callous of malefactors, now is the time to present them with this investigation. Before, however, I enter upon my intended remarks on the general tone and tendency of your politics, and on the great and fatal, though, in its operation, not conspicuous, influence which they have had on the domestic, the colonial, and foreign, affairs of the kingdom, I think it necessary to notice certain passages in your late address to the freeholders of the county of York.—"In appearing before you, on the "present occasion, I cannot but feel, that "I am placed in a *serious*, and I might almost "say, an *awful* situation; for I am come "before you to render up an account of "the trust, which, six years ago, your "kindness committed to me; and, when "I consider the weight and importance of "that trust, under any circumstances, and "still more when I reflect on the very "critical and portentous times, during "which I have possessed it, which have "tended to multiply its difficulties and to "increase its responsibility, it is natural "for me to feel that I am in a *grave* and "*solemn* situation, now that I stand before "you to answer to you for the discharge "of its various and weighty duties. I will "fairly own to you also, gentlemen, that "there is another consideration, which "powerfully affects my mind; I mean the "prodigious *size* of our *vast county*; its population, its wealth, and all those other "circumstances by which it is distinguished. "I know, indeed, that it is *constitutional* "language to affirm, that a member of "parliament for any place, be it what it "may, is, when chosen, the representative, "not of his own particular constituents, "but of the people of England in general: "that the member for *Old Sarum* is a "member of parliament equally with the "member of the very county, in which we "stand.—This is an opinion, which, *in the "main*, I myself hold; it is sound *constitutional* doctrine, which I maintain, and "which this day, I publicly avow; *but yet, "gentlemen, he must have a mind of greater "power of practical abstraction than mine, or "have firmer nerves than I possess, who, when "the rights, the interests, the credit, the "character, the honour, of this great county "(itself a little* KINGDOM*) are committed to "his care, does not feel himself loaded with "a burden far more weighty than that which "he would have to bear, if he were the representative of some decayed town or inconsiderable borough.*—Gentlemen, I trust I "may appear before you with boldness, "because, though conscious of my errors "and imperfections, I can truly declare, "that I have acted with *honest and pure "intentions*, with a mind unbiassed by personal considerations or party motives; "with a sincere desire of promoting the "welfare of our common country—*I* have "*not* made the *sacred* trust which you confided to me subservient to the purposes "of my own *interest* or *aggrandisement*.—"Gentlemen, I trust, it will be our future "policy to abstain, as far as possible, from "those *continental connections*, for which I "had almost said *the very integrity and*

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"good faith of the ministers and people of "this country, render us unfit, inasmuch as "we cannot keep or break our engagements "according as it suits the convenience of the "present moment, in the fluctuating state of "human affairs. We shall, I trust, cultivate our own *internal resources*, and endeavour to render *our* people secure, prosperous, and contented. I am happy to "declare to you, gentlemen, that the character of his Majesty's present administration, and the tenor of their past conduct, firm and temperate, but yet conciliating and unassuming, is a pledge for "their continuing to act with the same "honest and faithful attention to the true "interests of their country."—The address, from which this quotation is made, was delivered to the freeholders of Yorkshire previous to your late re-election. It had, doubtless, been prepared with great deliberation, it has since been published, from under your own hand, in almost all the newspapers in the kingdom, and, it is, therefore, a fair object of close and severe criticism. I have, indeed, seen, in the True Briton, a publication, purporting to be a speech, delivered by you, in the House of Commons, on the 25th ultimo; in which speech, the editor makes you say, in reference to the address above quoted, that it had about it, perhaps, some unseasonable *merriment*; but that those who animadverted on it, ought to have made *some allowance for your situation*; that you had occasion to return to your constituents, and to address them upon the subject of their *pressure* arising from the war; and that, therefore, if you did make use of an *odd expression*, you were entitled to some indulgence in speaking, upon such an occasion, *to* SUCH A CLASS OF PERSONS *as your constituents were*.—Observe, Sir, that I do not impute these sentiments to you: it is impossible, that Mr. Wilberforce should have represented as a *jest*, as a mere *odd expression*, made use of to *soothe* and to *coax* a crowd of ignorant, credulous, avaricious countrymen; it is absolutely impossible, that the moral, the pious; I had almost said the sanctified, Mr. Wilberforce, should have given this interpretation to any part or particle of an address, at the delivery of which he professed to consider himself as placed not only in a "*serious*," a "*grave*," and a "*solemn*," but even in "an *awful* situation!"—No; this is impossible; the speech, as given in the newspapers, must be grossly erroneous, if not altogether a fabrication: the address to the freeholders of York was a serious, grave, and solemn act; a deliberate declaration of your principles; an "awful" enunciation of your political creed.

Those particular parts of this address which I propose, at present, to remark on, sufficiently explain your sentiments as to *parliamentary* and to *foreign politics*. With respect to the former, I cannot but admire the acuteness, with which you, in the letter, subscribe to the "sound constitutional "doctrine," while, in the spirit, you retain those democratical principles of reform, by the aid of which you first found your way into parliament as member for the deluded county of York; I cannot but admire the modesty, as well as the nice discrimination of character and intellect, which led you to provide for the meridian of St. Stephen's, a confession of the perfect equality between you and a member for Old Sarum, while you taught the clowns of Yorkshire to regard their county as "*a little* KINGDOM," and you, of course, as a *little king*. Desirous as I am, however, to do you justice on these and some other points, I must, for the present, repress that desire, and confine myself to your professions of *honesty*, pure *intentions*, and *disinterestedness*, in the discharge of the "sacred" trust reposed in you by the persons whom you call your constituents. And here I must confess to you, that all this talk about *constitutional doctrine, representatives, constituents, trust reposed, rendering account*, &c. &c. as applied to the members of his Majesty's parliament and the electors of those members, is, in my opinion, when strictly examined, an unintelligible jargon, the mere slang of vulgar politicians, an assemblage of words and notions totally unknown to the letter and to the spirit of the laws and usages, under which the King's parliament is called together, and under which it acts. This, however, is a topic too unimportant to stand in competition against that of your unheard-of *disinterestedness*, which, leaving, your "honesty" and "pure *intentions*," to be noticed hereafter, I shall now proceed to examine.

Next to the word *liberty*, Sir, I do not, at this moment, recollect one that admits of a greater variety of interpretations, or that has produced more mischief in the world, than that of *disinterestedness*. You seem, however, to have affixed to it a meaning definite enough to reason upon. You say: "I "have *not* made the sacred trust, which you "confided to me, subservient to the pur-"poses of my own *interest* or *aggrandize-*"*ment*." If, then, disinterestedness con-

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sists in not making use of parliamentary influence for the purposes of private interest or aggrandisement, the next consideration, is, *what ought to be regarded as private interest or aggrandizement.* Is it exclusively the obtaining of money, or of titles? If so, disinterestedness is a very cheap commodity to him who happens to be rich, and who would think himself degraded by a title. Is it merely the possession of *place?* No; for though, as present experience teaches us, some men certainly wish for office because it enables them to gratify their own covetousness and vanity, there are others, and, I hope, a far greater number, who, in their pursuit of power, are actuated by the noble motive of advancing the honour and happiness of their sovereign and their country. That considerations of a private nature, that the desire of posthumous, and even of present, fame, may and must mix themselves along with this great leading public motive, I allow; but, Sir, I defy you to show me, in the conduct of a placeman of this latter description, any presumption that he has made the choice of his electors subservient to his own interest or aggrandizement, which presumption will not apply, with equal, if not with greater force to yourself. Such a minister of state may bestow, or cause to be bestowed, numerous places and pensions; but I much question if any one, of late years, has done more in this way than yourself. Such a minister may be proud of being the servant of the King; you of being the "representative" of "a little kingdom." Such a minister may desire to be, and may be, in reality, the open and absolute ruler of the nation; while your meekness may lead you to be content with being the secret, but not less absolute ruler of that same minister. Your ambition is of a different species, and seeks, therefore, a different sort of gratification. You have, indeed, in your address to your "constituents" since your re-election, given us an ample explanation of your feelings and motives, as applicable to this subject.—"I see also in its true point "of *elevation* the *exalted station* to which "your favourable opinion has again *raised* "*me.* Suffer me in truth to say, (a senti-"ment the avowal of which, remarks that "have been elsewhere made may ren-"der not improper) that I consider the "honour of being your representative as "*one of the highest dignities I could enjoy.* "Great is my respect for hereditary honours. "It is still greater for those which have "been granted by the well-judging hand of "our sovereign, for brilliant exploits rendered to the public by our great naval and military commanders, or for long and faithful "services in public offices of high trust and "laborious duty. But he must have a mind "constituted *very differently from mine*; his "estimate of things must be formed on *very* "*different* principles; *who could account as* "*more honourable that nobility* which should "be granted from motives of political interest or personal favour, than the dignified and *exalted station* to which he is elevated, who, by the free and united voice "of the freeholders of Yorkshire, is elected "to be the depository of their interests, and "the guardian of their rights."—I believe you to have been perfectly sincere in this declaration; and, indeed, every man in England must know, that if, during the administration of Mr. Pitt, it had pleased you to be a peer, you would not now have been a commoner. But, what becomes then of your *disinterestedness?* Or, at least, where is the proof of it? What *sacrifice* of interest or aggrandizement do you make in so acting as to insure your re-election, and, with it, the possession of what you regard as "*one of the highest of dignities?*" Already "loaded" with honours full as great, in your modest estimation, as those of the hero of the Nile, and *greater* than those of the descendants of Marlborough, what had you to covet? What greater object could you have than that of preserving your seat? To what greater purpose of interest or aggrandizement could you possibly have converted your parliamentary trust?

Since, then, the mere circumstance of not having been in office (even supposing you capable of it), and not having received a title, is, in itself, no proof, nor even presumption, in favour of that "*honesty*," that "*uprightness*," those "*pure intentions*," or that wonderful "*disinterestedness*," of which you make so ostentatious a display; and, since it is evident, from your own declarations, that the principal object of your ambition, is, to preserve your seat for the county of York, to continue to be the "representative" of a "little kingdom," it remains for me to inquire whether *the means*, by which you have hitherto secured that object, are such as entitle you to that character for superior political purity, which you have assumed, and which, through the credulity of others, has given you, in the public affairs of this country, a degree of influence that has largely contributed towards the adoption of those measures, which have produced our present embarrassment and disgrace.—But this inquiry

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I must postpone till my next.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

London, Nov. 6, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Wednesday, December 1.

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Counsel were heard relative to the Scotch Appeal, Graham *v.* Henderson; and several new petitions were presented.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence moved, "that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the present situation of the House, for the purpose of considering the best mode in which the House, and the parts and chambers appertaining thereto, may be rendered more convenient and commodious for the reception of the Peers." Question put, and committee appointed.—Petitions were presented from their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland, as peers of Ireland, requesting that they may be allowed their right to vote at the election of peers to sit and vote for Ireland. Referred to the Committee of Privileges.—Mr. Robinson, from the London Wet Dock Company, presented the account of the receipts and disbursements of that corporation, from June 1, 1801 to May 31, 1802, and also a report of the Surveyors relative to the progress of the works carrying on.—*Lord Moira* gave notice, that on Friday he should bring forward a motion for the production of some papers relative to the transactions which had taken place respecting the Nabob of Arcot.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from East Grinstead, Cirencester, Bishop's Castle, Evesham, and Retford.—Petitions were also presented from the Malsters of Whitchurch, praying for relief.—*General Gascoyne* moved, "That there be laid before the House an account of the number of ships, with the amount of tonnage, and the number of men employed therein, who have cleared outwards, and entered inwards from Oct. 10, 1800 to Oct. 10, 1802, distinguishing Foreign from British ships."—*Mr. Addington* stated, that the information must be withheld till January next, at which time the accounts were regularly made up. The motion was therefore withdrawn.—*Mr. Vansittart* brought up an account of Exchequer Bills issued in pursuance of the Act of last Session, at present unprovided for.—*Mr. Addington* moved, "that a sum not exceeding £2,781,532 : 15 : 3½ be granted to pay off Exchequer Bills issued in pursuance of the 42 Geo. III."—*Sir P. Stephens* moved, "that 50,000 men should be employed for the sea service, for the year 1803, including 12,000 marines; that £1,202,500 be granted for wages for the said 50,000 men for 13 lunar months, at the rate of 37s. per month per man; that £1,235,000 be granted for victuals for the said men, for 13 lunar months, at the rate of 38s. per month per man; that £1,950,000 be granted for wear and tear of the ships on board of which the said men are to be employed, for 13 lunar months, at £3 per man per month; that £162,500 be granted for Ordnance Stores, for the sea service, for the said ships at the rate of 2s. per month per man." Agreed to.—In a Committee of the House, to take into consideration the Militia Laws of Ireland, *Mr. Corry* moved, "that the sum of £40,000 be advanced to defray the expense of raising the militia of Ireland." Agreed to.

Thursday, December 2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—A petition complaining of an undue election was presented from Newcastle-under-Line.—A petition was also presented from the malsters of Leicester against the Malt Wetting Act.—The Small Note Bill was read and passed.—*Mr. Alexander* brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, and on the motion that the resolution for granting 50,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year be read a second time, an interesting debate took place, which will be found at length in our Supplement. *Mr. Thos. Grenville* expressed his astonishment, that ministers should demand an extraordinary supply of seamen, without condescending to give the least explanation of the reasons which induce the necessity, or the purposes to which he means to apply them. He was followed on the same side by *Mr. Sturges*, *Lord Proby*, *Sir R. Laurie*, *Mr. Canning*, and *Dr. Laurence*. The speakers on the other side were, *Mr. Addington*, *Sir Sidney Smith*, *Capt. Markham*, *Lord Hawkesbury*, and the *Attorney-General*. The resolutions were put and carried.—The report of the Committee on the Irish Militia Bill was brought up, and the resolutions agreed to.

Friday, December 3.

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Counsel were heard in continuation relative to the Scotch Appeal, Graham *v.* Henderson.—*Lord Moira* presented a bill entitled, "An Act for the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests, and for the relief of persons imprisoned on Mesne Process; and also a bill for the "Relief of certain Insolvent Debtors."—*Lord Moira* moved, "that there be laid before the House, copies of all the instructions sent out on the part of the East-India Company, from January 1, 1797 to January 1, 1801, from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General; also to the Governor of Madras, relative to the assumption of the Government of the Carnatic." Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from Radnorshire, Newcastle, and Kingston-upon-Hull.—*Mr. Pole* brought up the estimates of the Ordnance Service for the ensuing year.—*Mr. Addington*, in the Committee of Ways and Means, moved the resolutions for the annual duties upon malt, mum, cyder, perry, tobacco, and sugar: he also moved, "that a sum not exceeding five millions be raised by loans on Exchequer Bills." Agreed to.—*Gen. Gascoyne* presented a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, against the Tonnage Duty.—*Mr. Dent* presented a petition from the prisoners in Lancaster gaol, praying for relief.

Monday, December 6.

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Heard counsel in a Scotch Appeal.—Promissory Note Bill brought up, and read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Accounts were laid before the House of the number of ships employed in the Whale Fishery from Scotland: of the quantity of rice and corn imported, and the bounties thereon: also an account from the Exchequer, shewing the amount of the permanent taxes from Oct. 1801 to Oct. 1802.—A petition from the Brewers of Gloucester, against the late duty on beer was presented.—A petition was presented complaining of a double return for Sterling.—Petitions were also presented complaining of undue elections for Carrickfergus, Coventry,

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Leominster, Aylesbury, Middlesex, Malden, Honiton, Shaftesbury Windsor, Weymouth, Great Grimsby, and Malcombe Regis.—*Mr. Dickenson* presented a petition from the debtors in Ilchester gaol.—*Mr. Alexander* brought up the report of the Committee of Ways and Means; the resolutions were agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in.—Irish Militia Bill read a second time.—*Mr. Vansittart* presented an account of the bounties paid for taking and bringing fish to the markets of London and Westminster: he also moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend an Act of 41 Geo. III. relative to the interest of 3½d. per diem on Navy Bills.—*Sir E. Nepean* moved, that there be laid before the House an account of the expense for the maintenance of prisoners of war, payable in 1802.

Tuesday, December 7.

House of Peers.—Heard counsel in a Scotch Appeal.—Promissory Note Bill read a second time.

House of Commons.—Bill brought in for enlarging the burying ground of St. Giles' parish.—A petition from the druggists of Tavistock for the repeal of the Medicine Act was presented; and also one from the prisoners confined for debt in Worcester gaol. Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from Shaftesbury, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-under-Line, Hereford, Carmarthen, Bridgewater, Tregony, Sudbury, Seaford, Minehead, Hereford City, Durham, and the City of London. A petition was presented from Middlesex against the return of Sir F. Burdett, and charging him with bribery and corruption. Another petition from Middlesex against the competency of Mr. Mainwaring, and denying the charges contained in his petition against the return of Sir F. Burdett was also presented; as strong doubts were entertained of the admissibility of this petition, a motion was made, that the debate upon it be adjourned to Monday.—*Sir E. Nepean* presented some accounts relative to prisoners of war.—The Irish Militia went through a committee.—*Mr. Vansittart* moved for an account of the money advanced out of the Civil List in consequence of addresses of that House, and which had not been made good by Parliament. The Malt Bill, Land Tax Pension Bill, Exchequer Bills Bill, and Navy Bills Bill were read a first time.—The Indemnity Bill was read a second time.

Abstract of the Estimates of Army Services for 1803.

	Numbers.	Charge. For Gt. Britain.	Charge. For Ireland.	Total.
1. Guards, Garrisons, &c.	66,574	1,474,664 13 3	848,035 7 (	1,322,700 0 3
2. Forces in the Plantations, &c.	37,778	1,129,976 19 4	.....	1,129,976 19 4
3. India Forces	22,814	518,653 11 4	.....	518,653 11 4
4. Troops and Companies for Recruiting ditto	546	28,632 17 8	.....	28,632 17 8
5. Recruiting and Contingencies	..	80,000 0 0	93,341 7 (	173,341 7 0
6. General and Staff Officers, with a State of the Particulars of the Charge	..	35,063 0 5	23,405 0 :	58,468 0 10
7. Offices	..	120,719 11 3	6,793 8 (	127,512 19 9
8. Allowance to Innkeepers, Beer-money, and Allowances to men on a march in Ireland	..	155,000 0 0	45,645 1 3	200,645 1 3
9. Half Pay	..	297,000 0 0	61,152 10 11	358,152 10 11
10. Ditto, for the American Forces	..	52,000 0 0	.....	52,000 0 0
11. Ditto, for the Scotch Brigade	..	1,000 0 0	.....	1,000 0 0
12. Widows' Pensions	..	20,883 16 0	6,000 0 0	26,883 16 0
13. Volunteer Corps	..	40,000 0 0	59,169 4 8	99,169 4 8
14. Barrack Department	..	293,667 0 0	219,773 7 10	513,440 7 10
15. Foreign Corps	5,168	139,672 1 11	.....	139,672 1 11
16. Medicine, Bedding, &c.	..	.....	18,461 10 10	18,461 10 10
	132,880	4,406,933 11 2	1,381,776 18 5	5,788,710 9 7
Deduct the India Forces	22,814	518,653 11 4	.....	518,653 11 4
	110,066	3,888,279 19 10	.....	5,270,056 18 3

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Constantinople, Oct. 26.—A great irritation still prevails between the Turkish and English troops in Egypt. There have been several bloody affrays between them, and the English General has thought it proper to require the Turks to restore the forts of Alexandria which have been already ceded to them, as necessary for his security, till the final evacuation of the city; but with this request they have refused to comply. The English, however, still remain in possession of the city of Alexandria.—The courts of Madrid and Naples, and the Batavian government, having obtained the consent of the Russian court that their ships should trade to the Russian ports on the Black Sea, the Russian ambassador here, general Tamara, has presented a memoir to the Porte, requesting the grant of a free navigation of the Black Sea for those governments, to which the Porte does not appear disinclined, provided it receives some advantages in return.—The Spanish ambassador here, the Chevalier De Corral, has applied to the Porte to acknowledge the King of Etruria, to which the Reis Effendi has answered, that the Porte is ready so to do, provided the established ordinance be not departed from, which requires that this acknowledgment shall be made by means of a treaty of peace.—A commercial treaty has been concluded with Spain, relative to the free navigation of the Black Sea.

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Leghorn, Nov. 18.—The Batavian vice-admiral, De Winter, has been at Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that state, under a promise to pay to the Pacha an annual acknowledgment of 80,000 Spanish piasters, of which sum, 10,000 are to be paid immediately, and the remainder after the expiration of six months. A yearly present of 3,000 piastres is besides to be made. The Dutch have likewise given the Pacha 120 barrels of gun-powder and a quantity of tar.

Ratisbon, Nov. 20.—The deputation of the empire held its twenty-eighth sitting the day before yesterday, when it voted a *conclusum*, importing that a definitive *conclusum* should be immediately prepared.—In the same sitting, a decree of Imperial commission was read, in which the minister of His Imperial Majesty formally required the deputation not to separate before they had finally decided upon the lot of those princes and ecclesiastical corporations, who, by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, have been entirely dispossessed of their territories, referring to a preceding *conclusum*, by which the deputation agreed to provide sufficient funds for the maintenance of those who would cease to exist as states of the empire.

Vienna, Nov. 21.—Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, lieutenant-captain of the Hungarian guard, is going to Paris. He took leave of His Imperial Majesty the day before yesterday. He will pass the greater part of the winter at Paris, and will, it is said, likewise go to London.—The brother of the Prince Ruspoli, who has been elected grand-master of the order of Malta, is here, and has received a letter from the prince, who is in England, informing him that he has declined accepting the dignity of grand-master, and stating his reasons for his refusal.—Letters from Italy say, that the vice-president of the Italian republic, citizen Melzi, will make a journey to his estates in Spain, and that general Murat will, in the mean time, exercise his functions.—General Colli, who formerly commanded the Sardinian army in Piedmont, which was joined by the Austrian troops, being now completely restored to health, is again in actual service.—The Palatine of Hungary is preparing to make a journey to Petersburgh, which is supposed by some, to have a reference to an intended marriage with a Russian princess.

Ratisbon, Nov. 22.—On the 19th, citizen Laforet and baron Buhler again gave in a short note to the deputation of the empire, in which they say, that "the recess (or final conclusion) of the deputation is now immediately expected; a recess which must merely contain the general plan of indemnities, and the supplementary regulations, together with the regulations relative to the provisional maintenance of the chamber of the empire." To this notification the said ministers have added some alterations, relative to the indemnities of the prince of Leinengen, the grand priory of the order of Malta, and the Helvetic republic; no change, however, is made in the principal allotments.—In the 29th sitting of the deputation, which was held on the 20th inst. the recess of the deputation was begun to be drawn up, and read as far as the 47th section inclusive: to-morrow, probably, the whole will be completed.—In consequence of the approaching occupation of this city, its ecclesiastical foundations and convents, by 300 of the electoral arch-chancellor's troops, the magistracy, on the 19th, published a notification of the approaching change of the government, in which they exhort all persons to behave peaceably and orderly on the entrance of the troops.

Augsburgh, Nov. 22.—As we are now freed, by the generosity of the mediating powers, from all the solicitude with respect to our continuing an imperial city, our magistracy will next Wednesday take possession of all the ecclesiastical edifices, lands, and property, within this city and its territory.—Several Swiss commercial houses propose to remove to Augsburgh, in consequence of the present distracted state of their country.

The government of the Bavarian territory in Suabia will be removed to Ulm.

Basle, Nov. 23.—Several nominations have been made within these few days past for the *consulta*, at Paris. The canton of Rhetia (the Grisons), have sent the senator Surecher, minister of police and of justice, and the prefect Planta. The city of Berne has deputed M. Gruber, president of the municipality, and the ex-patricians Wattenwyl, Jenner, and Haller. M. Mulinin has refused to accept his nomination. Several communes, of the canton of Appenzel, have appointed the receiver-general of the canton of Senlis, citizen Zuber, to attend to their interests at the congress at Paris.—According to a decree of the senate, the members of the insurrectional authorities are called upon personally, and substantially, to restore all money and effects belonging to the republic, which they seized during the momentary triumph of the Oligarchic party.

Paris, Dec. 1.—Sidi Mustapha Arnout, envoy from the Bey of Tunis, was admitted last Sunday to an audience of the First Consul at the palace of St. Cloud. He explained, by means of his interpreter, the object of his mission, which was to congratulate the First Consul on his election to the consulate for life, and to express an hope that the First Consul would grant his *friendship* and *protection* to Tunis.

The general of division, Boudet, who has arrived from St. Domingo, brings intelligence respecting the situation of that colony, which must entirely dissipate the malevolent and alarming reports which have been raised. At the review of the 23d of September, the army was found to consist of 14,000 infantry of the line, 5000 light infantry 2000 gendarmerie, 2000 artillery, and 500 cavalry, amounting altogether to 23,500 men, whites from Europe, and of 4000 black colonial troops. Of these troops there were in the hospitals 2600 infantry of the line, 1100 light infantry, 150 gendarmerie, and 400 artillery. There remains, therefore, between 18 and 19,000 whites fit for service, and near 4000 blacks. The number of sick in the hospitals was, doubtless, considerable, but it does not amount to above a fifth of the whole. The rainy season having set in, it is probable that by the latter end of October there would be a diminution of one half in the hospitals.—The men who have perished since the debarkation of the army, either by disease or the sword, amount to about a fifth. This review was passed with the greatest strictness, and the result signed by general Leclerc, the inspector of reviews, and general Dugua, chief of the Etat Major.—All those troops which arrived in December, January, and February, and who have had time to become accustomed to the climate during the winter, have suffered much less than the others from the disease, which has been, not only at St. Domingo, but throughout America, much more dangerous than usual.—In the review there was not comprised the 86th regiment, con-

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sisting of more than 1600 veterans, accustomed to a southern climate, who arrived in the latter end of October.—As to the situation of the country, the Spanish part and the southern part were in a state of perfect tranquillity. In the canton of Jeremie alone some accidents had happened. Some hundreds of the brigands, profiting by the excessive heat, which rendered all action impossible, committed ravages, and even burnt some plantations in the plain of the Cape; but it is well known, that in the midst even of the most tranquil departments it is impossible to arrest the incendiaries.—Of 60,000 muskets which were in the possession of the blacks, 45,000 have been returned into the magazines; and general Leclerc reckoned, that after the first fifteen or twenty days of the rainy season had passed, he should be able to march, towards the latter end of November, for the purpose of dispersing the remaining assemblies formed in the mountains, completing the disarming of the blacks, and destroying the means of subsistence which they had collected.—The Cape was almost entirely rebuilt, and all the towns which were burnt a year since, are rebuilding with the greatest activity *(Monitaur.)*

Six battalions, of different corps, chosen from amongst the strongest men of the demi-brigade, embarked on the 10th or 11th ult. at Toulon. It is thought that their destination is for St. Domingo. The chief of brigade, Borthon, has also embarked for that island, where he is to fulfil the functions of director general of artillery.

They write from Zurich, that in the night between the 13th and 14th of November, the citizens arrested in that city were carried away in two carriages, under a French escort, but where is not positively known.

Paris, Dec. 4.—On Wednesday the Conscripts of the 6th Division, quarrelled among themselves. The guards interfered, but were attacked by the Conscripts. A patrole of Dragoons came to the support of the Guard, and overpowered the Conscripts. One man was killed, several wounded, and twenty-three of the mutineers have been arrested.

Brest, Nov. 28.—The Corvettes La Torche, from Martinique, and La Curieux, from Cayenne, have been released from quarantine, and have entered the Great Road. The Epidemic Fever which raged at St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, had not extended its ravages to Martinique.—The vessel La Rhinoceros has entered L'Orient, from St. Domingo.

The Banks of the Main, Nov. 27.—We have received from Vienna, the important intelligence that a great part of the city of Constantinople has been destroyed by an earthquake, on the 26th of October last. *(We doubt this.)*

BRITISH COLONIES.

Gibraltar, Nov. 10.—On the 5th inst. Gonzales, a Spaniard, who had assassinated a Spanish gentleman in Grenada in August last, was delivered up to the officers of justice sent in pursuit of him by the Spanish government. Another murderer was at the same time requested to be given up, who had assassinated several people some years ago, and had also taken refuge in the garrison. This, H. R. H. the governor unfortunately found himself restrained from doing, by the late treaty of peace. H. R. H. was therefore under the necessity of expressing to the Spanish commandant the regret he felt at being precluded from delivering the assassin into his hands, but that he should instantly order him to be turned out of the place, which was accordingly done, by landing him on the neutral ground, where he would probably fall into the hands of the Spaniards.—An English frigate under a crowd of sail passed, on the 3d inst. through the Streights, to the westward. She was probably charged with dispatches from the fleet, for England.—Orders have been received here not to reduce Watteville's Reg. which is at present in Egypt.—No intelligence from Egypt or Malta has been received this fortnight past.—The rainy season has set in with great violence; the troops are all extremely healthy, except the remains of the opthalmia, which is still unsubdued in one or two regiments. H. R. H. pays the most unremitting attention to the health of his own regiment, regularly inspecting every man himself daily.—*Nov. 11.*—This morning the St Fiorenzo frigate, Capt. Bingham, put in here in distress, she having sprung a leak in her passage to Madeira, with sealed orders.

NOVA SCOTIA.—The King's College established at Windsor in the province of Nova Scotia, for the education of youth in the principles of religion, and for their instruction in those branches of science and literature, which are taught in the Universities of Great Britain, was lately opened. A copy of the Royal Charter will be found in vol. i. p. 1054.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAVY, NOVEMBER 1, 1802.	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting, with sealed orders	9	3	39	44	95
Guard Ships	1	0	0	0	1
In the English and Irish Channels	0	0	4	13	17
In the Downs and North Seas	0	0	8	16	24
At the West-India Islands, and on the passage	2	0	6	21	29
On the Jamaica station, and do	9	0	9	9	27
American and Newfoundland	0	1	5	5	11
Cape of Good Hope, East-Indies, and on passage	6	7	13	15	41
Coast of Africa	0	0	0	3	3
Portugal and Gibraltar	0	0	3	2	5
In the Mediterranean, and on passage	10	2	20	13	45
Hospital and Prison Ships	1	0	0	2	3
Total in Commission	88	13	107	143	301
Receiving Ships	6	0	7	1	14
Serviceable, and repairing for service	23	1	10	2	36
In ordinary	105	11	86	72	274
Building	24	0	8	2	34
Total	196	25	218	220	659
STATE OF THE ORDINARY AT EACH PORT.					
Portsmouth	39	3	27	15	84
Plymouth	47	1	21	21	90
Chatham	43	7	18	2	70
Sheerness	8	1	7	10	21
River	2	0	30	27	59
Total	134	12	103	75	324

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DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH MILITARY FORCE, DEC. 1, 1802.

	Regulars. Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Tot Ba.	Inv. Co
England and Wales	20	22	—	42	19
Scotland	2	6	—	8	2
Ireland	8	21	4	33	5
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	4	—	4	18
Gibraltar	—	6	—	6	—
Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c.	—	7	1	8	—
West-Indies	—	22	—	22	—
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	—	6	—	6	—
Egypt and Malta	1	9	—	10	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	5	18	—	23	—
At sea, homeward bound	—	6	—	6	—
Total	36	127	5	168	39

DOMESTIC.

Advices from Gibraltar of the 29th of October, state, that a ship from Moca brings intelligence, that the Indian army under the command of General Baird, put in there for refreshments, and had again sailed for India five days before Captain Bullock left Moca. Seven of the transports had been wrecked, on their passage down the Red Sea, though but few lives were lost.—Lord Cavan was shortly expected at Gibraltar on his way from Egypt, as he was to leave that country whenever General Stewart arrived.

The persons fully committed to take their trial for High Treason before a Special Commission, are Col. Despard, Thos. Broughton, Sam. Smith, Arthur Graham, John M'Namara, J. S. Wrattler, Wm. Lander, Thos. Winterbottom, John Francis, John Wood, Dan. Tyndall, T. Phillips, alias Jackson, John Conelly, John Doyle, and Thos. Newman. Three of them are soldiers, two ballast-heavers, one a carpenter, and the others shoemakers. They are separately confined in Newgate, and the New Gaol in the Borough. The Special Commission will be appointed immediately after the Session at the Old Bailey shall have ended. The trials will probably take place at Guildford.

MEETING OF SHIP-OWNERS. At a general meeting of ship-owners, held at the London Tavern, Dec. 1, 1802, to receive the report of the committee of ship-owners, for the Port of London, respecting the duty on the tonnage of ships, and on oil and skins, the produce of the British fisheries, and on other business of great importance to the shipping interest: Mr. Hill in the chair. The chairman stated, that the secretary had transmitted to the out-ports, the rules and regulations of the society, and that the ship-owners at North Shields, &c. &c. had appointed committees to co-operate with the committee for the Port of London; that the committee had received several communications from the ship-owners in London and at the out-ports, on many important subjects relative to the shipping interest; that the object of the committee had been the present depressed state of the shipping of the country, and to obtain the repeal of the duty on the tonnage of ships and on oil, &c. the produce of the British fisheries. The most important subjects are the following, viz. The inconvenience of taking out a licence, and giving a bond to the commissioners of the customs; the claim recently set up by the directors of Ramsgate harbour, for payment of the harbour dues on colliers; the present rates of pilotage from the Downs to Gravesend and from thence to London; the recent disputes between the ship-builders and their workmen; and the real state of the shipping interest at this critical and trying juncture. In addition to the objects before stated, many other matters were submitted to the consideration of the committee, and disposed of, they hoped to the satisfaction of the parties. The committee begged leave most earnestly to recommend a strict adherence to the spirit of the navigation laws, and deprecated any attempt to endeavour to relax those maritime regulations which had so effectually contributed to the greatness and power of the country, at a time when all the maritime nations of the world viewed with jealousy the superiority we had gained by our carrying trade. The resolutions of the general meeting of the 30th of Sept. last were then read. The chairman reported the result of the second interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and stated that the committee had not been able to convince him of the impolicy of the tonnage duty. It was then resolved, that a petition be presented to the House of Commons; that the committee be requested to adopt such further means for the repeal of the duty as they may think proper; and that they be instructed to take into consideration the present situation of the ship-owners with respect to Mediterranean passes. *The whole of the interesting papers on this important subject will be given in the* SUPPLEMENT *to this volume.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

St. James's, Nov. 24, 1802.—This day M. Otto, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, had an Audience of his Majesty, to deliver his Letter of Recall:—To which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and conducted by Robert Chester, Esq. Assistant-Master of the Ceremonies.

Whitehall, Nov. 30.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the following Gentlemen, and the respective Heirs Male of their Bodies, lawfully begotten, viz.—John Braithwaite, Esq. Major-Gen. of His Majesty's Forces in the East Indies.—Thomas Woollaston White, of Tuxford, and Wallingwells, in the Counties of Nottingham and York, Esq. with Remainders to his Brothers, Taylor White and Charles Lawrence White, Esqrs. and their respective Heirs Male.—Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, of Chilton, in the County of Berks, Esq.—Culling Smith, of Hadley, in the County of Middlesex, Esq.—William Curtis, of Culland's Grove, Southgate, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. one of the Aldermen of the City of London.—Joseph Peacock, of Barntick, in the county of Clare, Esq.

Downing-street, Dec. 4, 1802.—The King has been pleased to appoint Bartholomew Frere, Esq. to be His Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Madrid.

Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1802.—The King has been pleased to present the Rev. A. Goade, to the Vicarage of Terrington, Norfolk, void by the death of the Rev. W. Walker.

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BANKRUPTS.

Wegzell, T. Bowling-green-lane, carpenter.—Newman, S. Finsbury-square, merchant.—Ryle, J. Newcastle, linen draper.—Broadbent, J. Mosley, broker.—Rider, T. Southampton, innholder.—Warwick, W. Clerkenwell, jeweller.—Prangnell, J. Whitecross-street, smith.—Neave, T. and M. Bickton, millers.—Cook, B. North Audley-street, miller.—Blogg, W. Pall-mall, architect.—Bentfield, B. Yarmouth, liquor-merchant.—Corbett, H. W. Liverpool, merchant.—Dunsford, M. Tiverton, merchant.—Ainsworth, J. Lincoln, mercer.—Fearhead, E. Tunstal, grocer.—Barns, J. Rochford, dealer.—Williams, T. and H. Field, Aldersgate-street, packers.—Dewis, W. the younger, Bedworth, Warwick, silkman.—Parsons, W. Ringwood, coinfactor.—Taylor, W. Harwich, ship-builder.—Gibbs, J. Wrotham, corn-chandler.—Durand, J. N. Millman-street, merchant.—Henderson, D. the younger, Bernard-street, merchant.—Tessier, A. J. Bentinck-street, feather merchant.—Flower, T. and J. Cooper, Whitechaple, umbrella-makers.—Whitby, J. Chester, corn-factor.—Eldridge, T. Old-street, victualler.—Baxter, J. Middle-Temple, merchant.—Sims, J. Honeycombe, dealer.—Phillips, J. Tottness, shopkeeper.—Holloway, J. P. Swithin's-lane, wine-merchant.—Rogers, J. Dover, hoyman.—Stanley, J. Fleet-market, brandy merchant.—Sealey, R. Bruntcliffe, spirit merchant.—Crook, O. T. Weybridge, timber dealer.—Hill, J. Newgate-street, linen-draper.—Morris, J. Shaddoxhurst, horse-dealer.—Holloway, P. J. and M. Curtis, London, merchant.—Aplin, O. Banbury, Oxford.

BIRTHS.—At Cookham, Berks, the Lady of Colonel Wheatley, of the 1st. Reg. of Guards, of a daughter.—On the 23d ult. the Countess of Banbury, of a daughter.—Lately in Dublin, the Lady of the Hon. Lieut. Col. Hutchinson of a daughter—On the 8th ult. the Countess of Glasgow of a daughter.—On the 23d ult. at Sudbrook-house, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Stopford, of a son.—On the 1st. Dec. Lady Downe of a daughter.

STOCKS.	FRI	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU
3 per C. Con.	67½	—	—	—	—	—
5 pr Ct. Ann.	99½	99⅞	100	100⅛	100¼	100¼
Imp. 3 per Ct.	65½	—	—	—	—	—
D° Ann.....	11	11½	—	11½	11½	—
Omnium ...	10½ di	10½di	10½di	10½di	10½di	10½di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 6	2 us.	Leghorn	50¾	
D°, at sight	11 4½		Naples.....	42	
Rotterdam	11 7	2 us.	Genoa	46	
Hamburgh	34	2½us.	Venice, 51 livres piccole		
Altona....	34 1	2½us.	effective per £. ster.		
Paris 1 day	24 8		Lisbon.....	67	
Paris.....	24 12	2 us.	Oporto	67½	
Bourdeaux,	24 13		Dublin.....	12	
Cadiz		eff.	Bilboa	36¾D°	
Madrid ..		effective	Agio, bank on Hol.	p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat p[illegible]q.	40s. to 56s	Hops per cwt.	190s to 224s
Rye.....	35 .. 39	Hay per load....	85 .. 146
Barley.....	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s.8d to6s.
Malt.....	40 .. 46	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats	16 .. 24	Veal	5s. 6d. to 6s. 8d.
Pease (white)....	40 .. 45	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 4½d.
Flour per sack ..	45 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33s. ½d
Seconds.....	40 .. 45	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	48 .. 55	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The intelligence from the *United States of America*, which comes down to the 5th ult. represents the yellow fever as having subsided; but the ever-burning fever democracy appears to have raged with redoubled fury. It is well known, that the democratic, or French party, gained the ascendency at the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency. This party is certainly sinking at this time: several exposures have taken place, and have produced great effect on the public mind. Strange and lamentable as is the fact, it is nevertheless perfectly true, that about half a dozen English, Scotch, and Irish democrats, who escaped from the hands of justice in Europe, have, with the aid of so many *printing-presses*, brought about the fall of the federal party in America. When their triumph was accomplished, they, of course, looked for that reward of *patriotism*, the LOAVES AND FISHES. The President had one good place (printer to the United States' Government) to bestow, for which, unfortunately for the cause of patriotism, of liberty, and of republican virtue, there were *two* candidates: one JAMES THOMSON CALLENDER, a Scotchman, who was the author of the "Political Progress of Britain," and who escaped from the officers of justice, at Edinburgh, about the year 1793; the other, WM. DUANE, an Irishman, who was, for seditious practices, banished from India, by Lord Cornwallis. To these two men Mr. Jefferson certainly owes his seat in the presidential chair; but, he could not make them *both* printer to the United States, and neither would yield his pretensions. DUANE was the happy man. CALLENDER, to whom the President was most indebted, was enraged beyond measure: the enemies of Jefferson enabled the Scotchman to establish a weekly paper, which he has hitherto devoted almost exclusively to the *exposing* of his former patron. Amongst other things, he has asserted, and, indeed, we think, positively *proved*, that Mr. Jefferson paid him 200 dollars for the writing and publishing of works, the principal object of which was, to defame, and to destroy the characters of, Washington and Adams, and that, too, *at the very time, that he* (Jefferson) *was publickly extolling the talents and virtues of the persons so defamed.* Another fact, which he has published, is, that Mr. Jefferson keeps a *negro concubine*, by whom he has had five children, and whom he has kept, and still keeps, under the same roof with two young ladies, his daughters by a deceased wife!

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These are matters not spoken of in a corner, but promulgated and discussed in all the public papers of that country, which are not less than three hundred in number.—But, notwithstanding the discredit which disclosures of this nature may be expected to cast on the democratical party, we are sorry, for the sake of America and of the world, to perceive, that as far as the annual elections had gone, their result indicated but little decline in the influence of that party.—Tom Paine had arrived at Baltimore. If this traitor to his king and blasphemer of his God receives some encouragement from seeing a "temple of reason," where *infidelity is openly preached*, at New York, he must be somewhat mortified at meeting the *works of Burke*, coming from an American press. The Editor of this Register sent 40 sets of the new edition of Burke's Works to America, yet the demand for it has encouraged two booksellers of Philadelphia to put it to press, preceded by the life of the author, written by Dr. Bisset. This is a fact of no small political importance. It shows, that there is yet a sound part in America: for Burke's writings are the true touchstone in politics. Indeed, as to property, morality, and even numbers, the far *greater* part of America is politically sound in sentiment; but, what the other small part wants in every other virtue, it has in the great and all-commanding virtues of *courage* and *perseverance*: it has the *sinews and bones* of the country; its opponent has nothing but the *flesh*, the dull, the heavy, the soft, the trembling flesh.—Was it not so in France?—And is it alas! not so in England?

The *plunder of Germany* and the *subjugation of Switzerland*, have been prominent topics in our political remarks for many weeks past. The former goes on, and will, in all probability continue to go on, with more or less dispatch, until a complete revolution of the Empire is effected. The subjugation of Switzerland is accomplished. The senate, Buonaparté's senate, has imposed *a war-contribution* on the Cantons, amounting to 900,000 livres, for the support of the French troops! This puts us in mind of the conduct of the French vessels of war, which made the American merchantmen pay, in a certain proportion (at about three guineas per ball), *for the balls, which, during a chace, the former fired at the latter!* * And, indeed, these two facts, when the *neutral* and even *amicable* conduct of Switzerland and America towards France, are considered, form, of themselves, no very unsatisfactory refutation, if refutation were still wanted, of the opinions of those who contend, that England might, *by the means of neutrality*, have avoided the insolence and hostility of France.—It has been stated, in some of the foreign journals, that Reding and his associates have been set at liberty. We shall be agreeably surprised, if this intelligence should prove true; but, at present, we can give no more credit to it than to the tale of the Ministerial Paper, which represents "poor Toussaint" as kept in a dungeon "up to his knees in water!" A tale nearly as incredible as that which is related respecting the "*stark naked*" goddess of reason, exhibited at Nottingham. Such exaggerations do infinite injury to whatever cause they are intended to serve.

The affair of his Excellency Count Stahremberg, mentioned in p. 736 of our last sheet, is, in the main, confirmed. He was ordered to quit Paris, and France; but, as to the *time* allowed him for so doing, report was erroneous. *Six hours* were given him to quit the capital, and a reasonable time to quit the Republic.—That this mandate of the Consul is positively contrary to the *law* of nations, it would, perhaps, be too much to assert; but, that it is a violation, and a very gross violation, of those usages of nations, which have grown almost into positive laws, no one can deny *. —The Count, however, as we observed before, must feel that, for this insult and injustice, he is amply compensated by the honour conferred on him by the hatred of the Corsican.—As a counterpart to this act of insolence towards the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty to the King of England, it is intended, we are told, to send General Lasnes back to the Court of Lisbon; and, indeed, we have been well informed, that the Portuguese minister, of whom Lasnes complained, is already *dismissed from his employment!*—How long will it be ere the same sort of influence will be felt *at Whitehall?*—Nay, start not, reader! Has not the hand of Buonaparté already been felt in our courts of justice? Has he not snatched a condemned traitor from the gallows? And has not his official journal signified his wish, that our present "*prudent* ministry" may keep their places?—Connected with this topic is the daring act of sending hither a complete set of "*commercial agents*," after they had been refused to be received. The ministers have, through their official paper, informed the public,

* See the particulars relating to this fact. Porcupine's Works. Vol. V. p. 328.

* See Cobbett's Translation of Martens's Compendium of the Law of Nations, p. 265, 266, and 267.

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that these persons are not acknowledged by them in any public capacity; and that, therefore, they "are subject to the *Alien Laws*, and *liable* to be, at any time, sent away for mal-practices;" but, would the ministers *dare* to send them away? That's the question; and, for answer to this question, we have only to remember *their conduct with respect to Lundberg, the Swede*, who came over with Lauriston.—Another mark of insolent contempt for other nations has lately been shown at Hamburgh, where RHEINHARD, the French Envoy, seeing the Dukes of AVRAY and POLIGNAC (two French emigrants, the former, at least, *in the service of England*) decorated with the orders of Cordon bleu, St. Louis, and St. Esprit, preferred a complaint to the Senate, who, the next day issued a mandate, *forbidding the wearing of the insignia of any suppressed order, on the part of foreigners!* Not a word of remonstrance was made on the part of the English Chargé-des-Affaires!—Thus is our mortal enemy daily and hourly rising over us in every part of the world. Why, then, will our correspondents continue to blame Sir Joseph Banks? Sir Joseph, though, by no means, overburdened with wit or learning, is a *prudent* man, and a "*safe* politician." Rats, by instinct, quit a falling house; and, after the Hawkesburian preliminaries, after the surrender of Napper Tandy and the abandonment of the Chouans, who could blame Sir Joseph for laying the Royal Society prostrate at the feet of the Institute *?

Since our last there has been circulated much pretended information, or rather misinformation, respecting the situation of St. Domingo, and the French forces in that Island. On the 3d instant, the True Briton announced, that the *government* (by which was, we dare say, meant the *ministry*) had received accounts from Jamaica, stating most fully, the "disastrous *issue* of the French expedition to St. Domingo;" and further stating, that, "it was understood, at Jamaica, that LECLERC had actually *re-imbarked with the remnant of his army*, and "that a body of *five hundred French had* "*joined the blacks*."—On the 4th, that is to say, the next day, the same paper stated, and from "good authority," that "*one thousand* "*five hundred* only of the whole French "force remained, which *had re-embarked* "with general LECLERC."—This intelligence our *well-informed* ministers, our "*safe* "politicians," received, it seems, from Admiral Duckworth, in a dispatch dated Jamaica, 16th of October, and, it would appear, that his news was then eight or nine days old. The intelligence was, then, dated at St. Domingo on the 7th of October, about *nine days after* general BOUDET, whose report has just been published officially in the Moniteur, left the colony for France. From the report of this general (which see p. 756), it appears, that, when he sailed, the French force consisted of *twenty three thousand five hundred* white men and *four thousand blacks*, and that *between eighteen and nineteen thousand* of the whites were fit for duty.—When this official report was received in London, which was on the 6th instant, the "*prudent* "ministers" looked rather abashed. Their intelligence was admirably calculated for producing effect in the debate on the army estimates, but the contradiction came too soon; Boudet unfortunately arrived before the exhibition began! The True Briton fretted, accused the Moniteur of foul play, and, in short, discovered evident marks of disappointment at the bad luck of the savage negroes and the tardy progress of the yellow fever! And these, these are the people, who deprecate "*irritating* lan-"guage!" It is absolutely impossible but the French government and the French people must at once suspect and despise them. —Unwilling to let go their hold, to give up the aid of their honourable auxiliary, the yellow fever, they have trumped up another tale, which has passed through that common sewer of news, the United States of America. This last intelligence is "*dreadful*" again; but, as it is ten days, at least, later than their Jamaica news, it may be relied on, so far, at least, as it completely does away the ridiculous story (which, as we said before, was merely intended for St Stephen's) about the re-embarkation of *Leclerc* and his army. —Why the news which, relating to St. Domingo, comes through Jamaica, or through the United States of America, ought seldom to be believed; and why the people of this country are so easily led to give credit to it; the causes of all this falshood, deception, credulity, and infatuation, are fully explained in the Register, Vol. I. p. 731, *et seq.* to which we beg leave to refer the reader. We do not say, we have never said, that the French may not have *a good deal of*

* Having strayed into a mention of this knight of the Bath; we might appear partial in omitting to notice the recent election of Mr. Fox, who, in opposition to HORNE TOOKE, is now become a "professor of *morals* and *politics*" in the National Institute. An honour most justly bestowed; but, we have our doubts, which was the worthiest object, *Mr. Fox* or *Horne Tooke*. Either of them is, perhaps, a very fit associate for Sir Joseph Banks. —The election of Mr. Fox took place on the 23d ultimo.

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trouble with the blacks; but, we know, that they have already so far succeeded, as to add greatly to our annual expense of ships and men, and that even the double of this expense will not shelter our most valuable colony from the danger, which our ministers have contributed to place at its threshold.

As it comports with our plan to notice every thing, however unimportant, low, and despicable, that tends to elucidate the political situation or feeling of the country, we hope we shall be excused for saying a word or two about the meeting of the Whig Club, which, as the newspapers inform us, has held a meeting at the same public-house, which, a few months ago, opened its doors and its muddy hogsheads to Sir Francis Burdett and his gallows-hating citizens. This miserable rump of Whiggism was, as usual, headed by Mr. Fox. Neither Mr. Grey nor Mr. Sheridan were present: their absence did them much honour, and the club, as if resolved to add to the honour of the latter, omitted to drink his health, while they drank that of Sir Francis Burdett and his crew, and of the late Sheriffs of London, with three times three cheers. The Demagogue made a speech, in which, after a vain attempt to explain away what he had before said about there being no danger in the aggrandizement of France, he declared *the preservation of the peace with that country to be the band of union of the Whig Club.* He then spoke of the *liberty of the press*, but with that sort of shyness, with which a man is apt to speak of a cast-off acquaintance, and not in that warm, bold, enthusiastic strain, which formerly characterized this ever-recurring part of his harangues. He insinuated, that, in order to preserve the blessings of peace, we ought to abstain from *irritating language* against "the person at the head of the "government of France." He forgets his former opinions: he forgets his cowardly insults on the ashes of the Stuarts, and those which he has, during almost every day of the last ten years, been heaping upon the Bourbons; he forgets, he surely forgets *his* irritating language against the *lawful* sovereigns of Europe, sovereigns in *real peace*, in *amity*, and even in *alliance* with his King. We will endeavour to refresh his memory: "the "minister was offended at the expression of "*German Despots*; but his honourable friend, who "had made use of the expression, had styled "these *monarchs* properly; for they had manifested to the world, that their uniform intention "was to make *the* INCREASE OF THEIR POWER *the* "*rule of their conduct.*" * Oh, most apt and applicable definition! and yet now, we should not be surprized, if he were to make a formal complaint against any one, that should venture to call his great friend a *despot*. The wonder is, not how a man can hold up his head, but how he can bear to exist under the proof of such glaring, such shameful tergiversation!

The last papers from Paris inform us, that Lord Whitworth presented his credentials to Buonaparté on the 4th instant.—The same papers bring an account, that Moreau de St. Mery has received the homage of a deputation from the citizens of Placentia. He assured them, that, in annexing their country to France, the only object of the First Consul was *to make them happy*; a declaration the sincerity of which is strongly corroborated by Moreau's having prevented the Marquis of Venturia from carrying off the library and other moveables belonging to the late Duke of Parma, and which the honest Frenchman wished, doubtless, to preserve for the good of the citizens of the Duchy. We know something of Moreau de St. Mery, and we are greatly mistaken if he would not find himself perfectly at home amongst those moveables.—And is it possible, is it a fact, that this low-lived overseer of a negro plantation, with his creole wife and mulatto relations, do really inhabit the ducal palace of Parma! And do the Howards and the Russels still sleep?—God's will be done! Why should poor worms like us fret away our existence in anxiety for those who care not for themselves?

The Dutch minister, M. SCHIMMELPENNINCK, landed at Dover on the 2d inst. He will, of course, be presented at the next levee.

We regret being obliged to postpone our remarks on the late proceedings with respect to the navy and the army, more particularly as the assertions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer call aloud for refutation.—We regret exceedingly, that we have not room to remark on the very important information, which Dr. Laurence extorted from the Minister during Thursday's debate, and from which it appears, that poor Old England is, at last, *to make a pecuniary compensation to the Stadtholder!!!*—Thus is our prediction in this respect also accomplished. (See Register, Vol. I. p. 380). What now becomes of the treaty of Amiens? What becomes of the interpretation given to that treaty by the Ministers *and by the Negotiator?*—Oh, humbled, disgraced, and spiritless nation!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. J. TIETENSER's Letter, in answer to CANDIDUS (a writer in the Star), proving (and, as we think, satisfactorily), that the *latter*, and not the former, is, in reality, the "*insidious defender of Mr. Addington*," shall appear in our next. It was not, as appears by the date, written till the 9th instant: of course, we could not receive till yesterday.—We take this opportunity of requesting our Correspondents to be earlier in their communications, as, on account of the great number of sheets we have to publish, we are obliged to send to press by Friday noon, and to have almost all our matter in the hands of the printers by Thursday noon. Communications of any considerable length should, in order to appear the same week, reach us by Wednesday at 3 o'clock.

GENERAL POST-OFFICE.—Communications respecting this scene of insolence and abuse of office, have poured in upon us from all quarters. The writers may be assured, that we shall not stop short of *obtaining justice*; or, of proving that *it is not to be obtained*: the latter, we hope and trust, will not fall to our lot.—Since the publication of Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Lord Auckland (a third edition of which is in the press), the penny, heretofore demanded and received at the Post-Office, for each English newspaper sent to Ireland, has *not* been demanded or received. We should like to be informed of the cause of this reformation, and to know *what became* of the pence so received.

* Debrett's parliamentary debates, Vol. xi. p. 405.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 24.] *London, Saturday, 18th December*, 1802. [Price 10D

CONTENTS.—*Let. from Mr. Tietsenser*, 769. *Ext. from Monit. about India*, 773. *Earthqu. Constantinople, Ratisbon, Mr. Moore at Constance*, 774. *Swiss News, Mad. Buonap. Drawing-Room*, 775. *Budget*, 778. *M. Schimmelpenninck*, 783. *St. Domingo and Jamaica*, 784. *Discussion relative to the Navy*, 789, *the Army*, 790, *the Reven. and Commerce*, 792, *the Stadtholder*, 795, *Capt. D'Auvergne*, 797, *Floridas, Cochin, Tobago*, 800.

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

Reading, Dec. 9, 1802.

SIR,—When taking up my pen in defence of Mr. Addington, I silenced the pretended *lover of truth and decorum*, I did hope that we should have had no more ironical praises of our respectable minister. But a writer in the *Star*, under the signature of *Candidus*, has thought proper through my sides to make a malevolent attack on my friend and the worthy inhabitants of this place. The intention of this masked satirist is hardly disguised. For who knows not Mrs. CANDOUR in the *School for Scandal*? A seeming officiousness of weak palliation and excuse is the most effectual way of betraying the character to ridicule or censure.

With your permission, Sir, I shall begin by noticing his second letter, because in that he is pleased directly to apply himself to me. And he denies me to be an "inhabitant" of this place; not from any intrinsic evidence in my letter; not from any inquiry of the parish officers or tax gatherers; not from any information derived through the election committees of our worthy representatives Mr. ANNESLEY and Mr. SHAW LE FEVRE; but truly, because there is no "inhabitant of Reading who does not venerate the public character and admire "the private conduct of Mr. Addington." What is this, but impudently to beg the question, that he is the *real*, and I am the "insidious defender" of that great and illustrious statesman? This boldness, however, I am sure will not deceive a discerning public. Let us come to the proof.

What a treacherous account does this candid gentleman give of the origin of the ball! On the first mention of peace he tells us, that the notion of a ball and supper was taken up from a pure abstract love of peace, by a number of gentlemen, who did not all agree in their opinion of the terms of the treaty. And this he calls "an expression of "feelings congenial to the English character," to celebrate unanimously an event about which no two of the company, perhaps, thought precisely alike. His meaning, if he has any, must be, that a ball and a supper can never come amiss to Englishmen and Englishwomen. Otherwise it is such a libel on old English sincerity and plain dealing, as can have been written by no man, but one of those admirers of the First Consul of France, who affect the warmest attachment to Mr. Addington, for their own sinister purposes. Observe too, what a foolish figure he makes of my friend, when he paints him swallowing down, with the greatest self satisfaction, as a compliment to the leading measure of his administration, an entertainment given by persons, a majority of whom, this "insidious defender" hints, disapproved, more or less, of that very measure. I leave the world to judge, whether the true and plain account which I gave, is not much more creditable to Mr. ADDINGTON, that it was a tribute of respect from some former patients of his excellent father. Some of them, however, I am afraid, people will think not to have been perfectly cured, if CANDIDUS is one of the number, and really intends to be serious. But it is impossible that he can. Every line that I read in his letter convinces me to the contrary. Could any one who was in earnest, have passed over a whole year in silence, and told us nakedly that the proposal adopted in October 1801 was carried into effect in October 1802; just when every body knows that the minister, very wisely and spiritedly in my opinion, sent orders to stop the execution of the treaty, and began to arm again in a manner that caused an alarm of war from one end of the kingdom to the other? I accounted, satisfactorily I hope, for this interval. My account is not contradicted: but this great chasm is left by CANDIDUS, merely I believe, because it must strike every man of common observation, as an opening to ridicule not to be resisted.—Indeed, Sir, this is too glaring.

In his short abstract of my friend's speech, this writer represents him as having talked of "the firmness of parliament, the valour "of our fleets and armies, and the loyalty "of his countrymen." On this part he says, "all the quiver of the arrows of invective "has been emptied." Now here, Sir, it happens that there is a very short issue be-

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tween us. Your readers, as far as I am apprized, have before them all that has been written on the subject except the idle paragraphs with which it began; and I will rest every thing on this point:—There is not any where a single syllable of invective aimed against either of these topics If I remember right, there is no direct allusion to either of them. What then could have been the possible object of such a gross misrepresentation, so easily to be detected? What, but that its grossness might lead to instant detection; and that under the flimsy pretence of indignation at the attacks of "*insignificance* and *obscurity*" (as he is pleased politely to characterize the writers in the Morning Post and the Political Register, the "Lover of Truth and Decorum," myself, and your correspondent N. V. who dates from WHITEHALL, all lumped together) he might thus expose my respectable friend "the Chancellor of the Exchequer to fresh "laughter." I appeal to that truth, that genuine candour, and that common sense, whose names this false and scandalous MR. CANDOUR so boldly uses, whether the absurdity of addressing a speech on the blessings of peace to "dancing misses, and negus-"swigging fidlers," the charge which I originally met and confuted, is half so great as the poor, trite, common-place cant, which Mr. Addington is here said to have delivered to the same audience; for the paltry distinction, that he addressed what he said to the stewards, can only be meant to disgust the Public still more, by the meanness of the subterfuge. What a total disregard to dramatic consistency of character, what a want of all probability is there in the fiction, that a minister of peace and anti-jacobinism should remind the gentlemen and ladies of the "firmness of parliament," in voting so long for war, to obtain that *indemnity and security* which he persuaded them to abandon; of "the valour of our fleets and "armies," in making conquests, which he surrendered; and of the "loyalty of his coun-"trymen," evinced, I presume, by a greater number of assassination plots and attempts against the life of the King, than were ever suspected in all the former part of his Majesty's reign, or in the reigns of any of his royal progenitors; and by the whole train of strong measures, suspending or superceding the great constitutional guards of personal liberty; measures which the spirit of the times unfortunately made too necessary; and which have been all of them renewed, and some of them carried further, or introduced for the first time on our statute-book, during the present administration. I will maintain the propriety of these strong measures, as necessary evils; I will maintain the peace, as Mr. ADDINGTON himself did, who declared it was the best he could do, and that "he had never attempted to apply to it "any epithets of praise."* But, against the imbecillity which this "CANDIDUS" ascribes to my friend, I see no defence, but in denying the fact. I do, therefore, deny it; and in the name of all the Minister's true friends, call upon this false friend to prove his malicious imputation if he can.

Having thus endeavoured to injure Mr. Addington, by attributing to him what he did not say, he makes a passage in his real speech the vehicle of ridicule on the inhabitants of this place. The "affectionate manner" in which he is said to have expressed his concern at the necessity of quitting the county, is represented as at once the cause and effect of "those sentiments of esteem, which were "pathetically manifested by the company." It could only have been the cause, I presume, of the pathetical manifestation which followed, and the effect of the pathetical manifestation which preceded. But, what with cause and effect, the world is thus to suppose that the whole ball and supper was a continued display of sentiment and pathos. Fiddlers pathetically scraping; misses pathetically jigging; beaux pathetically hobbling after; stewards pathetically scolding waiters; and fiddlers, misses, beaux, and stewards all pathetically eating and drinking. Now, Sir, I can assure you there was not a single tear shed from the beginning to the end of the entertainment. My friend paid a proper compliment, neither more nor less than became him, to the neighbourhood. But it is a burlesque upon him, to hold out that there was any over-acted tenderness and regret professed by him, at having sold Woodley for several thousand pounds more than it cost him, and received, from the favour of his Sovereign, a much handsomer and more convenient residence, the like of which no former minister ever had influence to get. His old neighbours, on their part, could not but be glad of his promotion, whether they might or might not share in the good effects of it. All this was, in my opinion, just as it should be. The only impropriety was in *publishing it*; and that was the act of Mr. Addington's secret enemies, or injudicious friends, whose foolish paragraphs first provoked the "Lover of Truth and Decorum." Who that writer may be, I neither know nor care; but, from

* See Reg. Vol. I. p. 590. EDIT.

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made his election for Woodstock.—New writ ordered for Heytesbury.—Speaker stated that he had received a letter from the Right Hon. John Beresford, stating his return for Waterford and Inniskillen, and that he had made his election for Waterford.—New writ ordered for Inniskillen.—New writ ordered for the city of Chester, in the room of Lord Belgrave, called up to the House of Peers.—Speaker stated that he had received a letter from the clerk of the crown in Ireland, complaining of an undue election for Trinity College, Dublin.—New writ ordered for Brackley, in the room of S. Haynes, Esq. who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Mr. Golding stated that he had been elected for Fowley and Plympton, and that he had made his election for Fowley.—New writ ordered for Plympton.—New writ ordered for Marlow, in the room of T. Williams, Esq. deceased.—New writ ordered for Portarlington, in the room of H. Parnell, Esq. who had accepted the escheator of Munster.—Report of Irish Militia Bill brought up and agreed to.—Report of the committee on expiring laws brought up.—Mr. Addington moved that no election petitions be taken into consideration till after the recess. Agreed.—Mr. St. John presented a petition from certain electors of Nottingham, complaining that their signatures to a petition already before the house was obtained by false representations.—Sir W. Pulteney presented a petition from the maltsters of Shrewsbury.—Malt duty bill, and bill for raising five millions by loan on exchequer bills, read a second time.—*The secretary at war* moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply, and also that the different army estimates laid before the house on the 1st. of Dec., and the ordnance estimates presented the 3d of Dec. should be referred to the said committee. On Mr. Yorke's moving the first resolution, "that 66,000 "men be employed for the service of Great Bri-"tain and Ireland for the service of 1803," a long and interesting debate ensued, *a correct report of which will be found in the Supplement to this volume.* The speakers were Mr. Yorke, Mr. Banks, Sir W. W. Wynne, Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Temple, Gen. Maillard, Gen. Tarlton, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. D. Ryder, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Mr. Addington, and Sir J. Pulteney.—Motion put and carried *nem. con.*

Thursday, Dec. 9.—Lords.—Chester road bill read a second time.

Commons.—New writ ordered for Lymington, in the room of Gen. Burrard, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Petition presented from the clothiers of Wells, in Somersetshire, praying for the repeal of certain penalties in their trade.—The malt, mum, cyder, pension bill, and exchequer bills went through a committe.—Irish militia bill read a third time and passed.—Attorney general moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more easy transportation of felons.—Mr. Vansittart moved "that there be laid before the house an account of the money payments made to His Majesty's household, and not provided for.—English and Irish grain export bill read a first time.—Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bill for reducing the different bills relative to the Irish militia into one.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of supply; and on the question, that the resolutions be read, an interesting debate, similar to that of yesterday, was opened by Mr. T. Grenville, who was followed by Lord Hawkesbury, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. H. Browne, Col. Calcroft, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Addington, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, and Lord Castlereagh. *(See Supplement)* Report read and agreed to.—Mr. Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better punishment of mutiny and desertion.

Friday, Dec. 10.—Peers.—Counsel heard on the Scotch appeal Kinnaird, *v.* Matthewson.—Small note bill read a third time and passed.—Irish militia bill, and turnpike road bill read a first time.

Commons.—Mr. S. Lefevre stated, that he had been returned for Bodmin and Reading, and that he had made his election for Reading.—New writ ordered for Bodmin.—The Lord Mayor presented a petition on behalf of the ship-owners in the Port of London complaining of the tonnage duty.—Similar petitions were presented from Scarborough, Bridlington, Plymouth, and Sunderland.—A petition was presented on behalf of certain druggists of Sheffield complaining of the late medicine act.—A new writ was moved for Wootton Basset in the room of Gen. St. John who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Attorney general brought up the bill relative to the more easy transportation of felons, which was read a first time.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of ways and means; which being read and agreed to, he moved, that the amount of the produce of the permanent taxes for 1802, be referred to the said committee. Ordered.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house. Mr. Addington then entered into a statement of the supply for the year, and the ways and means for raising it. As we shall have repeated occasions to refer to these important documents before the publication of our Supplement, we are induced to present our readers with the following abstract of them, the accuracy of which may be depended upon, as we have received them from an official source.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer first observed, that he was induced to bring forward the motion, of which he had given notice, for granting to His Majesty a sum on the growing produce of the consolidated fund, at a season of the year earlier than usual, by the very satisfactory circumstance of the extraordinary produce of the rev. during the last half year. It would be recollected, that four millions and a half had been voted on the credit of the consolidated fund, for one year to the 5th April next. Of that sum, no less than £3,800,000 had been realised on the 10th of Oct. last, and there was little doubt that on the conclusion of the ensuing quarter, on the 5th Jan. the surplus of the consolidated fund would exceed the £700,000 necessary to complete the sum which had been voted. The committee therefore would be aware, that unless a power were given to His Majesty's gov. to apply such further surplus as might accrue, to the public service, a considerable sum might remain dead and useless in the exchequer, while money must be raised by other means to defray the necessary expenses. He then shortly recapitulated, the principal measures of finance in the year 1802, and observed, that the unfunded debt in exchequer bills and navy debt, which, in Nov. 1801, had amounted to upwards of £37,300,000 had been reduced to about 19½ millions; making a reduction of near 18 millions, which in the course of the year had been either funded or payed off.—Of the remaining sum of 19½ millions, three millions, which had been advanced by the bank as a

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consideration for the renewal of their charter, bore no interest, and was not payable till 1806, and £900,000 were charged on the annual taxes of the present year, the arrears of which would be sufficient to discharge them. Deducting these sums, and £4,500,000 of navy debt, the remaining Exch. bills scarcely exceeded 11 millions. That in order to effect this reduction, to provide for the current services of the year on that extensive scale which the circumstances of the state had required, and to relieve the country from the pressure of the income tax, it had been necessary to make provision for 97 millions of funded debt, of which 11 millions arose from the funding of exchequer bills, 57½ millions from the stock charged upon the income tax, and about 30 millions from the loan of the present year. That the charge accruing from so large an addition to the funded debt amounted to above £3,100,000, for which taxes were provided, which were estimated at four millions, but which in the first quarter in which they had become productive had brought into the Exchequer about £920,000, although scarcely any thing had been received on the additional assessed taxes, which were estimated at one million. Adding, therefore, one-fourth of this sum to that which had been realized, it would appear that the produce of the taxes of 1802, in the quarter ending the 10th of Oct. in that year, might be estimated at no less than £1,170,000. He had the satisfaction to state, that so far as a judgment could yet be formed, the services of the year would be defrayed by the grants of parliament, with the single exception of the extraordinaries of the army. Gent. would recollect that he had expressed his apprehensions in the spring that a considerable excess would arise on that service, and a large addition of expense had undoubtedly been occasioned by the detention of our troops upon foreign stations longer than had been expected. He had reason to believe that the excess beyond the sum of £1,600,000 provided by Parliament, would exceed one million; but he had the consolation of being able to state to the committee, that the total expense of the extraordinaries of the army in 1802 would not exceed one half of its amount in the preceding year. It was also satisfactory to reflect, that the economical management of the naval service had effected a reduction of no less than four millions and a half of navy debt. He next stated the supplies proposed for the year 1803, and the ways and means by which they were to be defrayed as follows:

SUPPLIES.

Navy, 50,000 men, at £7 per man, per mo.	4,550,000	
Ordl. and extra.....	1,218,138	
Buildings, &c.....	901,140	
		6,669,378
Army	5,500,000	
Extraor. (includ. surplus extraor. issued in 1802).....	2,000,000	
		7,500,000
Ordnance.....		787,947
Corn bounties.....		524,573
Miscellaneous—England / Ditto Ireland		1,000,000
Irish permanent grants....		363,339
Amount of joint charges,		16,845,237

ENGLAND's SEPARATE CHARGES.

To pay off exchequer bills on aids 1801	2,781,000	
Do do on Aids, 1803 (Bank)	1,500,000	
Repayment to India Com.	1,000,000	
Interest on exchequ. bills and disc. &c.	600,000	
Reduction of national debt	100,000	
		5,981,000
Total supplies		22,826,237
2-17ths of the above sum of £16,845,237, are to be contributed by Irel.	1,981,792	
Add for Ireland 2-17ths of £1,200,401, for civil list, and other charges on the consoli. fund, not relating to the public debt	141,223	
On account of Ireland		2,123,015
Ditto of England		20,703,222

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt.		2,750,000
Surplus consolidated fund		6,500,000
Exchequ. bills on aids 1804		11,000,000
Lottery.....		500,000
		20,750,000
Estimate of exchequ. bills outstanding 31st Dec. 1802.....		14,180,000
To be funded.....	7,000,000	
To be paid off.	4,281,000	
		11,281,000
		2,899,000
Proposed to be issued on aids 1804.		11,000,000
		13,899,000

He next proceeded to consider the supplies of the year as distinguished between permanent services and such as were only occasional. Under the former head, he observed, might be included the navy, the army (except that sum which might be voted to make good the excess of the extraord. of the present year, which he estimated at one million,) the ordnance, the miscellaneous services of Gt. Britain and Ireland, and the interest on exch. bills, although on all those services it was possible that reductions might hereafter take place. The total amount of those charges was about 16 millions, of which the British proportion would somewhat exceed £14,100,000. In the latter class might be placed the corn bounties, the excess of the army extraordi. of 1802, the repayment of exch. bills, and of the advances of the Bank and E. I. Comp. amounting in the whole to £6,800,000. He was strongly impressed with the conviction, that whatever our necessary permanent expenses might be, they ought to be provided for by a permanent revenue equal to the charge; and he trusted, that in this opinion he was supported by a general concurrence of the House, and of the country. That we must not attempt to accommodate our expenditure to our revenue, but must resolutely determine to raise

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the manifest superiority of his style to that of "Candidus," I am satisfied they are not the same person, as I might be led to suspect from the apparent conformity of their designs. Against both I shall be ever ready to enter the lists, in behalf of my friend, Mr. Addington.

I have now gone through all that relates to the Reading Ball. With your permission, Sir, I may take some future opportunity of of exposing the malignity which CANDIDUS betrays in some other parts of his second, and the whole of his first letter. Here he plainly discovers the cloven foot. He openly does that, which I will take upon me to say, my friend considers as the most mischievous of all things to him: he seeks to embroil him with Mr. Pitt, by endeavouring to build his reputation on the ruins of his predecessor's glory. I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant, J. TIETENSER.

EXTRACT FROM THE MONITEUR, RESPECTING INDIA.

The Moniteur copies from the Mercure de France a long article attacking England. The two following passages are the most remarkable:—"A company of English merchants exercises imperial power in India, wastes its population, and dethrones its princes at will. What is held to be in Europe outrageously revolutionary, is thought by them to be in India perfectly just and lawful; as their philosophers allow that politics and morality change with the climate. In the late war, by which this merchant-company deprived the Sovereign of Mysore of his life and dominions, their servants got into their hands that prince's papers.—Nothing can be more natural, than, that the inhabitants of India, and their princes, should view with jealousy the grasping, oppressive ambition, of such a company of merchants; and should wish to join in confederacy with those who are in arms against them." [*Here follows an account of the deposition of the Nabob of Arcot.*]—"Most of the English papers prose a great deal about the ferment there is in men's minds. Not a sloop can be armed, in any British harbour, but they will insist, that Europe is going to be deluged with the blood of a new war. They are so blind, as not to see, that the affairs of the Continent have been settled to the entire satisfaction of all the great powers; and, that the voice of experience still speaks too loudly, and too decidedly, to leave a possibility, that any government should consent to the interference of the English in the new arrangements which have become necessary in consequence of the peace.—Switzerland, drawn into the vortex of our revolution, which she once thought that she might view as an unconcerned spectator, can no longer return to that which was her condition in 1789. There are, in politics, situations which cannot be restored. Were that country left to itself, it might exhaust and agitate the neighbouring powers, but could never renovate its former existence. The interposition of France had become indispensibly necessary."

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Ratisbon, Nov. 26.—The Deputation of the Empire, on the 23d inst. completed the Deputation's recess, or general conclusum in 54 sections, which was yesterday presented to the Imperial Plenipot. for ratification. The Sub-delegate of Bohemia gave his vote for the conclusum in contemplation of a speedy adjustment between Austria and France, which may be expected every day. The conclusum has been sent off by the French Legation at Paris by a Courier.—Immediately after the ratification the general conclusum will be laid before the Diet.—The day before yesterday 350 Mentz troops entered this city, and to-day the Count De Benzel took civil possession, in the name of the Elector Arch-Chancellor.

Banks of the Meine, Nov. 27.—A new Deputation, it is said, will be appointed to consider of the new distribution of the German Empire, and the constitution of the circles, and to prepare a plan to be laid before the Diet.

Vienna, Nov. 21.—According to intelligence from Peterwaradin, of the 18th inst. the first reports respecting the earthquake at Constantinople were much exaggerated. It was nevertheless very violent. In the neighbourhood of the Seraglio several houses were shaken, and a great part of those in the suburb of Galata, together with the Mosques, overthrown. The Grand Seignior fled to the Mosque of St. Sophia, where a great multitude of people also took refuge.—*Nov.* 24.—Prince Esterhazy has left this city for Paris, and Gen. Count St. Julien, who accompanied the Grand Duke Constantine to the frontiers of Austrian Poland, has returned to Vienna.—The Palatine of Hungary will set off for Petersburgh, about the end of the month.

Berne, Nov. 30.—It is said that the English Secretary, Mr. Moore, has repaired to Constance *incog.* where General Bachmann is at present with several Swiss emigrants.—The public papers have announced that M. Reding has been set at liberty; it is not, however, Aloys Reding, but one of his cousins.

Ratisbon, Dec. 2.—The Imperial Plenipot. has not yet acceded to the Defin. Conclusum of the Deputation.—The ministers of the mediating powers, are occupied with the discussion of a project for the organization of Germany, upon the principles established in the plan of indemnities, in which will be particularly determined the relation of the two prevailing religions, and the powers of the directors of public worship.—There

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still exists a violent quarrel between Bavaria and Baden, respecting the library at Manheim.

Berne, Dec. 3.—The Diets assembled at Lugano and Bellinzona, have charged Citizen Ruttiman, First Statthalter, at present at Paris, to represent those cantons in the Congress. The Diet of Zug, on the refusal of the Ex-Director Laharpe, has appointed for its Deputy, Gen. Andermatt.—The Editor of one of our Journals has been conducted under a military escort before Gen. Ney, in consequence of an article which appeared in his Journal. The Gen. declared that the Journals of Berne should pass under the censurate of his office.

Basle, Dec. 3.—The Helvetic Government has received intelligence that the Preliminary Negotiations have already been set on foot respecting the Indemnities claimed by Switzerland for the loss of its possessions in Germany, which promise complete success.—Gen. Ney has been authorized by the Minister at War to transport all the artillery, musquets, &c. arising from the disarming of the inhabitants of Switzerland, to Lausanne, where they will be guarded by the second Helvetic battalion of the line.—The Deputies of Uri and Schwitz have set out for Paris.

Brussels, Dec. 6.—Letters from Paris continue to assure us, that the journey of the First Consul into *ci-devant* Belgium, will take place in January next, and that after having visited Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent, examined and given the necessary orders respecting the opening the canal between Charleroy and Brussels, for the purpose of forming a junction between the Sambre and the Scheldt, he will proceed directly to Mayence. It is added, that the Minister at War will join Buonaparté on the banks of the Rhine, in order to examine the plan formed for the purpose of establishing a military line on the left bank of that river, between Frankenthal and the frontiers of the Batavian Republic.

Paris, Dec. 7.—*(Extract from the Argus).—Madame Buonaparte's Drawing-Room.*—The Drawing Room at St. Cloud, on Thursday night, in point of brilliancy and fashion, eclipsed all former precedent. Mad. Buonaparté entered the Drawing-Room at ½ past 3 o'clock, when the following presentations took place, viz.—Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset, the Duchess of Gordon, with her beautiful and accomplished daughter, Lady Georgiana.—The Duchess of Newcastle—Countess of Cholmondeley.—Lady Conyngham.—Lady Eliz. Monck.—Lady Eliz. Foster, daughter of the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derby.—Mrs. Orby Hunter.—These were the principal English Ladies that were presented to Mad. Buonaparté. The foreign circle of Ladies were very numerous. Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador, was likewise presented, together with the list of Noblemen and Gent. presented to the First Consul on Sunday last. The rest of the company consisted of M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. Maret, Secretary of State, with the other Members of Government; the Foreign Ministers and their Ladies; Sir John, Lady, and Miss Callander; Col. Roche; Lt. Col. Matthew; Lord Frederick Montague; Maj. Staples; the beautiful and accomplished Mrs. Orby Hunter; and a large party of fashion and beauty, of all nations, too long for recapitulation.—Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset was honoured by Mad. Buonaparté with the most marked attention. By mistake her Grace was placed on the left, instead of the right hand of Mad. Buonaparté. This occasioned a temporary derangement, which, however, only served to display the affability and politeness of Mad. Buonaparté in a more conspicuous light.—The Duchess of Gordon was likewise noticed in the most *gracious* and flattering manner, and as well as her lovely and charming daughter, Lady Georgiana, constituted the object of general admiration. Nor ought the beauteous and fascinating lady Conyngham to be omitted in this glorious constellation of female loveliness, this *lucidum caput*, of which she formed so bright and sparkling a star! May such sweet irradiation ever shine and cheer the political horizon of the courts of Europe, and more particularly shed its benign influence over the cabinets of France and Great Britain!—The ceremony of presentation being over, the company were ushered through the long gallery, to a spacious apartment, where refreshments were served up, consisting of the choicest wines, fruits, and other dainties. The present being the first time of this custom taking place, we may consider it as a compliment to the English embassy. About 5 o'clock the company withdrew, highly satisfied with the polite reception they had experienced, and loud in their praises of the urbanity and *winning kindness* of Madame Buonaparté. The Duchess of Gordon, in particular, expressed herself in terms of *rapture* at the elegant and conciliatory manners of that lady.

Paris, Dec. 7.—By a decree of the Consuls a real entrepôt is established at Cherbourg.—Gen. Menou is to replace Gen. Jourdan, as administrator Gen. in Piedmont; the latter will sit in the council of state.—*Dec.* 10.—The deputies of the Helvetic Cantons convoked at Paris to give their opinion on a plan of constitution for Helvetia, have nearly all arrived here.—The government has appointed a commission of four, viz. Barthelemy, Desmeuniers, Roderer and Fouche to confer with the deputies in order to receive and discuss their observations and plans.—*Dec.* 11.—They write from Algiers, of the 10th Nov. that on the preceding day, a shock of an earthquake was felt there, so violent, that for forty seconds the inhabitants expected to be buried under the ruins of their houses. Several houses were much damaged, and almost all were cracked.—At the distance of six leagues from Algiers, a village, consisting of 200 houses, was entirely destroyed, and all its inhabitants perished.—Two English ships of the line felt the shock strongly at 30 miles from land.

DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday the 8th inst. His Majesty held a levee at St. James' Palace, which was numerously attended. The principal presentations were Count Schimmelpenninck, envoy and plenipotentiary from the Batavian republic, his Grace the Duke of Bedford, on coming to his title; and the Right Hon. the Attorney General of Ireland.

On Thursday the 9th. inst. Her Majesty held a drawing room at St. James's Palace. The principal introductions to Her Majesty were Count Schimmelpenninck, and his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 8.—LORDS.—Chester road bill read a first time.

COMMONS.—Speaker stated, that having been returned for Woodstock and Heytesbury, he had

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our revenue to a level with the expenditure. He did not, however, at present, feel it necessary to recommend to the committee any such effort. The only operation of finance which he had at present in contemplation, was at some late period of the session, to propose that from six to eight millions of exch. bills should be funded, in order to prevent any inconvenient accumulation in the market. The committee would be aware that it was a bargain could be concluded with the holders of those bills, on terms advantageous to the public, it might be necessary to raise a loan to this extent, for the purpose of discharging them. In either case, he trusted, that the means of defraying the charge which would be brought upon the public, might be found without any very material addition to the burthens of the people.—He next proceeded to state to the committee, that it might be observed that he had resolved to vote no more than four millions as the produce of the consol. fund, although he had held out the expectation of a sum of 6½ millions in the original account of the ways and means of the year. He had proposed a vote so moderate, because it would be sufficient for the immediate service, and would avoid any inconvenience to the public service in case the hopes which he entertained himself well warranted in entertaining, should not be realized by the experience of the first quarters. He had, however, to state the produce of the three preceding quarters in support of his expectations. The actual amount of the produce of the consolidated fund in ¾ of a year ending the 10th Oct. 1802, amounted to 5,508,067*l.* To which was to be added the bounties paid on corn within that period, and not yet repaid by drawback, being 431,729*l.* and the sum which might be collected from the produce of the taxes of the current year, which had not taken place in the first quarters of that period. The total would amount to 7,845,796*l.* From which, deducting the whole of the sums received on account of the income tax, amounting to 2,054,893*l.* the total produce of the three quar. would appear to be 5,884,903*l.* The ensuing year proved equally productive, the surplus, in four quar. would be no less than 7,000*l.* and he therefore could not consider himself over sanguine in expecting a clear surplus of 7,000*l.* It was also satisfactory to observe, that the above sum of 7,845,000*l.* was little less than double the surplus of the consolidated fund of the former year; as the largest produce ever known, which was in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1801, amounted to 4,300,000*l.* In comparing the produce of the taxes, it would be found that a very positive increase had taken place, not indeed in every year, but in every period of a certain number of years compared with periods preceding them. This was an undeniable proof of the prosperous state of the country, and a satisfactory indication of its increasing resources. Supposing the produce of the rev. to continue equal to what it had been of late, which he was far from venturing to predict with confidence, it would afford the means of providing for the defence of the country in a very ample manner. In confirmation of which, he stated the supply and ways and means as follow.—The naval service, in its different branches, he had estimated at about 4,230,000*l.* a sum capable of supporting an estab. nearly double that which had been maintained in any former peace. The army (allowing 500,000*l.* for extraor. and contingencies) a reduction of one million below the present estimates,) would amount to 5,200,000*l.* For the ordnance he should allow 800,000*l.*; and for the miscellaneous services of the United Kingdom 1,300,000*l.* The total joint contribution would be 11,530,000*l.* Adding 500,000*l.* for the separate charges of Britain, to the British proportion of the above sum, the total to be provided by Gr. Britain would be 10,533,000*l.*

To meet this expense, we might estimate land and malt tax.....	£2,750,000
Surplus consoli. fund, estimated according to the produce of the three last quarters.....	7,845,000
Lottery	500,000
Contribution of the E. I. Comp.....	500,000
Total.....	11,595,000

a sum which would leave a clear surplus of upwards of a million.—But there were other indications not less satisfactory and decisive, of the increasing prosperity of the country. It was not possible, till the conclusion of the year, that the accounts of the commerce of the country should be completely made up. But from the best accounts which at present could be procured, it appeared that the real value of the principle articles of Brit. prod. and manufac., exported in the year ending Oct. 10, 1802. amounted to 27,900,000*l.*; while, in the preceding year, they were somewhat less than 24,500,000*l.* and that, supposing those articles to bear the same proportion to the whole of the exports, which they had done in former years, the total value of Brit. manuf. exported in the year 1802, would not fall short of 50,000,000*l.* being an increase of eight millions above the year preceding, which was itself greater than any former year.—The account of the shipping of the country was still more imperfect, as, till the close of the year, returns were only made up for the port of London: but it was not less satisfactory, so far as it could be ascertained, particularly in the important circumstance of the increase of Brit. shipping. In the year ending the 10th Oct. 1801, 1726 Brit. ships, measuring 418,631 tons, and manned with 23,096 men, had entered that port, and 1331 ships, measuring 350,634 tons, and carrying 24,070 men, had cleared outwards. In 1802, the Brit. ships which entered inwards were 2459, tons 574,700, men 33,743.—The Brit. ships which cleared outwards were 1933, tons 419,067, men 28,112.—The diminution of foreign shipping was not less remarkable than the increase of British. In 1801, the number of foreign ships which entered inwards, was 3385, tonnage 452,677, men 20,388. The foreign ships which cleared outwards were 3381, tonnage 446,651, men 23,302. In the year 1802, the number of foreign ships entering inwards was reduced to 1549, tonnage 214,117, men 10,555. The foreign ships which cleared outwards were 1868, tonnage 262,006, men 14,826. Such were the proofs of the increasing prosperity of G. Brit. But that of the other part of the United Kingdom was not less remarkable.—The rev. of Ireland had increased between the 5th of Jan. and the month of Aug. last above 900,000*l.* compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year. An increase which in proportion to the total amount of the Irish rev. was even greater and more rapid than known. He then took a view of the state of the sinking fund—a measure which had originated in the

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sagacity and abilities of the late minister, and had been established by the wisdom and firmness of Parliament. In 1787, the sinking fund bore a proportion to the interest of the nati. debt, of about one to ten—it now had risen to the proportion of one to three, and amounted to no less than six millions—a sum which, annually added to the productive capital of the nation, cannot fail to produce the most extensive and salutary effects.—Mr. Addington concluded with moving his resolutions, which were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday.—The Indemnity Bill read a third time and passed.

From the London Gazette, St. James's, Dec. 8, 1802.

This day M. Schimmelpenninck, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Batavian republic, had a private audience of His Majesty to deliver his credentials: to which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, His Majesty's principal sec. of state for foreign affairs, and conducted by Sir Cottrell, Knt. master of the ceremonies.

St. James's, Dec. 9, 1802.—This day M. Schimmelpenninck, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Batavian republic, had a private audience of Her Majesty: to which he was introduced by Edw. Desbrow, Esq. vice chamberlain to Her Majesty, and conducted by the master of the ceremonies.

From the London Gazette, D.c. 14.—*Lent Preachers appointed to preach before his Majesty for the year* 1803.

Feb. 23 (Ash Wednesday,) Dean of the chapel Lord Bishop of London. 25, Dean of Hereford Dr. Vetherell. 27, Lord Bishop of Landaff.—March 2, Dr. Strachey. 4, Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Proby. 6, Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 9, Dr. Morice. 11, Dean of Bristol, Dr. Layard. 13, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. 16, Mr. Barrie. 18, Dean of York, Mr. Markham. 20, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. 23 Hon. and Rev. Mr. Pelham. 25, Dean of Rochester, Dr. Goodenough. 27, Lord Bishop of Rochester. 30, Mr. Collins.—April 1, Dean of Exeter, Mr. Talbot. 3, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord Archbishop of York. 6. Dr. De Salis. 8. Dean of Westminster, Dr. Vincent. 10. Lord Almoner. *Salisbury.*

Lent Preachers appointed to preach at his Majesty's Chapel, at Whitehall, on Wednesdays and Fridays, for the year 1803.

Feb. 23 (Ash Wednesday. Dean of Chichester, Mr. Miller. 25, Dr. Taylor.—March 2, Mr. D'Oyley. 4, Dr. Rhudde. 9, Mr. Nugent. 11. Dr. Burton. 16, Mr. Haggett. 18, Hon. and Rev. Dr. Grimstone. 23, Mr. Wollaston. 25, Mr. Burrard. 30, Mr. Dent.—April 1, Mr. De Mainbry. 6, Dr. Langford. 8, Dean of Norwich, Dr. Turner. *Salisbury.*

BANKRUPTS.

Lund, W. Virginia-street, builder.—Nowell, N. Fleet-street, haberdasher.—Johnson, W. G. Walbrook, merchant.—Bowman, J. Water-lane, brandy merchant.—Younghusband, W. Colchester, draper.—Stuart, H. Knuzden-brook, whitster.—Carr, G. the younger, Friday-street, Staffordshire-wareman.—Roberts, J. Ashford, silversmith.—Richardson, R. J. London-street, merchant.—White, J. Old Broad-street, ——— Mason, J. Deptford-bridge, Kent, upholder.—Tremlett, J. Exeter, draper.—Fleming, G. Leyland, muslin-manufacturer.—Taylor, J. Worcester, draper.—James, J. the elder, Nottingham, cotton spinner.—Clarke, W. Arundel-street, merchant.—Calvert, R. Richmond, stable-keeper.—Andrus, J. Abergavenny, ironmonger.—Lewis, J. Manchester, joiner.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.
Bank Stock	179¾	—	—	—	—	178
3 pr. C.R. An.	86	70½	70¼	70½	71½	72½
3 per C. Con.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 pr. C. Con.	88¾	85	85½	85¼	86½	86
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	19½	20⅛	20¼	20½	20½	20
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	4½
5 per Ct. 1797	102⅞	101½	102½	101¼	102½	102
Omnium	8¾ dis	7¼ dis	6 dis	5¾ dis	4½ dis	3 dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 6	2 us.	Leghorn 50
D°, at sight	11 4½		Naples..... 42
Rotterdam	11 7	2 us.	Genoa 46
Hamburgh	34	2½ us.	Venice, 51 livres pic
Altona....	34 1	2½ us.	effective per £.
Paris 1 day	24 8		Lisbon 6
Paris.....	24 12	2 us.	Oporto 6
Bourdeaux,	24 12		Dublin..... 1
Cadiz	35	eff.	Bilboa 8
Madrid ..	35¼	effective	Agio, bank on Hol.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq.	42s. to 58s	Hops per cwt.	120s to
Rye.....	35 .. 39	Hay per load....	80 ..
Barley.....	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s. to
Malt.....	40 .. 46	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s
Oats.....	16 .. 24	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s
Pease (white)....	40 .. 43	Pork....	4s. 8d. to 5
Beans (horse)....	34 .. 38	Tallow	4
Flour per sack ..	40 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cw	3
Seconds.....	40 .. 41	Salt, per Bushel	13
Coals per chal....	43 .. 49	Bread 9½d the Quar.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

We shall begin our remarks with that of our statement, with respect to the a of St. Domingo and Jamaica, which, want of room we were, last week, comp to postpone.—We remain thoroughly vinced, that the Island of St. Domingo finally be completely restored to its fo opulent state, that it will be what it before the revolution, the first colony i whole world. There are yet troubles, very serious troubles in the island; a some of the posts, the distress and dan the troops and inhabitants are, undoub very great; but this is not generally case, and we repeat our assertion, that i amount of imports and exports be a crit of the magnitude of trade, the trade of Domingo is *now* greater than that of maica. But it is not, as we have so freque said, in a colonial point of view that we so much reason to fear the French at St. mingo; it is not a rivalship (or as Mr. Fo his Paris jargon, calls it, a *rivalité*) in t and commerce which is, in this quarter, immediate object of our dread; it is

arms of St. Domingo, which, from the very first, we have dreaded and which we still dread. "If we have the policy to unite the "industry of the colonist with the *warlike* "*spirit of the buccaneer*, the West India "islands will soon become to her [St. Do-"mingo] *what Europe is to France.*" * This is the notion, and these are the words of the French rulers.—But, whether the French succeed in their views with regard to this island, or whether they do not, the folly (to give it no harsher term) on the part of our peace-making ministers, in suffering the French armament to go thither, previous to the signature of the definitive treaty, will be equally apparent, and equally injurious in its consequences; for to say nothing of the mighty difference which the sailing and safe arrival of that armament must have made in the tone and the terms of the treaty, it is, now at least, clear to every one, that our West India islands, Jamaica in particular, has been, by the permission of which we are speaking, placed in a state of danger a year sooner than they otherwise would have been. The ministers, having been compelled to open a way for the French armament, or relinquish that peace on which their places depended, affected, by way of justification of their conduct, to see great dangers in the *black* government of St. Domingo; and, on that ground, they seemed to wish the nation to consider the French expedition as undertaken almost at their request. When, indeed, the news of Toussaint's resistance, and the exaggerated account of the mortality amongst their new friends, reached England, they could not disguise their exultation; but still they persisted in defending the measure as a wise one, because it tended to hasten the destruction of the black government, the example and the probable hostility of which were, as they pretended, much more dangerous to our colonies than any French force in St. Domingo could possibly be. In answer to this Mr. Windham, in the Appendix to his speech of 4th Nov. 1801, after remarking on the doubtfulness of the result of the French expedition, said *: "The *probability* "is, that France will succeed: but should "she not, then all the terrors, affected to be "felt at the establishment of the *black em-*"*pire*, will return with tenfold force; for "the blacks will remain masters,—and mas-"ters after having tried their powers in a "regular contest with European troops,—"not to mention the hostility, which they "may be well expected to conceive against "us, who, after various treaties and nego-"ciations with them, finally lent our assis-"tance to the sending out a force, intended "for the purpose of bringing them back to "slavery. Should the other event happen, "and France obtain possession of St. Do-"mingo, it may then well be a question, "*how long we shall remain in possession of* "*Jamaica.*" Mons. Charmilly, whom subsequent events have proved to possess a most accurate knowledge of every thing relating to the West Indies, has these remarkable words: "Je le répète, Monsieur, et je "n'hésite point à l'affirmer: si St. Domingue "étoit abandonné, ou remis aux François, "*la Jamaique* seroit promptement détruite, "et bientôt après, toutes les colonies des "Antilles †."—This will, probably, be subject of derision with Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh; but that derision will be affected, as all their sorrow at the gloomy prospects of the French has been. Their measures, with respect to the object before us, have constantly been in direct contradiction to their professions: they professed to believe, that the French armament would carry out *security* to our islands, particularly *Jamaica*; they now profess to believe that it *has* carried out such security; but, to prove the insincerity of these professions, we have nothing to do but take a comparative view of the ships of the line on the West India station.

In the month of September, 1801, the month before the preliminaries were signed, there were at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands.....	6
In March, 1802, that is in six months after the preliminaries were signed, and in two months after the French armament had arrived at St Domingo, there were, at Jamaica alone....	22
At the present time, after a year of peace, after the French have brought home their fleet, and after the "*black em-*"*pire*," has been so far destroyed as to lose its emperor, who has been brought away and imprisoned in old France, there are, at Jamaica alone	9

* See the whole essay from which this sentence is extracted, and which will be found in LETTERS ON THE PEACE, p. 116.

* See Parliamentary Debates, p. 1156.—We refer here to our Supplement to Vol. II. which contains a complete collection of all the parliamentary debates on, or relative to, the preliminary and definitive treaties.—We shall, in the subsequent pages, frequently refer to parliamentary debates, and we must, unless we otherwise express ourselves, always be understood as referring to the collection here spoken of, which collection will very soon be in the hands of all our readers.

† See Charmilly's letter to Bryan Edwards, p. 224.

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And, after this view, cannot one believe the ministers to have been sincere, when they declared, that they regarded the sailing of the French expedition, and the success of that expedition, as absolutely necessary to the security of our own colonies? If they really thought so, why did they upon the sailing of that expedition, augment our naval force at Jamaica from 6 to 22 ships of the line? If they really think now, that we derive *security* from the French force being in St. Domingo; if they do really and sincerely believe, that the situation of our colonies is grown *more secure* in consequence of the destruction, in part at least, of the "black empire," how will they answer to their country for the keeping up of nine ships of the line at Jamaica, three *more* than were thought necessary during the heat of the war as well as during the zenith of the "black empire?" And, lastly, if the peace, as considered with respect to our colonies, be not pregnant with danger, how will they account for keeping up nine ships of the line, where, during the last peace, we had *no ship of the line at all?* During the last peace, our naval force at Jamaica was one fifty gun ship, and a few frigates, about three, and two or three sloops of war: it now is, nine ships of the line, nine frigates, and nine sloops of war, as will be seen by a reference to the distribution of the navy, in our last sheet, page 758.—If we look, too, at the military force, in Jamaica, we see, if possible a still stronger proof of the insincerity, or the gross ignorance, of His Majesty's ministers, who, instead of announcing to the colonists, as was usual at a peace, a reduction of their expences, called upon them for a very considerable augmentation of those expences, for the purpose of maintaining five thousand additional troops, five thousand *more* soldiers than were thought necessary to the defence of the island during the war, and during the existence of the terrific "black empire!"—After all, however, we shall, perhaps, be told, that these dangers must have been the necessary result of any peace with the Republic of France, and that, to avoid them, we must have continued the war for ever. Allowing, for argument's sake, the truth of these premises, and the justness of this conclusion; allowing that the dangers we have been speaking of must have followed any peace with the terrible Republic, yet we contend, that, in point of *time*, much was in our own power. To suffer the French armament to sail previous to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, was highly injurious to that treaty, both as to its *terms* and the *time* of its conclusion; but, with respect to the expedition, time was every thing: if it had been delayed till after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, it could not have taken place till September; or, taking place in May, the troops would, upon their very landing, have been met by that mortality which put a stop to their movements in June last; and so would they have been lost to our enemy, instead of having, before that same month of June, conquered the black empire, and sent the black emperor to inhabit a prison in the mountains of the Jura. If, therefore, our ministers had acted with wisdom and firmness, if they had preferred the honour and interest of their country to the accomplishment of a popular measure, calculated to prolong the duration of their power and emoluments, Toussaint would at this moment be to be subdued, and, *having had a twelvemonth to prepare for resistance*, the war might have cost 150,000 of those troops, who are now employed in the subjugation of Switzerland, and in other enterprizes, all having a tendency, either direct or indirect, to the destruction of the independence of Europe in general, and of England in particular.

France and her willing satellites look to the proceedings in parliament with a watchful and scowling eye; while the nations who still wish for deliverance from her yoke, look to them with uncommon anxiety. Spite of our degradation; spite of the relinquishment of our place in scale of nations; spite of Napper Tandy; spite of the Hawkesburies and Addingtons; still some of the unfortunate nations look to England for help; strong and clear as is the evidence of our debasement, loud as we have proclaimed it to the world, still, still do they hope, that we are not what we seem. The truth is, that such was the vast stock of our reputation for liberality, honour, and courage, that the world cannot, all at once, form an adequate conception of our present state. We still retain the *name* and the *outward appearance* of the English nation; we have still the hide, the limbs, and the carcass of the lion; but the nations will, one after another, find out that we have no longer his teeth or his claws; one after another they will learn to know, to despise, and to insult us. The topics of public discussion, to which we think it necessary more particularly to call the attention of our readers, are, 1. The Navy; 2. The Army; 3. The

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finally end in bitter disappointment.—The increase of the excise is partly owing to the money which the disbanding of soldiers and sailors has scattered over this country instead of its being spent abroad or locked up in the chests of agents; and partly to the two last abundant harveats, which, by causing an immense reduction in the cost of the necessaries of life, have left a greater portion of the earnings of the people to be employed in the purchase of taxable commodities; in other words, the earth having produced more money, more money is come into the treasury, through the medium of the excise. The *former* of these causes may, indeed, fairly be ascribed to *the peace*; but the latter never has, we believe, except by a poet in the Morning Post:

"'Tis thro' Addington's *peace* that fair *plenty* is
"ours;
"*Peace* brighten'd the sunshine, *peace* soften'd the
"show'rs;
"What yellow'd the corn-fields!—what ripen'd
"the hay?
"But the *peace* that was settled last Michaelmas
"day*!"

As to tonnage and sailors employed in our mercantile marine, the reports of the port of London only are made up. According to them an increase has taken place; but, if there should be a falling off at the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, &c. &c. as we are inclined to think there is, there will, probably be, upon the whole, a considerable diminution in this most important branch of our national resources: it is certain, that English shipping has diminished *in value* from 35 to 40 *per centum*.—The imports and exports remain, then, to be considered. And here we must beg leave to repeat the opinion, which we gave on a former occasion; that, the vast disproportion between the first quarter and the succeeding ones proves, beyond contradiction, that the increase is not of a permanent nature, but has arisen in great part, at least, from those temporary circumstances, which are well known to be inseparable from the conclusion of a long war, especially after a long negotiation. How many cargoes, to and for this country, were kept in waiting for that diminution in the rates of freight and insurance, which peace must inevitably produce? The negotiations were going on for eight months, during the whole of which time the shippers, out and home, were keeping back all the goods which it was not absolutely necessary to send off. Let it be observed, too (what, indeed, was frequently observed during the discussions on the peace), that the magazines on the Continent were all empty; that an increased demand in all the lately belligerent countries, was, at first, and even for two or three years, to be expected; unless France, before that time, chose to put an end to our exportation by renewing the war. To and from all the Colonies, which are to remain in our possesion, an increase of imports and exports was to be expected, for the causes above mentioned, for the first twelve or eighteen months; and with respect to the colonies which are about to be, or which actually are, restored to France and Holland, it is easy to account for an extraordinary trade. The ministers, by neglecting to obtain a longer time for the shipping of produce, &c. from those colonies to Great Britain, compelled the proprietors to ship the whole home, previous to the surrender of the colonies, or, to incur the immense loss attending a transit through the custom houses of France and Holland; while, on the other hand, the persons remaining in colonies, well knowing that British goods would be immediately prohibited, laid in as great a stock as possible before the day of prohibition arrived. Thus, with respect to the imports and exports of Martinico, St. Lucia, Tobago, Curraçoa, Surinam, Berbice, Demarara, and Essequibo, the minister has had a double year; but it is *the last*; let the country remember that—it is *the last!*—These circumstances, we think, fully account for the excess, which the minister, for want of knowledge and experience, and not for want of candour, ascribes to permanent causes. Some people think, indeed, that Mr. Addington's display bears a striking resemblance to that of Shakespeare's apothecary:—

"Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses,
"Were thinly scattered to make up a shew.
"Noting this penury, to myself I said—&c. &c."

But we, for our parts, sincerely believe, that, though things may have been made the most of, the statement of the minister is less exaggerated than is generally thought; yet, as something was certainly wanted, by way of a set-off to the accumulation of disappointment and disgrace in our foreign affairs, something to weigh against 50,000 seamen and 130,000 soldiers, the dark and intricate recesses of the treasury might perhaps be regarded as the safest scene wherein to hatch the pious fraud.—In taking leave of this topic, we cannot help bestow-

* The poet means the peace of the *first of October*, 1801; but that day not suiting him so well, he takes the preceding one.—This is a very happy little piece, and being of a *political* nature, we propose to give it a place in the Supplement to this volume.

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ing a remark on that sort of affected triumph, which the makers and supporters of the peace affect to enjoy on this account, over the opposers of that measure; as if the opposition of the latter *had no other foundation than that of the dread of an* IMMEDIATE *diminution in our commerce and revenue.* So far from this being the case, no one of the noblemen and gentlemen in parliament, who opposed the peace, ever expressed his apprehension of an *immediate diminution*; but, on the contrary, all of them argued upon the supposition, that there might be a *permanent increase*, until Buonaparté or his successor, finding himself distanced in a fair commercial race, should pick a quarrel with us, and ask us if we could draw our sword; and, Mr. Addington may be well assured, that his consolatory statement, the statement which has so charmed the patriots of 'Change Alley, will make a good deal of *mauvais sang* at St. Cloud.

The *indemnity to the Stadtholder*, which is, it seems, in great part, to come, at last, out of the pockets of the people of this country, we are very far indeed from grudging. But, we are equally far from giving the ministry any credit for the proposed act of justice, which is to be ascribed solely to the remonstrances and reproaches of those, who have *opposed* the treaty of Amiens. By that treaty it was stipulated, that "The branch "of the house of Nassau," [observe the degrading phraseology] "which was esta- "blished in the ci-devant republic of the "United Provinces, now the Batavian Re- "public, having experienced some losses, "as well with respect to *private property* as "by the *change of constitution adopted in those "countries*, an equivalent compensation *shall "be procured* for the losses, which they shall "be proved to have sustained." This stipulation was hardly made, the treaty of Amiens was hardly signed, when the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries retired into a corner, and entered into a separate convention (See Register, Vol. I. p. 361), by which it was resolved and agreed, that Holland should contribute nothing towards the compensation mentioned in the treaty. Remarking on this curious transaction, at the time, we made use of the following words:—"Who, then, is to discharge this "indemnification? Have we obtained per- "mission *to do it ourselves?* or are we to as- "sist in extorting it from *some defenceless "bishoprick of Germany?*"—Both, as it now appears! yea, verily, both! We are to contribute a sum of money, and the defenceless and unoffending bishop of Fulda is to be robbed of his bishoprick! Our readers will imagine, perhaps, that some supernatural agent enabled us so precisely to point out the result of this transaction; but, if they knew the Hawkesburies and Addingtons as well as we do, they would not be surprised at our describing beforehand their divers acts of folly and meanness. —When the Definitive Treaty came to be discussed, the opposers of that treaty, the men who felt a concern for the honour of their country, having previously seen the separate convention (to which we have above alluded), between France and Holland, demanded an explanation relative thereto. In calling to the recollection of our readers what passed, in parliament, on the subject, we shall confine ourselves to the debate in the House of Lords, on the 5th of May last, * when Lord Carlisle moved for a copy of the separate convention executed at Amiens, with respect to the compensation to the House of Orange. His Lordship prefaced his motion, by observing that the compensation was certainly *intended*, by the treaty, *to come from Holland*; but that the convention, of which he had called for a copy, would, if carried into effect, render the stipulation in favour of the House of Orange of non-effect. Lord Pelham replied, that "no such communication had "been made to his Majesty's Ministers, "nor was he apprized, from any authority, "*that such convention had been entered into.*" Lord Cornwallis, being pressed by Lord Carlisle, for an explanation of the matter, said, that "*he could not conceive that there "was any ground to suspect that the 18th "article of the definitive treaty would not be "solemnly fulfilled.* Neither could he con- "ceive that a separate agreement, entered "into by two of the contracting parties to "the definitive treaty by themselves, *as it "were in their closet*, without the concurrence "or consent of the other contracting par- "ties, *could possibly be liable to be considered as "affecting the due execution of a treaty, for which "the good faith of all the four contracting parties "was pledged.* With regard to his having "deserted, or suffered the interests of the "Prince of Orange and his adherents to "be deserted, *he disdained the imputation*; he "had deserted no interests that this country "was bound in honour to maintain, and "*he had not the smallest doubt that a full and "ample compensation would be procured for the "Prince of Orange and his adherents.*"—"The "Lord Chancellor contended strenuously "that the *pledged faith of nations* was an *am- "ple security* for the stipulation *to procure a*

* For the whole of this debate see our Supplement to Vol. II. p. 1226, *et seq.*

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Revenue and Commerce: 4. The Indemnity to the Stadtholder: 5. The affair of Capt. D'Auvergne. As to the navy, it must give every one who loves England, and who wishes to preserve her from the power of France, great pleasure to perceive, that a stop has been put to the dismantling and disbanding system of Lord St. Vincent. The 50,000 seamen, voted for the whole year, must, in great part, be inlisted upon a new bounty, from those already discharged; but this is a trifle when compared to the alarming mischief which would soon have been accomplished, if his lordship's *œconomical* measures had not received a check. We have at this moment fewer ships of the line in commission than France has, if we include (as, in all such calculations we must) those which she has at her command, belonging to Spain and Holland; and, *in Europe*, we have not half so many in commission as France. Our ships of the line at this time in Europe, and in commission, are 9 in number, or 10 at most; and, our readers may rest assured, that these have not hands enough on board to man more than 6 for sea. We have about 50 frigates in commission in Europe, some of them manned with about one-third of their complement. Not more than 30 of these could put to sea with their present strength of hands. Mr. Addington has, indeed, told the country, that we can, at any time, get *fifty ships of the line* ready for sea in the space of *a month!* And here we have a striking instance of the lengths to which your modest, well-meaning men, who are everlastingly talking of their *conscience*, will sometimes go. *Fifty* ships of the line ready for sea at *a month's* notice! Forty *additional* ships, with all their tackling, rigging, guns, stores, and men, amounting to 24,000 seamen and 5,000 marines, to be got ready to sail out of port at a month's notice! The very press-gangs, for the impressment of the 24,000 seamen, would not be organized in that space of time. But why do we occupy the time of our readers with comments on a statement, which, if it be not (as we hope it is) a joint fabrication of the newspapers, is upon a level with any of the statements of Baron Munchausen. Mr. Addington contradicted certain reports, which had been circulated with respect to the strength of the French fleet at Toulon, and, upon the authority of Admiral Bickerton, assured the House that there were but 5 ships of the line in the harbour of Toulon; but, until it be proved to us, that Admiral Bickerton has better information respecting the French fleet at Toulon, than Admiral Duckworth has respecting the French army in St. Domingo (which was a week ago reduced to 1,500 men, who, with their commander, had actually *taken to their ships*) we shall be disposed to give very little credit to his intelligence; and, indeed, we shall never be in great haste to believe the foreign intelligence of a minister, who, in March, 1801, stated the French army in Egypt to consist of *twelve* thousand men, and who had, a few months afterwards, to inform the nation, that *twenty-five* thousand men of that very army had *laid down their arms!* The comparative statement which he gave of our navy, and of that of France and her two principal satellites, was, that France had 39 sail of the line, Spain 70, and Holland 16; and that, to oppose these, we had 192 sail of the line. Whether he meant to include the ships *building*, those *unserviceable*, in Holland, France, and Spain, we know not; but this we know, that he *did not include them*. According to his statement, we have 60 ships of the line more than the three powers; but, from so conscientious and candid a man, one might have expected a deduction from this balance of 18 ships *building*, 8 of the ordinary, 18 receiving ships, and 3 of the guard-ships, all unserviceable, which would leave us a balance of no more than 13; and, as the *Italian states* have more than this number, the numerical balance is certainly against us. Far be it from us, however, to augur any evil from this circumstance. We have ships enough; and we have entered into this examination only for the purpose of showing, that the sort of calculation on which Mr. Addington proceeded, was fit for nothing but the amusement of children. He did not remove, nor attempt to remove, the serious apprehension, which every thinking man must entertain, of the consequences of the emigration of British sailors to France; a thing that never was heard of at the end of any former war.—We rejoice, however, that, whether by the opponents of the peace, or by Buonaparté, the ministry have been goaded into an augmentation of the fleet; and we rejoice still more at the *augmentation of the army*; for, however we may hope to the contrary, it is on this army that we must finally depend for the preservation of our independence. The Secretary at War, in bringing forward his estimate (see preceding sheet, p. 754), attempted a defence of the precipitate measures of reduction, in which he completely failed, if a speaker ought to be said to fail in not defending what is indefensible. Our pleasure, however, at per-

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ceiving, that it was resolved to maintain an efficient army of *a hundred and thirty thousand men*, made us willing to overlook an attempt (perhaps laudable enough "upon the whole and under all existing circumstances") to draw a veil over past errors, particularly when accompanied with such thumping atonement. Before we dismiss this subject of naval and military establishments, justice to those who opposed the peace call upon us to remind our readers of their sentiments, formerly given, applicable to establishments as connected with the measure, of which they disapproved. Mr. Windham, in his speech of the 4th of November, 1801, said, "The chief question, as to the expenses of "peace compared to those of war, will be, "not between an *ordinary peace establishment* "and a war, such as, from circumstances, "ours has *hitherto been*, involving expedi- "tions to all parts of the globe; but be- "tween a peace establishment, such as that "which is now declared to be necessary, and "a war, which had become, and was likely "to continue, merely defensive; in which "we should have had nothing to do, but to "maintain a competent force, with little "prospect of being obliged to make use of "it. The advocates for the present peace "must find themselves always in an awk- "ward dilemma, between *economy* and "*safety*. We make peace *in order to save* "*our money*: if we reduce our establish- "ments, what becomes of our *security*? If "we keep up our establishments, what be- "comes of our *savings*? Whatever you "give to one object, is unavoidably taken "from the other. The savings of the pre- "sent peace, therefore, can be looked for "only between the narrow limits of a *high* "*peace* and a *low war* establishment; or, to "state the case more correctly, between a "high peace establishment and a war, re- "duced in the manner that I have described. "I wish that a correct estimate were formed "of the difference, in point of expense, be- "tween these two states; recollecting always "that *among the expenses of peace* are to be "counted *the provisions necessary against the* "*new dangers brought by the peace itself*; the "new dangers for example, with which "Jamaica, and all our West-India islands "are threatened by the establishment of the "French in Saint-Domingo, and other parts "in that quarter of the world; the new "dangers to which our empire in the East "is exposed, by the re-entry of the French "into the peninsula of India, and the ces- "sion to them, for such in effect it is, of "the Cape and Cochin: in general, by the "free passage now given to their ships and "armies into every part of the world, and "the establishment of them every where in "the neighbourhood of our most valuable "possessions.—Against all these dangers "war provided, as it were, by its own sin- "gle act. The existence of our fleets upon "the ocean, with an admiralty order "to "burn, sink, and destroy," shut up at once, "as under lock and key, all those attempts, "which are now let loose, and require as "many separate defences as there are parts "liable to be attacked. A fleet cruising "before Brest, therefore, was not to be "considered as so much clear expense, to "be charged to the account of the war; "without deducting the expense of addi- "tional troops *and additional ships, which* "*the absence of the fleet might require to be* "*kept for instance, in the West-Indies.*"—How correct was this reasoning! How minutely correct have these calculations proved to be! The expense of the *five thousand men* added to the establishment of Jamaica *since the peace*, and that of the *four ships of the line*, at least, added to those on that station, the amount of these expenses (which are so much higher in the West-Indies than in Europe), the amount of these expenses alone, which is entirely an *addition* to the *war establishment* of Jamaica, would, if we take into the account the greater loss of lives there than in the Channel, more than have maintained a squadron of 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates to blockade the port of Brest, which blockade not only defended Jamaica, but all those other numerous points of the British empire, which, being exposed by the removal of that blockade, must now be guarded by an addition to their war establishments, as long as this armed truce shall continue. Leaving our readers to apply the reasoning of Mr. Windham to our present circumstances, we shall proceed to our third topic, to wit, the *Revenue and Commerce*. Mr. Adington's statement relative to which we have given correctly and at full length in p. 778 of the present sheet. On a subject so complicated we cannot be expected here to go into detail; we shall, therefore, content ourselves with some general remarks, which we preface with an unfeigned expression of pleasure to find, that our financial affairs are in so flourishing a state, and with a request that our readers will believe, that if we endeavour to shew, that the great excess, of which the minister speaks, is owing to temporary and not to permanent causes we are actuated by a desire, not to delude but to prevent that delusion, which mi

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"*full compensation* for the losses suffered by "the House of Orange."—Here, then, we have the *interpretation* of the article of the treaty relative to the compensation to the House of Orange: and this interpretation comes, too, from the nobleman who *negociated* the treaty, and from him who *drew it up*. That these noble lords looked to *Holland* for the compensation, or, at least, to some other country than England, is evident. Indeed, it is notorious, that the ministers and their adherents never supposed it possible, that any demand of the sort would come upon this country: when charged with ingratitude towards the House of Orange, they endeavoured to diminish our obligations to that house; and Lord Hobart, in the very debate above quoted, "denied that the Dutch colonies had been "delivered into our hands by the Prince of "Orange, or by his means." In fact, it is well known, that, from the beginning to the end of the long and repeated discussions on the peace, the ministers, upon every occasion, insisted that they had PROCURED, by *negociation*, a *full* and *adequate* compensation to the House of Orange. And, will they now pretend that they meant to *procure* it from the people of England! Was it necessary to obtain the consent of France, Spain, and Holland to *this*! Or, did those nations, seeing us basely inclined to desert our faithful friend and ally, resolve *to bind us down* to do him justice!—Oh shame! shame! shame!

We now come to the last of our proposed topics: the affair of *Captain D'Auvergne*, which, agreeably to a notice given by Dr. Laurence, is to be discussed after the recess. In the mean time, we think it necessary to put our readers in possession of the leading facts relative to the subject. The newspapers have represented Lord Pelham as saying, in reply to Lord Spencer, that (we quote the True Briton of the 14th inst.) "With respect to the gallant officer, Cap"tain D'Auvergne, no possible imputation "could rest upon ministers. It was true, "that he had been arrested by an officer of "police, and for a short time confined in "Paris; but, *the moment* it was known to the "British Minister, application was made "to the Minister of Foreign Relations, "and *by that means*, he was *instantly* re"leased." Now, we positively assert, at the newspapers have combined to mis-sent his lordship, or that his lordship en kept in the dark, and grossly de-with respect to this unjust and in-ansaction. The facts are as fol-

apt. D'Auvergne, (Duke de Bouillon), and Mr. J. Dumaresq, sailed from Jersey on the 22d of August last, for Granville. On their arrival, they waited on the Mayor of the Municipality with their passports, that of Captain D'Auvergne being signed by Lord Hawkesbury, and countersigned by Mr. Otto; that of Mr. Dumaresq, by Mr. Otto alone. They were required to deposit their passports in the Mayor's office, which they did; whereupon they received two others in their room. They then proceeded to Paris, where they arrived on the 27th of August. As the Captain's business was to consult a gentleman of the law, who had already his papers in his possession, his first care, on his arrival, was to wait on him. On the 7th of September (twelve days after the arrival of the two gentlemen at Paris), at seven o'clock in the morning, a commissary, accompanied with two runners of the police, entered the bed-chamber of Captain D'Auvergne, made him get up, and, after ransacking his papers, and taking them, took him to the office of the Minister of Police, where he underwent several examinations, the general tendency of which was *to extort from him information respecting the secrets of his Majesty's government, during the late war*. He was kept, in a nasty room, with two runners, from eight o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock the same evening, at which time he was told that he must go to the Temple, as Fouché, the Minister of Police, was gone to the opera. He was taken to the Temple accordingly, and forced to lie that night on straw, as the bedding was so miserably filthy.—The moment Mr. Dumaresq was informed of the arrest of his companion, which was in about half an hour after it took place, he went to Mr. Merry, the English Plenipotentiary at Paris, and requested that he would either go, or write to Mr. Talleyrand, demanding the immediate release of Captain D'Auvergne. Mr. Merry instantly wrote, but received *no answer*. He desired Mr. Dumaresq, in case the Captain should not be released that night, to inform him of it early in the morning. Mr. Dumaresq did so, and Mr. Merry, thereupon dispatched a courier to London, to inform his court of what had happened. —On the 9th of September (two days after Captain D'Auvergne was arrested) Mr. Dumaresq was also taken up, in the same way, carried to the police-office, and, after a few interrogatories, was also sent to the Temple, previous to which, however, he requested to be informed as to the charge against him, but could obtain no answer.—On Sunday, the 12th of septem-

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ber, both the gentlemen were released. On the Monday, they went to the office of the Minister of Police, in order to recover their papers, and to find out, if possible, what were the charges alledged against them, and who were their accusers; but all knowledge of this kind was refused them.—On Wednesday, the 15th of September, they received their passports to quit France, and the next day they set off from Paris.—As we pledge our word for the correctness of this narrative, it follows, of course, that Lord Pelham must have been misrepresented by the news-papers, or must have been, as we said before, kept in the dark and grossly imposed upon, with respect to this shameful transaction. His lordship is made to say, that "*the moment* "it" [the Captain's arrest] "was made "known to the British Minister, applica- "tion was made to the French Minister of "Foreign Relations, and *by that means*, "he" [the Captain] "was *instantly* re- "leased."—But, the fact is, that Captain D'Auvergne, instead of being instantly released upon the British Ministers application, remained in a filthy prison *six days* after the making of that application, which, besides, was not even *answered* by Talleyrand!—Lord Castlereagh has been pleased to speak of this matter as too *trifling* to give rise to a national dispute. "*We* "have an alien law," says he, "and we "should not suffer any other nation to inter- "fere in our execution of it." True, my gentle Lord, and to avoid such interference, on the part of France, you will never attempt to execute it against any of the friends or agents of Buonaparté. Lundberg! Lund- berg! Lundberg! The pronunciation of that name is a sufficient answer to every thing that ministers can say as to the reci- procity of the alien laws of England and France.—When the ill-treatment of Cap- tain D'Auvergne is brought regularly before Parliament, our readers will see it fully and ably discussed; but we could not, in the mean time, refrain from submitting to them a few facts and observations on so interest- ing a subject.

After having gone through the preceding distinct and important heads, it was our intention to have remarked on other speeches, attributed, by the newspapers, to members of parliament; such, for instance, as that, where a *general* is represented as declaring that "if the *war* had been kept up, "they" [the members] "*would not, perhaps, have* "*been now debating in that House.*" And again, where an English country-gentleman is made to say, "that he wished to see *no change of ministry*, be- "cause as the present ministers were known to be of "a *pacific disposition*, the turning of them out might "*furnish an ambitious neighbour with a pretext for re-* "*newing hostilities.*" It was our intention to have shown how exactly this gentleman had verified our opinions, as stated in the present Vol. p. 343, 573, &c.; but, we must content ourselves with barely referring to those pages. The curious answer of Mr. Addington, too, respecting the libels against His Majesty in the French official paper, would, had we room, demand our animadversions.

As to M. Sheridan's speech, we had prepared several pages on that delightful topic, which we most reluctantly postpone till our next. Of *parties*, however, we must say a few words. Mr. Thomas Grenville, Lord Temple, and Lord Gren- ville, having all expressed a wish to see Mr. Pitt again at the head of affairs, the old opposition and their adherents, who, it seems, are never to be cured of their rancour towards those men who prevented them from revolutionizing the country, have made this call a handle for describing all those who opposed the peace of Amiens, as a fac- tion struggling for power and place, than which nothing can be more false. Mr. Windham and Dr. Laurence have clearly expressed their convic- tion, that, unless the temper of the country be previously changed, a change of men would be of no use. These two gentlemen, therefore, and many others who opposed the peace, have made no call for Mr. Pitt; and, we are well assured, that neither Lord Grenville, nor Mr. Grenville has any view to office. It is not for them, how- ever goaded, to make *profession* of a desire to remain out of office; for, their rank, their talents, their integrity, their many great and statesman like qualities, mark them out for the service of their King; but we know, that their opinion is, that Mr. Pitt should be prevailed upon to join the *pre- sent* ministry, for the purpose of putting a stop to that system of submission, which, if suffered to pro- ceed much longer, must bring upon us swift and complete destruction.

POSTSCRIPT.—It is proposed by France to give Parma to the family of Spain in exchange for *the Floridas! Cochin* has been given up to France by the Dutch!—Our readers will remember that we fore- told both these cessions nearly a twelvemonth ago. —*Tobago* (poor little Tobago!) was surrendered to the French on the 7th of October.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of W. A. we should rather keep to in- sert with the succeeding ones in the Supplement to this volume; and we beg leave to observe, that the sequel should, for this purpose, reach us by the 1st. of JANUARY, at furthest.—DETECTOR, on the modesty of ministers, TYRTÆUS, on the fra- ternization of Messrs. Fox and Addington, and CY- PRIAN, to the Bishop of London, shall appear in our next.—MR. WILBERFORCE, when he perceives how matter has pressed upon us, will, we make no doubt, excuse us till next week.—Next week we shall publish two numbers, for the purpose of getting out several interesting articles, a in particular, AN AUTHENTIC NARRATI OF THE TAKING OF THE INVINCIBLES D- ARD IN EGYPT, by ANTOINE LUTZ, a royalist, and a private soldier in the Queen man Reg. of Foot. "*Render, therefore, honour* "*honour is due*," is a precept, which, with r. this affair, has been much too long negl-

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TENTS.—*Lusi. and the Irvine. Stand.* 801. *Lett. from Bost.* 823. *Let. to Bp. of Lond.* 827. *Mr. Sheridan and Speech*, 830. *Tyrtæus on the Reten. of Malta*, 838. *Decl. Bohem.* 844. *Tobago, Guadal.* 845. *Vienna, Montr. to Holland*, 847. *Moniteur, Troops for Louis.* 848. *Ct. Woronz. Pr. Ruspoli, Mr. Moore*, 849. *Ld Melville*, 852. *Pr. Tr. in Hall.* 854. *K. of Sard.* 856. *Libels in Monit.* 857. *Cochin, Floridas*, 861. *West-Ind. Trade*, 864.

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

OF THE

ING OF THE INVINCIBLE STANDARD,

IN THE

TLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND NCH ARMIES NEAR ALEXANDRIA, ON THE 21ST OF MARCH, 1801.

Reader, therefore, to all their dues: tribute, to whom tribute; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honour, to whom honour.

ROM. xiii. 7.

e precept, inculcated, in the words I have chosen for my motto, has, respect to the taking of the Invincible rd, not only been unobserved, but y and flagrantly disobeyed. Honours honours have, indeed, been rendered s meritorious and gallant achieve- but, they have been with-held from who, alone, has any claim to them, rished upon others to whom they do long. The columns of our public the windows of our print-shops, the of our public exhibitions, the scenes theatres, the proceedings of public have proclaimed to the army of d, to the people of England, and to ole world, that the honour of taking vincible Standard is due to some of the 42d or Royal Highland Re- ; whereas, the whole of that honour to ANTOINE LUTZ, a Frenchman h, and a private soldier in the German Regiment. In doing jus- this gallant, though friendless, fo- , I could have wished to avoid every like controversy with any body, and larly with any part of the army of ; but I am compelled to controvert refute too, or to leave my duty un- ged. The Highlanders have claim- honour: to them the meed has been d, through every channel which a has of conveying its sentiments to and to posterity: there is but *one* of invincible laurel; before I can restore it to LUTZ, I *must* take from the brow of the Highlanders.

Most of my readers will remember, that, for some time after the unofficial accounts of the battle of the 21st of March arrived, public report ascribed the victory of that day almost entirely to the 42d regiment: not only, in every narrative that was heard, was the Queen's German Regiment totally overlooked, but no other regiment found a place, except by way of a foil to the forty-second.—The Highlanders!—the brave Highlanders!—the more than invincible Highlanders!—were, as in Mr. Porter's Panorama, always in the foreground; always active, always victorious. It was, in short the Highlanders who won the battle, and, therefore, it was perfectly natural, that to them should belong the honour of *taking the Invincible Standard*, which was regarded as the sign and proof of that victory.—The London newspapers, "never last to hand "about a lie," soon began to lend their aid; whether gratuitously or not is more than I can say. In the month of February, 1802 (I have lost the *day*), the following paragraph appeared in the ministerial paper, the True Briton: "Lieut. Corbett [not Cobbett] has arrived from Egypt with the "official dispatches of the battle of the "21st of March, and brought with him "the Standard of a French corps taken in "that battle, entitled 'The Invincible Le- "gion of Buonaparté,' and *which was seiz- "ed by the 42d regiment*, who were the par- "ticular object of the attack of that French "corps. The whole of them were cut to "pieces, and their Standard remained in "the hands of *our gallant soldiers* as a trophy "of their victory."—After verbal and newspaper report had passed for some time uncontradicted, the *Highland Society* held a meeting, at which certain resolutions were passed respecting the battle of Alexandria; and, what is more important, the question respecting *who took the standard* was inquired into and settled. The proceedings at this meeting were published in the True Briton of the 25th of February, 1802; and, as will be perceived by the remark with which they are introduced, they were evidently published, if not by authority of the

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Society, at least by that of some active member of it. I must further premise, that the resolutions, which make part of these proceedings, have since been published by order of the Society, and have, so lately as the month of August last, been transmitted, in a circular letter addressed to each member of the Society, by Mr. John Mackenzie, their Treasurer.—I shall now insert these proceedings at length.

HIGHLAND SOCIETY. —— *Erroneous statements of the proceedings of this Society having appeared in several of the London papers, we are happy in laying before our Readers the following accurate account of what passed, which we have collected from the information of an intelligent member.*

The second Monthly Meeting of this Society was held at the Shakespeare Tavern on Wednesday the 17th instant. A favourite air on the pipe, agreeably to ancient Caledonian custom, having announced dinner to be ready, the company entered the Shakespeare Room, when the Right Hon. Lord Macdonald, as the President for this year, took the Chair.—The table was ornamented with various characteristic designs, particularly that of *a Highlander seizing the Standard from the officer of the Invincible Legion.*—The cloth having been removed, many loyal and patriotic toasts were delivered from the Chair, in the Gaelic tongue, according to the usage of the Society. That of "the King" having been given, the popular air of "God save the King" was sung by Mr. Watlen, in which the following stanza, *written by himself*, was introduced:

"Ye Sons of Scotia's land,
A great and warlike band,
Defend our King:
Against *all Invincibles*,
Tyrants and great Consuls,
May you protect our Rights,
God save the King."

The health of the Queen, and the rest of the Royal Family, next followed, after which,—The Duke of Athol said, that he would not interrupt the conviviality and harmony of the evening by entering into the detail of what passed at an open Committee of the Society held on the 13th instant, at which his Grace was called to the Chair; he would merely state the substance of the Resolutions, which were,—I. *That the 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment had, by their heroic conduct in Egypt on the memorable 21st of March*, 1801, *nobly maintained the hereditary glory of the Caledonian name; and that, as an honorary testimony of the applause and admiration of the society, a Medal is to be struck, with appropriate devices and inscriptions, to perpetuate their highly distinguished and gallant achievement.*—II. *That one of those medals is to be presented to every officer and soldier now surviving, with the name of each inscribed, and also to the lineal descendant of every one who fell on that day, inscribed with the name of the fallen hero. It may be remarked, that the love of glory is the most striking passion of the human heart. All that the hero asks, in return for his efforts and his toils is, that his fame be celebrated; that the glory of his name be united with the merit of his actions. His soul swells with delight by the habitual consciousness, that the attention of a great number of men is directed towards him. How appropriate then is the measure now proposed. It will be considered in the families of these brave men, as an inestimable inheritance of glory, carrying down the tide of time, to ages yet unknown, the illustrious deed of that day.*—III. *That an elegant and characteristic cup, (of the value of* 100 *guineas), with suitable devices, be presented to the mess of the regiment; that thus, even in their convivial hours, the achievement of the 21st of March may never be forgotten.*—IV. *That a voluntary subscription be immediately opened among the members of the Society for defraying the expenses that may attend the same; and that each Subscriber of two guineas be entitled to one silver medal; Subscribers of five guineas to two silver medals; and Subscribers of ten guineas and upwards, to three silver medals.*—V. *That a Committee be appointed to carry the above resolutions into immediate execution, composed of the following noblemen and gentlemen,*—His Grace the Duke of Athol, the Right Hon. the Earl of Breadalbane, the Right Hon. C. F. Greville, Sir Hector Munro, K. B. Sir John M. Murray, Bart. Sir John Sinclair, Bart. John Mac Arthur, Esq. Geo. Mackenzie, Esq. John Grant, Esq. and the Secretary.

The noble Duke then observed that the final arrangement of the measures thus proposed, was to be submitted to the consideration of the committee just named, who would, however, be happy to receive the suggestions of others equally well disposed with themselves.—These resolutions having received the unanimous approbation of the society at large, his Grace drank "success to the subscription, and may the Highlanders stand firmly by "*each other.*"—The subscription paper was then handed round the table for the signature of the members, all of whom signed.—The Duke of Montrose concurred in any mark of distinction, honour, and regard, which could be conferred on the gallant and meritorious 42d regiment, as no corps in any nation, had more uniformly distinguished itself, or reflected more honour on this country by its arms and its soldierlike conduct, at all times and in all places.—The Hon. C. F. Greville expressed his sincere desire to promote the object on which the society was engaged, and added, that he would use his utmost endeavours to render the execution of the tribute offered, worthy of the donors, and of those for whom it was intended. The 42d Regiment, as being composed of the different Highland clans, and levied in almost all the Highland counties, he thought peculiarly deserving the marked attention of the Highland Society, in which all the principal noblemen and gentlemen of those clans were associated.—Sir Hector Munro (Colonel of the 42d) informed the meeting, with regret, that General Whitelock having ordered an inspection of the 42d regiment at Winchester, whither he himself had gone, the society, on that account, would be deprived of the company of many of the officers who otherwise would have been happy to have attended.—The president then called on Mr. Mac Arthur, a very

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active and zealous member of the committee, to read the resolutions, together with the names of the subscribers, and the amount of their respective subscriptions, viz. 170 *guineas, of which* 100 *guineas were subscribed by an unknown member.*—Mr. Mac Arthur afterwards made some animated observations on the subject, in substance nearly as follows: that medals, in commemorating and transmitting to posterity, some great and illustrious action, such as the one now meant to be perpetuated, are obviously of great importance and utility to historians; and even when the page of history shall be destroyed, they will remain infallible documents, to the latest ages, of the truth of past actions. Medals too, ascertain, with accuracy, the chronology of past events, when other documents have failed, as may be instanced in the histories of Egypt and Syria. They elucidate some parts of the Greek and Roman history more effectually than tradition, or even the written documents of authors. They are no less useful in geography, by describing the relative situation and absolute position of cities or towns, by their vicinity to some noted pillar, river, or mountain, when time shall have swept away such cities or towns, and "leaves not a wreck behind." Hence Pompey's Pillar in the middle ground of the proposed design, will mark the scene of action, and its proximity to the ancient city of Alexandria.—With this pillar will be associated, in the mind, the idea that true fame resembles the descent of a pyramid—most minute at first, but swelling to an enormous base, which stands firm on the earth, and defies every tempest, and even the silent waste of time. But to bring the subject home more immediately to the feelings and attention of the society, he observed that there was no other testimony that could be presented, so flattering to the Highland race at large, and that would be so much cherished by the brave remains of the 42d regiment, and their latest posterity, and which would always tend to excite them, were it possible, to more glorious and valorous deeds. When in future times, and, perhaps, of great emergency, it might be necessary to call forth, into the service of their king and country, the descendants of these brave men, they would, in recounting the deeds of their forefathers, view them, probably, in the same light as we do at present, the fabulous feats of ancient chivalry, were the truth of such heroic actions not confirmed by the infallible record and tribute now proposed to be prosecuted. And well, indeed, might the descendants of these hardy sons of the North exclaim in the energetic language of their sublime bard—"Ye grim ghosts of "my fathers, behold my deeds in arms;—I may "fall,—but I shall be renowned. Where the "danger threatens, I rejoice in the storm."—The elevated sensations which these sentiments produced in the hearers, having, in some degree, subsided, the usual conviviality of the meeting was resumed. Many characteristic Highland toasts were given, preceded, however, by one, "To the "memory of the ever to be lamented chief, Aber-"cromby, and the brave men who so gloriously "fell in the battle of the 21st of March last."—Sir John Sinclair, at this moment, arose, and noticed, that a serjeant of the 42d regiment, by name Sinclair, who had, with Major Stirling, taken the Invincible Standard, was attending at the bar below, and would, if called upon, communicate to the society the particular incidents relative to that capture. This he thought essentially necessary for the society to know, *as several different accounts had been circulated of that event.*—Serjeant Sinclair was accordingly ushered into the room, in the uniform of his regiment, at that moment when the band were performing an appropriate piece of music to the sentiment just delivered from the chair. He, *with becoming diffidence* and *unaffected simplicity of manner*, told the particulars subjoined, giving clear and distinct answers to the several questions put to him.

Substance of the Serjeant's narrative.—That the 42d regiment of Highlanders, forming the right wing of the British army, having the 28th regiment a little on their right, advanced about two hundred yards, were, on the morning of the 21st of March last, and before day-light, attacked by three bodies of French infantry, who, in driving in the piquets, cheered and pushed on with great impetuosity. A French corps, bearing the name of "Invincibles," soon got between the 28th regiment and the 42d, situated as already noticed. Here the battle became warm and furious, and the French had succeeded, before day-light, in turning, or rather throwing the British right-flank into confusion. At day-light, the body of Invincibles, who had a little while before engaged in front, was discovered to have passed beyond the rear of the 42d regiment. This latter corps instantly changed its front, and attacked the Invincibles with great spirit; insomuch, that, in a very short time, the greatest part were cut to pieces.—The remainder gave way, and were driven to take refuge in an old ruin, or castle, on the right-flank. On being followed up by the Highlanders, the remainder of the Invincible corps called out for mercy, and many of them immediately surrendered.—At this instant Col. Alexander Stewart, of the 42d, who was present, went to the body of the regiment, when Major Stirling, of the same corps, followed by Serjeant Sinclair, *went up to the French officer bearing the Invincible Standard, and desired him instantly to deliver it up with his sword. On his refusal, the Major struck him across* the head with the flat of his sword, *and snatching the standard forcibly from him*; the Frenchman then threw his sword on the ground, exclaiming "Vive la République!" Serjeant Sinclair picked up his sword, and Major Stirling *delivered to him the Invincible Standard*, directing him at the same time *to take care of it*, and *to station himself by a four-pounder field-piece which had been taken by the 42d regiment*.—At this post Serjeant Sinclair remained for upwards of one hour, *in charge of the colours*, and *protecting the four-pounder*, when a body of French cavalry (about 300) advanced in full charge to the spot; and the officer, in passing, made two cuts at him, the one cut through his bonnet, and the second wounded the serjeant in the neck, after cutting through half of a thick club of hair, near the tie, and his neckcloths, having fortunately two on that day. Stunned by the blow, and thus cut, he lay for some time on the sand in a state of insensibility, and on having recovered he found himself alone, and the French cavalry in confusion, having been repulsed in their attack; being still in possession of the French officer's sword and his own. He could not, however, on looking round, find either the French Standard or his bonnet. He therefore, in pushing to the left, where the regiment was engaged, *met with six soldiers* of the French cavalry dismounted, whom *he escorted as prisoners* to the right of the 42d regiment, *where* they were taken care of *by Dillon's corps*. While conducting these

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prisoners, *he perceived a soldier of General Stewart's foreign corps carrying into the rear the Invincible Standard*, which *he had picked up while Serjeant Sinclair lay as already noticed.*—The left wing of the French, which had been put to the route, at this time began to rally, when Serjeant Sinclair, finding a wounded soldier's musket, fired at this third attack *no less than 15 rounds.* He thinks that the right wing of the British army was in action a full hour after this last attack, until the French army was completely defeated.—Being asked by one member of the society in particular, how he escaped with so little injury from such a perilous situation? he *modestly* replied, "That he had always *put his trust* "*in God*, and that *God alone could have protected him* "*amidst imminent dangers.*"—Serjeant Sinclair is an athletic young man, about six feet high.—The serjeant having retired amidst the plaudits of the company, the glass, enlivened with the song, went round; and every gentleman departed highly gratified by the proceedings of the evening. It was previously moved and agreed to, that in commemoration of the battle of the 21st of March, the third monthly meeting of the society shall be held on that day annually; but falling this year on a Sunday, it will of course take place on the day following.

These proceedings gave a more decided character to the thing. The honour of *taking* the standard was now formally and publicly claimed. The *carrying of it into* the head quarters was, indeed, left to the German regiment; but the *capture* was fixed as the right and property of the 42d regiment.—The press having thus lent its aid, that of the pencil was next called into the service. A panorama of the battle of Alexandria was made, by MR. ROBERT KER PORTER, and was, for many months, exhibited to crowds of spectators, in London, whence it was, in October last, removed to Dublin, in order to be shewn to the people of Ireland also. At this exhibition there was an explanatory pamphlet, sold to such of the spectators as chose to purchase it, entitled, "*An Historical Sketch* "*of the Battle of Alexandria, and of the Cam-*"*paign in Egypt*," in which historical sketch the name of LUTZ, or that of his regiment, is never once even mentioned, in any way whatever, good, bad, or indifferent. With regard to the Invincible Standard, we find (p. 17 of the pamphlet) the following remarkable passage: — "Our *reserve*, the "Forty-second and Twenty-eighth regi-"ments, finding the enemy in their rear, "faced about, charged them with the "bayonet, and drove them backward step "by step, into the inclosure of the ruin. "Six hundred of these *Invincibles* were "already extended upon the ground; the "remaining two hundred and fifty called "for quarter, and obtained it; not a man "of them returned! This was the business "of twenty minutes. It was *at this time* "*that the Invincible Standard was taken*; the "palm of numerous honours gained by "this legion, and on which was inscribed "their victories. It was wrested from "the brave possessors after a gallant fight, "in which they began assailants and "ended defendants; *this trophy will ever be* "*honourable to Great-Britain*, as won from "some of the bravest warriors of the age. "Mr. Baldwin's conduct, as before re-"lated, entitled him to as much honour "as it was possible to bestow; and *there* "*could not be a greater than* to make him the "*bearer* of Buonaparté's Invincible Standard "to London. — This standard of Buona-"parté's own invincible brigade, *brought* "*home in the Flora*, is so much shattered and "defaced by service as well as by blood, "that the inscriptions recording its vic-"tories can with difficulty be traced—*Le* "*Passage de la Pavia, Le Passage du Taglia-*"*mento, Le Passage de l'Isonzo*, and *La* "*Prise de Gratz*, are tolerably distinct, but "scarcely any vestige remains of the "inscription relative to the affair of the "*Pont di Lodi.*"—But, besides this pamphlet, Mr. ROBERT KER PORTER, the historian and historical painter, handed to his spectators another, containing the outlines of the several parts and figures of his panorama, and also printed explanations of the same. These explanations contained the following passage: "next is a party "of the Minorca regiment" (the Queen's German regiment was called Stuart's, or the Minorca regiment) "attacking [with the bayonet] "the officer, who held the "French standard, *now at Lord Hobart's* "*office.* This standard was *taken* by one of "their *grenadiers.* — Below them lies the "Frenchman, supposed to have assailed "Sir Ralph, bayoneted by a party of the "42d, and a little onwards is a serjeant "of that regiment in personal conflict "with General Roize, who was killed:— "Menou's orders for the attack were "found in his pocket.—To the right of "these are the French INVINCIBLE "Regiment met by a party of the 42d: "*their* colours are seized by Serjeant Sin-"clair, who being afterwards cut down, "left them somewhere in the field."—Begging the reader to pay good attention to the very material variations in all these different statements, I shall now mention one more fact, and then proceed to the evidence on the other side.—Mr. Watson, Goldsmith and Jeweller, No. 149, near Somerset House in the Strand, had an

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order (which, I believe, he is now executing) to make the silver cup, mentioned in the resolutions of the Highland Society. In the month of August last, I saw, and examined a drawing of this cup, on which there is to be, or, at least, there *was* to be, a medallion, representing a Highlander with *the Invincible Standard in his hand, and with a French officer lying at his feet.*

Such are the statements of the Highlanders and their partizans: such are their pretensions, and such the evidence on which those pretensions are founded. Before I analyse this evidence (which to say the truth, stands in need of no such process), I shall lay before my readers *authentic* documents to establish the claim of LUTZ, previously stating the circumstances, which led to the obtaining of those documents.

Till I read the narrative of Serjeant *Sinclair* (who was, it seems, brought forward by Sir John *Sinclair*), I took it for granted, as most people did, that the Invincible Standard had really been taken by the Highlanders: but, that narrative, full of the marvellous, and even of self-contradiction, staggered my belief; when I came, soon afterwards, to compare its statements with the statements and representations at the Panorama, I could no longer believe a single word of the story. It then became matter of regret with me, that I knew not where to apply to ascertain the real state of the case; and to contribute my mite towards restoring the laurel to the brow of its rightful owner. Some months, however, having passed away in discussions on the definitive treaty, the Invincible Standard, together with the poor German soldier who picked it up, while the gallant and *modest* Serjeant Sinclair lay in a transe, were almost forgotten, when, in the latter end of July, or early in August last, happening to cast my eyes on a news-paper, under the head of "*Winchester Assizes*," I perceived "that a "man named ANTHONY LUTZ, had been "arraigned there for murder; that it appeared his offence was nothing more "than man-slaughter, and that, in the "course of the proceedings, the Adjutant "of the Queen's German regiment, to "which corps the said Lutz belonged, "appeared as a witness to his character, "and, amongst other commendations of "him, stated that he was *the very man, who* "*took the Invincible Standard from the French*, "in the battle of Alexandria."—*This* was the first gleam of *real* light, which had been thrown upon the subject. Here was not only the declaration, but the declaration of an officer, and, upon oath too, in direct contradiction to the statements of Serjeant Sinclair and Mr. Robert Ker Porter. This was testimony, on which reliance might be placed It at once revived a desire to do justice to this German (for such I then took him to be), and pointed out the means of doing it. The first step was, to see and converse with the man himself. MR. WINDHAM, who, on all occasions the lover of truth, of justice, and of honour, on all occasions the friend and protector of the loyal and the brave, obtained leave, from MAJOR WILSON, then the commanding officer of the regiment, for LUTZ to come to London from Gosport, where the regiment then lay. He arrived in Pall Mall, on the 10th of August, accompanied by a serjeant, who was intended to serve him as an interpreter, an office, however, which was unnecessary, as LUTZ could converse with us very well in French. He was, of course, dressed in his regimentals, and (a circumstance of which I shall speak more particularly by-and-by) wore a badge upon his left breast, representing the Invincible Standard, as perfectly, at least, as a taylor, with pieces of coarse cloth, could make out such a representation. But, to my great surprize, and, as if for the express purpose of discrediting Mr. Ker Porter's Panorama, instead of a huge German *Grenadier* with monstrous whiskers on his face, I found a little, young, smooth-faced Frenchman; well-set, indeed, and of a manly countenance and deportment, but only five feet six inches high, and no more than twenty-five years of age, though he had already been ten years a soldier, and in fourteen different battles.—During his residence in London, I collected, from his own mouth, the following particulars.

Antoine Lutz, is the son of Gregoire Lutz, of Rosheim in Alsace, where Antoine, was born the 5th of July, 1777. Gregoire Lutz was a vineyard labourer, and had, besides this son, two other sons and a daughter. In 1792, the father and family emigrated, with many other persons, into Germany, to avoid the requisitions and other persecutions of the Republicans; but, some time previous to this emigration, Antoine was taken in requisition, and sent to join the 13th regiment of foot, then serving in the army of the Rhine. He served in this regiment about three months, when he got away and returned to his

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father's, where he remained seven weeks, at the end of which time a party of French cavalry came after him, and carried him back to the regiment; but he was not punished for his elopement. He remained with the regiment nine months, during which time he was in two battles, at no great distance from Landau. In July, 1794, (the first fair opportunity he had) he escaped from the Republicans, and went over to the army of the Prince of Condé, which then lay at and about Fribourg. He enlisted in the legion de Mirabeau. During the time he was in the army de Condé he was ten times in battle. He was wounded slightly in the knee by a musket ball in the second of these battles. In 1797, the army of Condé being, in part, disbanded, and the soldiers having liberty to choose, amongst the allies, what service they would go to, Lutz chose the Russian service, and joined the Legion of Thomas at Lutzcow, in Polish Russia. Here he remained four months, and then was exchanged to the Austrian regiment of Green Loudon, which then lay at Limburgh in Gallicia, with a detachment of two companies of which regiment he went into Italy in 1799, joined the army of Prince Charles near Verona, and, in the first engagement after his joining, was taken by the army of Moreau, at Castel Nuovo. He was sent prisoner to Cremona, where he saw a French soldier who had known him in the republican service. Fearing that this man would inform against him, he escaped from Cremona to Milan, where, with about 225 German soldiers, he was kidnapped by the Spaniards, and conveyed to Genoa; there he was put on board a ship bound to Barcelona, in Old Spain. On the 22d of May, 1799, the ship was taken by an English cutter and carried into Minorca, where, on the 27th of May in the same year, he enlisted into General Stuart's corps, now the Queen's German regiment, which regiment having embarked on the 29th of August, 1800, and having touched successively at Gibraltar, off Cadix, on the coast of Barbary, at Malta, and at Marmora, arrived at Aboukir and landed there on the 8th of March, 1801, but without being engaged with the enemy till the 21st of the same month.—On that memorable day, the Queen's German regiment, the regiment of Dillon, and that of De Rolle, forming what General Hutchinson calls the foreign brigade, and commanded by General Stuart, composed a sort of reserve, the Queen's German regiment being upon the right of the brigade, and nearest to the 42d regiment who led the attack. Soon after the battle began, which was before day-light, the 42d having had to meet the violent and desperate effort of the French, were thrown into confusion,* which induced General Stuart to push on his brigade to their assistance. So complete was the confusion of the 42d, so entirely were they broken and dispersed, that, when the German regiment came up, many of the men of the 42d fell into the ranks of the German regiment, by ones, twos, threes, fours, fives, &c. and actually fought there to the end of the engagement. The Queen's German regiment began by a well-directed and most dreadful fire by files, at the distance of about 40 yards from the front rank of the French infantry; but, as both sides kept advancing, an instant brought them to within musket length of each other. The battle now became extremely furious and bloody; some were firing, others fighting with the bayonet, and others with the butt-ends of their muskets; and this, too, at a time when the morning afforded but just light enough to distinguish one man from another. In about a quarter of an hour after the Queen's German regiment had been at close quarters thus, the French began to retire, and were pursued by the Germans for about forty or fifty yards, when Gen. Stuart, perceiving the enemy to be covered by their cannon and other artillery, which kept up a constant fire from some heights, towards which the fugitives were approaching, or-

* The forty-second regiment was, indeed, in such a state, that, had not General Stuart marched up his corps (which he actually did *without orders*) not a man of them would have escaped either death or captivity. Their confusion (not to say *defeat*) was, and is still, attributed to their "*impetuosity* and *indiscipline*." But, be the cause what it might, the effect is well known by every man of the army of Egypt, and is frankly acknowledged even by the officers of the 42d regiment themselves, who, I am well assured, are ready to avow, that, had it not been for General Stuart and his corps, they must inevitably have perished, or been taken, to the last man.—I have always heard the 42d regiment highly praised: were I a general I know of no soldiers I should like better than Scotchmen, they are sober, honest, obedient, hardy, brave, and faithful to their colours: I love and honour the Scottish nation, because I have, wherever I have been, found them, generally speaking, distinguished for their loyalty, and because I have, in almost every stage of my life, experienced from them friendship the most ardent and most sincere:—but, not any, not all, of these reasons, will induce me to with-hold one single syllable from the cause of truth and of justice.

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dered his men to halt. In this pursuit, however, the irregularity of which every reader may easily conceive, some soldiers of the Queen's German regiment, more active and more eager than the rest, ran rather forward after the enemy. Amongst these was ANTHONY LUTZ, who, having got so close as within about eight paces of the officer who carried the Invincible Standard and who was a few yards behind his flying soldiers, he shot him, with his musket, in the back. The officer fell forward upon his face. LUTZ, perceiving him fall, re-loaded his musket, went and took up the standard, and was about to cut the gold epaulets from the officer's coat, but the tremendous fire from the French batteries, and more particularly the appearance of a body of the enemy's horse, induced him to make off as fast as he could. He had not gone far from the spot where the officer lay, before he found it necessary, in order to avoid a party of French horse, to throw himself into a hollow place, and to lay down as if he were dead, covering the standard, as well as he could, with his body. This party of cavalry having overlooked him, he got up and was hastening towards his regiment, when two French dragoons rode towards him, one of whom shot at him with a pistol, upon which LUTZ threw down the standard, shot at the dragoon, and, missing him, killed his horse. The other dragoon, receiving, as LUTZ thinks, a shot from another quarter, rode off. The wounded horse fell; his rider, whose foot was entangled in the stirrup, begged his life, and presented LUTZ the butt of his pistol, in token of submission. LUTZ spared his life, went and took up the standard, and thus, in the midst of this bloody battle (for the heavy charge of the French cavalry had not yet been made), did he return to his regiment, with the enemy's colours in one hand, and a prisoner of war in the other. Thus he presented himself to his officer, Lieutenant Moncrieff (whom I have since conversed with, and who pledges his honour for the correctness of this part of the statement), offering him the standard—"No, my brave fellow," said the Lieutenant (giving him, at the same time, a dollar, which was all the money he had about him) "the standard is yours, and I will "not rob you of it. Go and carry it instantly to head-quarters, and take your prisoner with you."—This order LUTZ obeyed. He lodged his prisoner with an officer of the provost, and carried the standard to the tent of the commander in chief, where he delivered it into the hands of the assistant adjutant-general.

Such is the narrative of LUTZ, as taken down by me, from his own mouth, and as fully confirmed (as far as relates to the *bringing in* of the standard) by Lieutenant Moncrieff.—I now beg the reader's attention to some documents a little more authentic than the narrative of the modest Serjeant Sinclair, and the no less modest representation of Mr. Ker Porter and his Panorama. I shall begin with an order of two relative to the conduct of the whole of the Foreign Brigade, and particularly that of the Queen's German regiment, which corps, it appears to me, has, from first to last, been studiously kept in the back-ground, though it certainly was in the front of the battle.

Extract from the General Orders of the Army, 24th March, 1801. } The support given to the reserve by Brigadier General Stuart and the foreign brigade was as gallant as it was prompt, and entirely confirmed the fortunate issue of that brilliant day.

Extract from the Brigade Orders of General Stuart's Brigade, 25th March, 1801. } It was with the most heart-felt satisfaction that the Brigadier General contemplated in yesterday's general orders the honourable reward offered to the brigade in the flattering testimony of the commander in chief's approbation of their conduct in the action of the 21st. Sincerely and warmly attached to each corps from long and peculiar circumstances of connexion, the Brigadier General acknowledges his own obligations to their exact obedience and discipline, and he cannot but participate with them in the credit of having rendered themselves conspicuous on a day which, independently of the glorious events which have so recently preceded, must ever add lustre to the character of a British army.—Regret for the loss of those brave men who fell, is a tribute due to their worth, and for none can the Brigadier General sympathize more fully with the brigade than for that of his late esteemed and valuable Brigade Major.

The following documents relate solely to LUTZ and the standard, and I beg the reader to peruse them with attention.

Copy of a Certificate, given by the Adjutant General's Directions to ANTHONY LUTZ, Private Soldier in the Regiment of Minorca, or Stuart. } I do hereby certify, that ANTHONY LUTZ, private soldier in the regiment of Minorca or Stuart, did (on the 21st of March, 1801, during the action between the English and French armies commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the French General in chief Menou, on the above day, within three miles of Alexandria) *take* FROM THE ENEMY a standard, which bore several marks of honourable distinction, such as the *passage of the Piava* and *Tagliamento*, when under Buonaparté, in Italy, and in the centre of which is a bugle horn within a wreath of laurel—I do also certify that the said ANTHONY LUTZ, *brought the standard to the head quarters of his Excellency Sir Ralph Abercrombie, where he delivered it into my hands*, when he, at the

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same time, received from me, by order, a gratuity of 20 dollars, for so signal an instance of good conduct. And I do farther certify, that I forwarded the standard, thus taken by the above Anthony Lutz, to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then ill of his wounds in his Majesty's ship Foudroyant, that his Excellency received it accordingly, and that it is now in our possession.—Given under my hand at the Adjutant General's quarters, in the camp before Alexandria, this 3d day of April, 1801. *(Signed)* JNO. M'DONALD, *Assis. Adjut. General.*

Copy of a Regimental Order, in the Regiment of Minorca, or Stuart, now called the Queen's German Regiment, 4th April, 1801. Private, ANTHONY LUTZ, who *took* the standard FROM THE ENEMY, on the 21st last month, is directed to wear the *representation of a standard* (according to the model prescribed by the Brigadier General) as a mark of his good behaviour, on his right arm *—and the Brigadier General notifies that, as soon as the regiment is in an established quarter, he will institute a valuable badge, in a certain proportion per company, to be worn by such men as shall have been proved, upon sufficient testimony, to have distinguished themselves, by acts of valour, or by personal instances of meritorious service; and officers are, on this account, to make note of the conduct of individuals.

Now, here is nothing about *picking a standard up!* Here are two official documents, positively declaring, that the standard was "*taken from the enemy*" by LUTZ. Neither the Assistant Adjutant-General nor General Stuart did, indeed, actually see the achievement with his own eyes; but, it was very improbable indeed, that either of them should have so positively ascribed it to LUTZ, and that the latter should, by a public order, have awarded him a badge of honour, without having previously obtained very accurate information on the subject, especially as we see the certificate and the order are dated a *fortnight after* the standard was taken, which gave ample time for inquiry. As, however, the contrary was barely possible; and as an attempt might still be made to oppose the declaration of the modest Serjeant Sinclair to the records of the army, it was thought necessary to trace the standard back to the time, if possible, when it came into the hands of LUTZ. With this view there was held a regimental committee of inquiry, a copy of the proceedings of which is here subjoined.

COPY OF PROCEEDINGS *of a Regimental Committee of Inquiry, held in the Queen's German Regiment at Gosport, on the 28th August, 1800, to examine into the Circumstances which attended the Capture of the Colour, taken in the Action between the English and French Armies, near Alexandria, on the 21st of March* 1801.

The Deposition of Corporal John Schmid. Corporal JOHN SCHMID declares, that the Regiment had already taken post in front of the enemy and had suffered considerably from loss of number when he found himself near ANTHONY LUTZ, who, with private WOHLWEND, himself, and several other men, advanced still nearer the enemy now greatly dispersed by the heavy fire from the redoubt; that LUTZ, notwithstanding the danger of the enterprize, rushed forward, discharging his musket, and, presently afterward, returned, bearing upon his shoulder an infantry standard. A body of cavalry appearing at this moment, LUTZ, in order to secure his prize, threw himself into a hole (or rather hollow place,) and lay upon it. Several minutes elapsed, before he saw LUTZ again, when he found him still in possession of the colour and also of a dismounted dragoon, whom he had made prisoner. He further says, that the smoke and confusion of the moment were too great to admit of his distinguishing whether the colour was in the hands of the infantry or the cavalry; but he positively asserts, that no other than ANTHONY LUTZ captured the standard.

The Deposition of Private Wohlwend. Private Wohlwend corroborates, in every point the deposition of Corporal Schmid; and, he further declares, that he saw ANTHONY LUTZ, as he was retiring to the ranks of the regiment, closely pursued by two of the enemy's cavalry, one of whose horses he shot and made the rider prisoner; the other horseman escaped.

Separate Examination of Corporal Schmid. *Question.*—Did you observe a serjeant, or any other person, of the 42d regiment, lying wounded near the spot where the colour was taken?—*Answer.*—No; I saw no red coat whatever (except LUTZ, WOHLWEND, myself, and a few others of our reg.) so far in front.—*Question.*—Did you see the colour in possession of the enemy?—*Answer.*—Yes: I saw it, though indistinctly, through the smoak, waving over their heads.—*Question.*—What might have been the space of time, from the moment when you saw the standard in the hands of the enemy to that when it became the property of LUTZ?—*Answer.*—Some few minutes, probably seven; but I cannot now be correct to a minute.—*Question.*—What might have been the interim, between the instant when LUTZ pushed on forward from the place where you were, and that when you saw him with the colour?—*Answer.*—About one or two minutes.—*Question.*—What distance do you suppose you might have been from the colour?—*Answer.*—About forty or fifty paces.—*Question.*—Do you conceive, that there was time sufficient from the moment that LUTZ left you, to that when he again appeared to admit of its having taken by any other person previous to the taking of it by Lutz?—*Answer.*—No; it was too momentary.—The same question being put to private WOHLWEND, he answered nearly to the same effect, except as to the following point, where his testimony is rather more positive than that of Corporal Schmid:—*Question.*—Did you see the colour in possession of the enemy?—*Answer.*—Yes; very distinctly.

This copy of proceedings, which was transmitted to me on the 29th of August last, by MAJOR WILSON, the Command-

* The badge was, by a subsequent order, removed from the arm to the left breast.

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Officer of the Regiment, completes the testimony, on the part of LUTZ. Before, however, I proceed with my remarks on the evidence, I must again trespass on the patience of the reader, while I give some account of the conduct of LUTZ, while in London. His having been arraigned for killing a brother soldier naturally excited a fear that he might be a violent and dissipated man; but the whole of his behaviour proved him to be exactly the contrary. He was lodged in a public-house, where, as to expenses, he had *carte blanche*; yet, I saw him twice every day, and he never had the least appearance of that mortal military vice, intoxication. He several times breakfasted and dined at my house, where every one that saw him was delighted with his good sense and unassuming manners: But I had a still stronger proof of his general good behaviour in the assurances of Captain M'Kennon and Lieutenant Moncreiff of the same regiment, who both confirmed my observation, that he was not less remarkable for his good-nature and docility, than for his bravery; and, the former gave a strong mark of his approbation, by taking LUTZ with him to a dinner which he gave at an hotel, and by placing him by his side in a front seat at the Hay-Market Theatre. Both these officers assured me, that the unfortunate affair of manslaughter by no means originated in the fault of LUTZ, who, being attacked by a drunken man, pushed him away from him, and he unfortunately fell against a naked bayonet, the point of which was projecting over the side of an empty birth. His death was, indeed, purely *accidental*; and, had the matter been rightly understood, LUTZ would, most assuredly have been *bailed*, instead of being kept 27 days, in the first instance, upon bread and water, and two months in jail and in irons! But, it was to this suffering that he owes the restoration of his honours; for, had he never seen Winchester jail, it is very probable, that he never would have seen London, and that London would never have had the honour to see him.—During his stay in town his portrait (of which I shall presently have to speak more particularly), was taken, though very much against his will. As to the story of Serjeant Sinclair, it was not, 'till after he had been several days in town, that he could be made to consider it as any thing more than a joke on our part; nor could he be convinced of the contrary, 'till the serjeant who came with him read and translated to him, in German (which is the native language of the lower orders of people in Alsace, and which he understood rather better than he did French) the modest and pious narrative above extracted from the True Briton. When he found a *real* attempt had been made to rob him of his honour, he expressed his surprize; but, it was not 'till he went to Lord Hobart's office, to look at the standard, that he discovered any thing like resentment on the subject. The instant it was brought into the room all the ideas of the moment when he took it, seemed to rush into his mind; he snatched hold of the staff, and, stamping it upon the floor, while his face reddened with anger, "now," said he, in German, "let that serjeant "come, and claim this standard if he "dares!"—He had, before he saw the colour, described every part of it very accurately, and he now showed us the large hole near the middle, which he had told us was made by a bomb shell, after he took it, and while it lay on the ground during his capture of the French dragoon.—After staying in town from the 10th to the 25th of August, he returned to his regiment, where he has since, I understand, been promoted to the rank of corporal, a promotion which he had declined to accept of before, and which now, I trust, is only the precursor of something much more advantageous and distinguished.

It was my intention, now to enter into an analysis of the statements on both sides, as to the claim with respect to the taking of the standard; but, really, upon a review of the whole of the evidence, that on the side of the Highlanders (if, in truth, it can be called evidence) bears, on the very face of it, such striking marks of error (to give it no harsher term); it contains such palpable self-contradictions, that it seems almost an insult to my readers to trouble them with any remarks on it. I cannot, however, refrain from just pointing out a few of its most prominent features.

I will, for a moment, suppose it possible, that MAJOR STIRLING (of whom, by the bye, we have heard nothing directly,) after having taken an Invincible Standard, should not only give it into the charge of another, but that that other should be no more than a non-commissioned officer, and that he should then send that non-commissioned officer, with the standard in his hand, to *protect* a four pounder; I will further suppose it possible, that Serjeant Sinclair might be "cut down," as Mr. Ker Porter calls it, that he thus lost the standard, that he afterwards rose up again, that he met with the six

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French soldiers whom he conducted to the right of the *forty second regiment*, and *there* put them in charge of *Dillon's* corps; I will suppose it possible, that the serjeant found a musket and fired *fifteen rounds* after his transe; but, willing as I am to suppose even almost impossibilities, I cannot suppose, that the serjeant, though endued, perhaps, with the second sight, could, while he lay "in a "state of *insensibility*," SEE *who it was that* "*picked up*" *the standard*.—Mr. Ker Porter tells the world, in his "Historical Sketch," that the "Invincible Standard, *brought home* "*by Mr. Baldwin*," was taken by the forty second regiment.—Now, observe well how this agrees with his panorama picture, as described by himself. "NEXT" (says he, in the true showman like style), "NEXT is a "party of the Minorca regiment attacking "the officer who held the French standard, "*now at Lord Hobart's*; it was taken by "one of their grenadiers.—Below them, "lies the Frenchman supposed to have as"sailed Sir Ralph, bayonetted by a party of "the 42d, and a little onwards is a serjeant "of that regiment in personal conflict with "General Roize,* who was killed:—MR"NOU's orders for the attack were found in "his pocket.—To the right of these are "the French Invincible regiment, met by a "party of the 42d; *their* colours are seized "by Serjeant Sinclair, who being after"wards cut down, *left them somewhere in the* "*field*"—So! here are *two* standards! And, which is still more surprizing, the standard which Mr. Porter himself tells us (in his history) was the "*Invincible* Standard, "*brought home* by Mr. Baldwin," is now "*left somewhere in the field*," and the standard, "*now at Lord Hobart's*," is merely a "*French* standard," and nothing more. But, as if the spirit of contradiction itself had possessed Mr. Ker Porter, he says, that the *Invincible* standard had on it *Le passage de La Piava, Le passage du Tagliamento*, &c. and it perversely happens, that these very words are upon "the *French* standard, *now at Lord* "*Hobart's!*"—The fact is, that the palpable disagreement between Mr. Ker Porter's pen and his pencil arises from the circumstance of their having been employed upon the same subject at different times. When the historical sketch was written, there was no fear at all of detection; but, before the picture was finished, there was an ugly story got abroad about a German soldier having *brought in* a standard; and, as it seemed to be agreed, on all hands, that there was but *one* brought home to England, Mr. Porter was resolved, that, since *that* one was not taken by the Highlanders, it should *not* be the *Invincible* standard. Hence the invention of *two* standards. Unfortunately, however, for the veracity both of Mr. Porter's writings and his paintings, that modest and pious youth Serjeant Sinclair declares, that the standard which was brought in by the German soldier was the *very same* that was taken by MAJ. STIRLING, and which he [the serjeant] lost when he was cut down by the French cavalry! But, then, which to believe, Mr. Porter or the serjeant? The serjeant says, that after being knocked down and stunned, and having got up again, and taken SIX Frenchmen prisoners, "he per"ceived a soldier of Gen. Stuart's foreign "corps, carrying into the rear the Invinci"ble standard, which he [the soldier] had "picked up, *while* Serjeant Sinclair lay in a "state of *insensibility*." Now, if the serjeant was in a state of *insensibility*, how could he see, or hear, what was doing the while? Did he, like Hudibras, send his senses out upon the scout; and did they, upon their return, inform him that a foreigner had been there and had picked up the standard? Or did he swoon, as a negro sleeps, with one eye at a time? The truth is, that this part of the serjeant's narrative places him in a most cruel dilemma, and furnishes strong grounds to fear, that if he did really think of his Maker during the battle of Alexandria, he completely forgot Him at the Shakespear Tavern:—the serjeant either saw the standard "picked up," or he did not see it picked up; if he did see it, how comes it that he, who was so vigorous as to fire fifteen rounds and take six prisoners afterwards, did not prevent another from carrying off his inestimable prize? And, if he did not see it, he has told an absolute and shameful falsehood, which has been promulgated under the apparent authority of

* This, too, is a false representation. General Roize was not *hewed down* as represented in the picture, but was *shot*, and not by a *Highlander*, but by Corporal Karabaum of the *Queen's German Regiment*. The corporal, who was a native of Mentz, and who has since been discharged, took a gold watch out of Roize's pocket, and brought it in, together with a part of the embroidered collar and facing of his coat. The gold watch the corporal sold for one hundred and twelve dollars, with which money he went home to Germany, after the regiment came to England.—My authority for this statement is that of the Serjeant (acting Serjeant Major,) who came to London with LUTZ, and who was astonished at the tale of Mr. Robert Ker Porter. Alas! little did he know of the secret history of Panoramas!

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the Highland Society.*—One point more and I have done.—It has been stated as a *possible* case, as a last shift, that the standard might be first taken by the 42d regiment, then retaken by the enemy, and afterwards taken by LUTZ. On this case I shall only observe; that, if the 42d regiment should think proper to boast of having had the standard taken from them, LUTZ can have no great objection to have it thought, that *he took the standard from those who took it from the 42d regiment.*†

Turning, with disgust, from this tissue of misrepresentations, mistatements, contradictions, absurdities, and, I must add, falsehoods, with what pleasure does the mind contemplate the plain and honest narrative of LUTZ, supported, in every point, by authenticated documents! We see the man with the badge of honour, the representation of the standard, on his breast: we find that he has worn this badge ever since the date of the atchievement, and by a public order of his commanding officer: to prove that this order was not given without cause, we have next the certificate of the Adjutant General: to prove that the Adjutant General was not deceived, we have the testimony of Lieut. Moncrieff, to whom LUTZ brought the standard from the enemy; and, to prove that he took it from the enemy, we have the testimony of two men, on their oaths, who saw it in their hands, who saw LUTZ run into the smoke after them, and, in the space of two minutes, came out of that smoke in possession of the symbol of victory. In short, no case was ever more fairly made out: no fact was ever more fully and uncontrovertibly proved: no judge, though in the righteous, the scrupulous, the merciful courts of England, ever required clearer evidence whereon to ground a decision, even of death.

Having thus established the exclusive claim of LUTZ to the *honour* of taking the Invincible Standard, I shall say but a very few words as to the *reward* of that gallant, and, even in a national point of view, most meritorious and important atchievement. Of the claims, which the hero has on the sovereign and the country that he serves, the first is, that his deeds be ascribed to himself and not to another. This, which is, in truth, no more than a mere demand of right, LUTZ is, I trust, now in a fair way of obtaining. But the reward of valour does not stop here: it demands rank and precedence, with a proportionate share of the comforts and pleasures of life: justice, because she watches over the weak and the timid, does not, for that reason, turn her back upon the stout and the brave. In considering, therefore, what ought to be done, in the present instance, a narrative, such as I have here attempted, was determined on, not only as absolutely necessary to do away the mistatements already abroad, and as a means of restoring the laurel to the brow of LUTZ, but also as a foundation whereon to proceed in any other endeavours that might be made in his behalf. Leaving to the justice of his Royal Highness the commander in chief (when he came to be fully informed of all the circumstances of the case) to award such honours as he might think proper, it was thought, that, in the mean time, some method ought to be adopted for giving the noblemen and gentlemen of the kingdom an opportunity of contributing towards a pecuniary reward. A *subscription*.

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* So positive, so daring, has this proceeding been, that almost the whole nation has been deceived by it, not excepting even some of those who were in the battle. SIR ROBERT WILSON had, in the first edition of his valuable work (or in some of the copies at least) been misled, in some degree, by the accounts which had been palmed upon the Highland Society and upon the public; but, I have the satisfaction to know, that Sir Robert, though he did not obtain the name of LUTZ time enough for insertion in his work, is now about to do him ample justice, by giving a detail of his atchievement in a new edition of a book which will certainly descend to posterity.

† I here wish to declare, in the most positive and explicit terms, that I have no intention to insinuate, that MAJOR STIRLING, or any of the Officers of the 42d regiment, who were in Egypt, have lent their aid in favouring the imposition of Serjeant Sinclair and Mr. Ker Porter; on the contrary, I am well assured, that they have not; but, at the same time, I must observe, that, if they were informed of the serjeant's publickly claiming the honour in the name of the regiment or officers of the regiment, they should instantly have *dis*-claimed it in the same public manner; and which, indeed, they would, perhaps, have done before now, had they been acquainted with the mode of effecting such a purpose.—It is hardly necessary for me to say, that, to the Highland Society in a body, I cannot impute any intentional misrepresentation. Of the SINCLAIRS (the modest *Serjeant* and his patron *Sir John*) I shall leave the reader to form his own opinion, expressing, however, my sincere hope, and, indeed, my firm reliance, that, in this project in behalf of his namesake, Sir John will, finally, meet with no better success than, when, with modesty unparalleled, he called upon the people of England not only publickly to venerate Washington, but *to contribute towards a fund for the raising of a monument to his memory, even in the dominions of their Sovereign, from whom* WASHINGTON *had snatched, what was called* "*the most precious jewel of his crown.*"

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the last resource of misfortune, imprudence, and decayed patriotism, was thought an unsuitable expedient; the man who took the Invincible Standard ought never to appeal to the *charity* of England. After some deliberation as to the most proper means to be employed, an engraved *portrait of Lutz* to be *sold* at a *guinea*, was resolved on, as at once calculated to commemorate his heroic deed, and to procure him a handsome sum, without wounding those sentiments, which he must, and which he does entertain.—The portrait was executed accordingly. It is a full length. LUTZ is dressed in the regimentals of the Queen's German regiment, having the badge upon his breast, and the standard in his hand. A face of a bastion is to his left, while, behind him and to his right, the distant spires of Alexandria terminate the view. The likeness is exact; the print is in colours, and is in size nine inches by twelve. It is *now ready for sale*, at No. 18, Pall-Mall. —What importance has been attached to the taking of the Invincible Standard, how highly we have prized this trophy of victory, is well known to this nation and to the world: indeed, it is the great pledge of our military fame: it is the *pivot* on which has turned every eulogium, of every sort, respecting the Egyptian campaign. "We fairly defeated them," says the historian, "and the proof is, we took their "Invincible Standard." This standard was sent to Sir Ralph Abercrombie to cheer him in his last awful moments: it is to be placed on his grand and costly tomb, voted by a grateful Parliament: and, shall the gallant LUTZ, shall the man who took this standard, be rewarded with a worsted shoulder-knot, and two-pence a day added to his pay? Shall he, because he is *a foreigner*, waste his life in penury and obscurity, and finally, perhaps, drop into the grave from the wards of an hospital or a poor-house? Forbid it justice! Forbid it British justice and British honour!

London, 22*d Dec.* 1802. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR.

Boston (*America*), *Oct.* 30, 1802.

SIR,—You ask me what my countrymen think of the situation of Europe. Read with attention the following article, which I have extracted from the PALLADIUM [a Boston newspaper], and be assured, that it contains the political sentiments of all well-informed Americans. This article will also enable your readers (if you should republish it) to judge, whether, as far as relates to the information and talents of newspaper politicians, we are so far, as some of your countrymen seem to think us, behind the people, from whom we are descended.

Yours, &c. T.

The war of arms is at an end: the war of the custom-house has commenced between France and England. More than ever their policy relates to the concerns of other powers; and the consequences of their competition will shew, that the same act, which has given peace to themselves has scattered the seeds of discord among their neighbours. To lessen the commerce of England will be to lessen her power. *Buonaparté will, therefore, try all the means that his policy can employ to make his rival defenceless before he forces her to be hostile.*

It is not clear that the people of England were willing any longer to prosecute the war; but it is now unquestionably clear, *that it was their great ultimate interest to pursue it.* Peace has brought with it few new resources, it will soon dry up those which spring up with a state of war: for war makes many of its own means. Peace must shortly divide the commerce that war gave to her entire. Her enemies, who lately did not own a ship, are now England's competitors. Their business was to destroy—now it will be to produce and fabricate. They will want less; they will supply more. They will diminish her means and they will recruit their own. England looks at the peace with mingled shame and dread. Shame, because she is already *degraded in the eyes of strangers* *, if not in her own. With dread, because France has gained new power, and shews more than her old ambition.

It is too much to say, that Mr. Pitt ought to have proceeded with the war, if he understood the position of things. He might understand it, but it is alleged, and perhaps it is true, that the British nation preferred pre-

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* We have frequently said this, and we have as frequently been abused for it. It has frequently been asserted in Parliament, and as frequently been contradicted by the ministers and their supporters. But here we have the full proof of the fact. This article is extracted from a paper published in a foreign country. In a country at peace and in amity with us; and the article is written by a person evidently friendly to England.—The fact is, that the Palladium is the production of the joint talents of several very eminent *public men* in the state of Massachusetts; so that, we may venture to rely upon the sentiment, to which we here refer, as being the fixed and settled sentiment of foreigners with respect to our degradation.—*Note of the Editor.*

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sent ease, which they expected, and have failed of realising by peace, to the glory, the burdens and the distant ultimate security of war. We Americans choose to say, and we are vain-glorious enough to believe, that the people are not counted for any thing any where except in America. The truth is, the voice of the nation, when it conveys its wisdom or its deliberate mistakes, is more sure to penetrate audibly and with effect the recesses of St. James's than those of Monticello *. The British nation was, then, perhaps, weary of the war, and therefore it ended. Peace will present an aspect of danger, *which the nations courage will not be summoned to face.* The only question is; whether, on viewing its formidable consequences, England will be able to surmount or elude them. A nice problem it is. America is infinitely interested in its favorable solution.

When we behold France, with a power so vast as to enable her to undertake almost every thing, and a spirit still more romantic and vast to prompt her to atchieve impossibilities, we are led to think of a new Roman Empire, under which the civilized world is first to bleed, and then to sweat in chains. We see again Rome, after the first punic war; and alas! we see Europe without a Hannibal, unless we look for him in England's Nelson or Smith. The little states are nothing; they are slaves, paid by the name of independence, for hewing wood and drawing water. The King of Prussia, though powerful, is no Philip, he is only an Attalus or Eumenes, under France. Spain has nothing of an independent monarchy but the title. As to Holland, Switzerland, and the Cisalpine or Italian republics, they are republics during pleasure; they are sovereign, as Ariarathes and Prusias were, tame them for subjection. They are new recruits for the French republic, committed first to the drill serjeant before they are turned into the ranks. They will be cudgelled if they prove refractory. They will be made to obey like negroes, and yet to say and to swear, on occasion, that they are sovereign and independent, as may best suit the ambitious policy of France. Old Rome was too cautious and too much in earnest in her plan to make a conquered people her subjects at once. She gave them a king, or made a pretty little snug independent republic for them, till every man was dead and gone, who was born and educated in independence. Her bitter drugs were all given in honey. So it is with France. Europe has no longer any minor powers. They are swallowed up by France. Her establishment in Louisiana, which, though certain, is delayed only to choose the moment when it will be most fatal to us, will convince even America that distance is no protection. The plagues of Egypt will be in our bosoms, and in our porridge pots. Our pity or our folly has made us weep or wonder at the events of Europe. We have had our spasm, when we saw distress and disease abroad. We are doomed by fate to scratch with a mortal leprosy of our own. Gehazi, by accepting bribes, is smitten with Naaman's pestilence. *Our government has little force, and since the deplorable 4th of March,* 1801, *less than ever, to defend Kentucky and Tennessee from the arms of France.** Soon or late they will fall victims to her arts. In spirit and policy we are Dutchmen: we are to lose our honour and our safety, and the *economical statesmen,* whom *the wrath of Heaven has placed at our head,* will enquire what are their *worth in shillings.* Every penny of their folly will cost a pound.

But, say Job's comforters, France is a republic, and of course a sister republic will not only find friendship but security in the aggrandizement of France. Miserable comforters are all these! Before this boasted revolution Europe had many free republics. Alas! they are no more! France, proclaiming war against palaces, has waged it against commonwealths. Switzerland, Holland, Geneva, Venice, Lucca, Genoa are gone, and the wretched Batavian, Helvetian and Italian republics, are but the faint images, the spectres that haunt the sepulchres where they rot. So far has France been from paying exclusive regard to republics, that she has considered them not as associates, but as victims. Venice she sold to the Emperor, Holland she taxed openly for her own wants, till she drove her rich men into banishment. She "ransomed "Dutch liberty," with a vengeance, "from "the hands of the opulent." From

* The seat of Mr. Jefferson.—So evidently disadvantageous and dishonourable did the terms of the treaty appear to those writers, that they thought it impossible, that the ministry should not have been compelled to take it, by the voice of the people.—*Note of Editor.*

* This is the opinion which we have, over and over again, see Register, Vol. I. p. 44, 199, 266, 443. See also, the opinions of Messrs. Windham and Elliot, in the Debates, Supplement to Vol. II. and, on the other side the opinions of Lord Hawkesbury, General Maitland and the Master of the Rolls, Supplement, Vol. II. —*Note of Editor.*

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Switzerland she drained her youth to be food for gun-powder. This is not all, but the king of Etruria is tricked out in purple robes, like a play-house monarch, to tread the stage in mock dignity. The proud Spaniard finds for France gold and dollars, and for that proof of "civism" he is treated as head servant in Buonaparté's kitchen. So that to treat kings with mock favour, and to depress, plunder, and subjugate republics is the acknowledged and experienced consequence of French domination.

Let the ignorant hirelings of France prattle about the cause of liberty! Let them repeat the second million of times the silly falshood, that we triumph with France. Her triumphs are detestable. A voice seems to issue from the tombs of the fallen republics for our warning. Our citizens are warned though our government is not, and they would be armed. France or fate did not ordain that we should be disarmed and defenceless.

TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

My Lord,—A Pocket Book for the year ensuing was put, the other day, into my hands which its compositor is pleased to entitle the *Christian Ladies Pocket Book*. The first specimen of his Christianity is most grossly libelling your lordship, and that too in the manner best calculated to bring your sacred office into contempt.—Prefixed to it there is a frontispiece, consisting of four portraits, of which your lordships is the first; your associates being Dr. Rees, in doctrine, an Arian and in discipline an Independent, Dr. Rippon, an Anabaptist teacher, and Mr. Jay, the methodist preacher at Bath. And an union of four hands in the center intimates, that yourself, and these your companions, "give the right hand of fellowship" to each other "as fellow-labourers in the "Gospel of Christ." There cannot be, I am persuaded, a more groundless calumny than that here insinuated——or one, from which your lordship has less to apprehend amongst men of reflection and discernment, and whatever personal injury you might thereby sustain, I know you would rather pray for, than punish the offender, nor considered merely as a private wrong, should I attempt to discourage your forbearance. But your lordship is not here individually interested. You are the visible head of an integral part of our catholic body, and a blow aimed at you, is equally injurious to that.—You are not concerned for yourself alone, but are most solemnly pledged to take especial care, "*ne ecclesiæ detrimentum capeat.*"——Now, though, as I said before, men of reflection and discernment will be in no danger of delusion from this contemptible artifice; but will know the *wolves* notwithstanding their pretended cordiality with "*the shepherd of the sheep*;"—yet by far the greater part of mankind come not under this description. They judge either according to the sight of their eyes, or the hearing of their ears; having neither the ability nor the inclination to pursue that tedious process of accurate investigation which is requisite to the attaining to a right judgment in any thing. To steal away the hearts of these it is, that this monstrous combination is formed—this "*hoc, fur, sus, atque sacerdos.* And greatly do I fear that unless some prompt and vigourous measures be adopted to expose the treachery, it will do the most extensive mischief; and that your lordship will thus be made the instrument of betraying those "into the snare of the Devil," who, "having a zeal for God but not according to knowledge," look up to you for guidance "in the way which leadeth "unto life"—and therefore seem to be objects claiming a more than ordinary portion of your vigilance and solicitude.—Your lordship is venerated, and deservedly venerated, by many who know you only by name, but who do not know that you consider the far greater part of dissenting ministers as "false apostles, as deceitful "workers, who have transformed themselves into apostles of Christ," that they may do more effectually the tempter's work. They know not that these people are rending different ways that seamless coat which the Roman soldiers could not find it in their hearts to divide—that though at variance amongst themselves, what is the truth of the Gospel, they have made the pulling down of that pure and reformed part of the church of Christ, established in these dominions, a common cause in which they most cordially unite, and have most audaciously represented your lordship as the patron of their undertaking, that so they may lull the unwary to sleep till they have effected their design.—The contrivance, I acknowledge, appears at first sight too despicable to deserve your lordship's attention; but I need not call upon you (who are so accurate an observer of this eventful period, and who knows as well the causes producing, as the effects

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which in these last twelve years have been produced) not to let this seeming insignificance deceive you. I need not call upon you to "behold how great a "matter a little fire hath kindled," nor need I expatiate upon the very weighty importance of that admonition of the Apostle, "to mind not high things, but "to condescend to men of low estate," Your lordship is deeply read in the writings of Barruel, and from thence, doubtless, you are thoroughly furnished with most impressive illustrations of those texts to which I have presumed to solicit your attention. — Let me entreat you, then, my lord, to exert on this occasion that wholesome authority with which you are invested, and since, upon the unhumanized affections of these reformers, lenity has had the effect rather of a corrosive, than an emolient application, to try what can now be done by the terrors of the law. If you cannot heal the distempered member, cut it off, my lord, ere the infection spreads —it may be severe discipline to the amputated limb, but 'tis mercy to every other part of the body.—That was a wise maxim though so wickedly misapplied, 'tis good that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.—But if your mild disposition is so averse to rigourous measures that you cannot persuade yourself, even on those most maliciously wicked, to inflict temporal penalties, at least smite them, my lord, with your own proper sword. I do not ask you to engage in the hopeless task either of *convincing* or *converting* these gainsayers, but for Christ's, and for his churches sake, *refute* them.—Publish it to those committed to your care, and now wandering about in the mountains of Gervyzim, that they are without the fold of which you are the overseer—that they have fled from those "green "pastures" to which you would lead them, and are "in a barren and dry land "where no water is."—That if they see you represented as indifferently attached to our primitive establishment and to the opinions of Drs. Rees, Rippon, and Mr. Jay, or any other of the *ignes fatui* which the folly of the present age is daily producing, and as a yoke-fellow with them, they may be assured, that "an enemy "hath done this,"—that as St. Paul predicted "even amongst ourselves men have "risen up speaking perverse things to "draw away disciples after them," and that, therefore, they are not to be lulled thereby into security, but as the Apostle admonishes "to watch," to scrutinize narrowly the pretensions of all who "come "to them in sheep's cloathing," and to judge of them not by their *professions* but by their *fruits*.— I need not remind your lordship, of the precedent you have before you in your venerable predecessor Bishop Gibson, who, to put to silence the rebuke and blasphemy with which, in his days the church was assaulted, pursued precisely the same method which I have ventured to suggest. I need not, I say, remind your lordship of his example, for you have given public testimony how entirely it has your approbation, by recommending it so strongly as you do, to those whom you ordain.—I do not take upon me to affirm that a similar expedient would now be equally productive of success, but surely it is worth the while to put it to the trial. "What if we cannot turn the stream" (says Bishop Hall" writing of the iniquity of his times) "yet we must swim against it, "even without conquest; 'tis glorious to "have resisted." and though you should not turn one sinner from the error of his way, yet with the guide to the church, might you sum up your fruitless efforts with this consolatory conclusion: *liberavimus animas nostras.* With much respect and veneration, I remain your lordship's most dutiful son and servant,

London, Dec. 15th, 1802. CYPRIAN.

"Mr. Sheridan's *fine* Speech?"

We refer here to a publication, in the newspaper called the Morning Post, purporting to be a speech delivered by Mr. Sheridan, on the 8th instant. That this speech has some just sentiment, happy description, and apt quotation; that, in short, it is "very *fine*," is already acknowledged; and, that many parts of it, at least, are, as Sir Archy Macsarcasm says, "varé *new*," will, we think, not admit of a doubt. Far be it from us to say this with a view of detracting from the merit of the performance; for, as we are now about to show, we ourselves are amongst the happy mortals, whose sentiments, and, in some instances, whose *very expressions*, this profound politician has condescended to verify, if not to adopt.

FROM MR. SHERIDAN'S SPEECH, DEC. 8.	FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS.
I do find a disposition *in some gentlemen* to rebuke any man who shall deliver any opinion with respect to the First Consul of France. * * *	But, as the question of peace or war is now at an end, and, as the *old opposition* do not stand committed on those other great objects of

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But, *says the hon. gentleman, we have no right to make use of invectives against the First Consul of France.* I will abstain if I can; I say if I can, because I feel that even a simple narrative may be construed into invective. * * * * But it has been said, that it is possible he may mean nothing more than *rivalty of commerce.* Happy, Sir, shall I be if such an idea enter into his head at all, much more if it form part of his plans. But I confess I cannot see that it does. * * * * I perfectly agree with my hon. friend, that war ought to be avoided, though he does not agree with me on the means best calculated to produce that effect. From any opinion he may express, I never differ but with the greatest reluctance. *For him my affection, my esteem, and my attachment are unbounded, and they will end* [illegible] *with my l*[illegible]

He [Buonaparté] has discovered that we all belong to the Western family. Sir, I confess I feel a [illegible] of deep indignation, when I hear (I take it from report) that this scrap of nonsense was uttered *to one of the most enlightened of the human race.*—To this family party I do not wish to belong.—He may invite persons if he please, to dinner, and, like Lord Peter, say, that this tough crust is excellent mutton. He may toss a sceptre to the King of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; he may have thought at first his Cisalpine Republic a fine growing child, and may have found it a ricketty bantling.

My humble apprehension is, that, though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the public consideration, which will hereafter present themselves, there are five modes of conduct, which lie open to their choice; 1. they may act in a detached body, as they do at present; 2. as the allies of some other party; 3. as neutrals; 4. they may set up a sort of armed neutrality; 5. they may divide, and *in the quality of mercenariet, be opposed to each other, without any diminution of that mutual regard, which the virtuous Swiss are said to entertain, at the very moment when they are plunging the bayonet into each others breasts.* (REGISTER, Vol. I. p. 762-3).

Really! I did not know this before. I have read *falsehood and nonsense* enough under the title of speeches of Mr. FOX, but never did I know, till informed of it by the First Consul, that you had maintained, in those speeches, that the English, French, Germans, Italians, &c. (mind the *et cetera*) made but one family, and all lived under the *same civil code.* If this be so, however, it is pretty evident, that Buonaparté is at the *head* of all this family; France is the home of it, and England like Italy, is no more than a branch, or colony, which may be governed by a *vice*-president. (REGISTER, Vol. II. p. 343.)

France, [illegible] beginning of her revolution to this moment, has never, in any one instance, let slip an opportunity of manifesting, that one great u[illegible] that she means to ma[illegible] of her political pow[illegible] is, to retrench, if n[illegible] destroy, the commer[illegible] of England. From t[illegible] savage ravings of M[illegible] rat and his goary cr[illegible] down to the cool a[illegible] malignant speeches [illegible] the consular orato[illegible] this object has constan[illegible] ly been the favour[illegible] theme. The seve[illegible] sects as well as the [illegible] veral individual tyran[illegible] whether *levellers*, *de*[illegible] *erats*, or *federalists*; w[illegible] ther *atheists*, *protest*[illegible] or *catholics*; howe[illegible] they may have diff[illegible] as to any and to [illegible] other points, they h[illegible] all been perfectly a[illegible] mind with respe[illegible] the necessity an[illegible] justice *of annih*[illegible] *this country.* (REGIST[illegible] Vol. II. p. 455.)—[illegible] naparté is much m[illegible] afraid of this press th[illegible] he is of *the Pope*, or [illegible] the *Goddess of Reason*, [illegible] even of *Mahomet.* (R[illegible] gister, Vol. I. p. 317.)

He says [illegible] is an instrument in [illegible] hands of providence [illegible] restore Switzerland [illegible] happiness, and to [illegible] vate Italy to splendo[illegible] and importance. Si[illegible] think he is an instrument in the hands of providence *to make the English love their constitution the better*; to cling to it with more fondness; to hang round it with truer tenderness. I believe too, Sir, that he is an instrument in the hands of providence, to make us more liberal in our political differences, and *to render us determined with one hand and heart to oppose any aggressions that may be made upon us.* * * * * * I add, *resistance, prompt, resolute, determined resistance to the first aggression, be the consequences what they may.*

For our parts, we [illegible] heartily rejoice at [illegible] Buonaparté assume [illegible] style and authority [illegible] not the title even, o[illegible] Emperor or a King; [illegible] from the moment he [illegible] sumes any thing [illegible] mon to the lawful [illegible] narchs of the earth, [illegible] *that moment this nati*[illegible] *united against him.* [illegible] *royalist* subjects of [illegible] sovereign are ever re[illegible] to oppose the powe[illegible] France, be her rulers [illegible] he may; but, the[illegible] another description [illegible] his subjects, in w[illegible] discriminating mind[illegible] whose philanthr[illegible] breasts, their lives [illegible] hostility except to [illegible] persons and familie[illegible] monarchs; they, g[illegible] souls, would never [illegible] war upon their "fe[illegible] "men," never w[illegible] they shed a drop of b[illegible] hat issued not thro[illegible] royal vestment, no[illegible] t off a head uncro[illegible] ied by a crown. Th[illegible] would give up hono[illegible] and power; they w[illegible]

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We ought to meet it [the hostility of France] with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has *achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness*; that if we could be content to abandon every thing, we should *find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission.*

The Bourbons were ambitious, but it was not so necessary for them to feed their subjects with the spoils and plunder of war; they had the attachment of a long established family applied to them; they had the effect and advantage of hereditary succession. But I see in the very situation and composition of the power of Buonaparté a physical necessity for him to go on in this barter with his subjects, and to promise to make them *the masters of the world* if they will consent to *be his slaves.*

Mr. Pitt the only man to save the country! No single man can save a country. If a nation depends only upon one man, it cannot, and, I will add, it does not deserve to be saved.

yield commerce and colonies; they would surrender England itself, rather than imbrue their hands in the blood of their *fellow* creatures; but let a *king*, or any thing like a king, attempt to encroach upon us, and *they will exterminate the whole human race rather than cede him a rock, which the waves may have severed from one of our islands.* (REGISTER Vol. I. p. 605.)

It was by an union of valour and of industry, that we are arrived at the zenith of our greatness: *what has been so gained*, must *so be maintained*: the hope of "the "coward shall perish;" *if we yield up the sword, the shuttle shall be wrenched from our hands.* (REGISTER. Vol. I. p. 190) —Not our *humiliation*, not our *impoverishment*, but our political destruction, is what she seeks. (REGISTER, Vol. 3. p. 536.)

If, on the one hand, the French behold themselves placed under the despotic sway of a low-bred foreigner, they will, on the other, see, with no small gratification, that the advancement of the foreigner extends the power and predominance of their country. National glory is the ruling passion in every Frenchman's breast: so that the French are but *masters of the world*, they care but very little whose *slaves they themselves are.* (REGISTER, Vol. I. p. 604.)

And, is our country become so poor, so very poor as to possess *no other man* fit for a minister but Mr. Pitt? "When could they say, "now, that talked of "Rome, that her wide "walls encompassed "but *one* man." If, however, it be really true, that England is so shamefully barren of talents, of wisdom, and of virtue, she neither can nor ought to remain an independant nation. (PORCUPINE

I certainly look to the *rejoicings at the peace*, as an *unmanly* and *irrational* exultation.

Russia, if not in his power, is at least in his influence—Prussia is at his beck—Italy is his vassal—Holland is in his grasp—Spain at his nod—Turkey in his toils—Portugal at his foot.

NEWSPAPER, *Mar.* 1801.) —As to the other point [alluding to the words of Sir Henry Mildmay in the debate of the 8th of May last], what man, with a loyal heart in his bosom, can brook the assertion, that his Majesty's crown has ever depended upon the breath of a subject? (REGISTER, Vol. I. p. 634.)

Are the circumstances of this peace the natural signs for rejoicing? Are they such as have been wont to justify our exultations upon former occasions? *They strike me in a directly contrary point of view*; and, when I am called upon to rejoice, before I put on my wedding suit, I shall first inquire, *whether I am called upon to celebrate a marriage or a funeral.* When I am desired *to illuminate*, I shall first endeavour to learn, whether it is to light me *to a feast, or a sepulchre.* (WINDHAM'S *Speech*, 29 Oct. 1801.)

But what may be the technical description of the treaty, is, comparatively, of little importance. It is the result that is material, and the extent of power and territory, now, by whatever means, actually remaining in the hands of France. The enumeration of this, liable indeed in part to be disputed, but upon the whole sufficiently correct, may be made as follows:—In Europe.—France possesses the whole of the Continent, with the exception of Russia and Austria. If it be said, that parts of Germany, and the Northern courts of Denmark and Sweden are not fairly described as being immediately under the controul of France, we must balance this consideration by remarking, the influence which France possesses in these governments, and the commanding position which she occupies with respect to Austria,

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I mark him *taking positions* calculated to destroy our commerce, but I do not find him doing any thing for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. I see him anxious *to take possession of Louisiana, and to use the ports of St. Domingo to carry our West-India and Jamaica trade.* I cannot conceive a possible case, in which such positions might be taken as *to force us to surrender our commerce without a stroke.* An ignorant observer may see two armies, and may say there is no war, because there is no battle; yet one of them may make such movements as to compel the other to surrender without striking a blow.

But it is unreasonable to think that the French wish to meddle with us! Why, I protest I cannot explain. If, as has been said, they have felt our arms, they *who have been every where else successful, cannot but view the only power whose arms they have felt with feelings of warm resentment, and with sentiments of mortified pride. Look at the map of Europe and see nothing but France.* It is in our power to measure her territory, to reckon her population, but it is scarcely within the grasp of any man's mind to measure the ambition of Buonaparté. *Why, when all Europe bows down before him—why, when he has subdued the whole continent, he should feel such great respect for us, I am at a loss to discover.* If then it be by the possession of Switzerland and Mantua, and those countries which have been considered always, and twice in the course of the present war, have proved to be the direct inlet into the heart of her dominions. (WINDHAM'S SPEECH, Register, Vol. II. 1155-6.)

Her establishments will accumulate round us, till we shall be lost and buried in them; *her power will grow over us,* till, like the figures in some of Ovid's Metamorphoses, *we shall find all our faculties of life and motion gradually failing and deserting us:*

——Torpor gravis alligat artus;
Mollia cinguntur tenui præcordia libro.

If, in this last extremity, we should make any desperate efforts and plunges, that might threaten to become troublesome, and give us a chance of extricating ourselves, she will call in the aid of her arms, and with one blow put an end at once to our sufferings and our existence. (WINDHAM'S SPEECH, Register, Vol. II. p. 1163.)

This is the idea, that from some cause or other, from some combination of passions and events,—such as no philosophy can explain, and no history probably furnish an example of,—the progress of the revolution will stop where it is: and that Buonaparté, like another Pyrrhus,—or rather like that adviser of Pyrrhus, whose advice was not taken,—instead of proceeding to the conquest of new worlds, will be willing to sit down contented in the enjoyment of those which he has already.—Sir, the great objection to this hope, to say nothing of its baseness, is its utter extravagance. On what possible ground do we believe this? Is it in the general nature of ambition? Is it in the nature of French ambition? Is it in the nature of French revolutionary ambition? (WINDHAM'S SPEECH, Register, Vol. II. p. 1164.) *What reason have we to suppose, that they have renounced those designs, just when they seem to touch the moment of their highest and fullest accomplishment? When there is but one country, that remains between France and the empire of the world, then is the moment, when we choose to suppose that all opposition may be withdrawn, and that the ambition of France will stop of its own accord.*—It is impossible not to see in these feeble and sickly imaginations, that fatal temper of mind, which leads men to look for help and comfort from any source rather than from their own exertions. (WINDHAM'S SPEECH, Register, Vol. II. p. 1164.)

They considered the ministers, now the drudgery of signing the peace is done, as *fuscti officiis,* and as if they ought to go out; as if one was a mere goose quill, and the other a stick of sealing wax, which are done with, and ought to be thrown under the table. We know that *Touchstone* says, as a good ground of quarrel, "that he "don't like the cut "of a certain courtier's "beard."

Non amo te, Sabide, nec possum dicere quare,
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te!

The English parody may be more applicable to these gentlemen;

I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this, I'm sure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.

He (Mr. Windham) seems as if he had rather have the old ghost

The President (of the United States,) Sir, is accountable to no one for the dismission of the late minister to France, (MUNRO, who was nicknamed *Doctor* Munro) but, though I cannot give the gentlemen of Virginia and Pensylvania (Messrs. Nicholas and Gallatin) *reason* for the measure, if *rhyme* will satisfy them it is very much at their service:

I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
The *reason* why I need not tell;
But this, I'm sure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.

(Harper's Speech in Congress, 2d March, 1798.)

These (the French rights of man) had no sooner arrived in the

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back again. Most whimsically he wants to unite all parties against France—

Black spirits and white,
Blue spirits and grey,

all are welcome to him. The moderate Jacobins he takes to his bosom; they were only misled by their feelings. The violent Jacobins he appeals to as men of proud spirits. He wishes to sing *Ca Ira* to them, and to head them all.

islands (W. India) than any spectator would have imagined, that Pandora's box had been opened, and that hell had yawned out disorder, murder, and every mischief; for anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed raged every where; it was a general summons for

Black spirits and white,
Blue spirits and grey.

(BURKE'S SPEECH, 6th *May*, 1761.)
Debrett's Parli. Reports Vol. 29. p. 321.

Well, and what of all this! As PUFF would say, "that's of no consequence—all "that can be said is, that two people happened to hit upon the same thought—"and that Windham, or Harper, or Burke "made use of it first—that's all." In cases of this sort, it is not so much the act itself as the manner of doing it, which marks the motive and character of the party. Mr. Sheridan does not "serve your "best thoughts as gypsies do stolen children, *disfigure* them to make them pass "for their own;" he collects together the strayed thoughts of others, and, in the face of the world, takes them under his protection, without any disfiguring at all, except in cases of error or of unavoidable necessity. An instance of this sort may be perceived in the passage from Burke, where the quotation from Shakespeare, which applied with so much aptness, force, and beauty, to the *blacks*, *whites*, *mulattoes*, and *mustees* of a West-India colony, appeared to be almost, if not quite nonsense, when applied to Mr. Windham's desire to see *an union of the people of England*. But this must be regarded as an exception; for, generally speaking, Mr. Sheridan uses no disguise: the phrase of *Indemnity Island* and *Security Island* (played off in his speech of the 13th of May last), was delivered just as he had heard it from Mr. Fawkener; the *story from Aristophanes* (in the same speech), just as he had received it from Mr. Fox; and, as to the *body coachman and postillion*, though we know not to whom it originally belonged, we well remember, that it was upon the *pavé* several days before the charitable senator took it in, which he did without making the least alteration in its dress. Thus his speeches are not, like the tragedy of Sir Fretful, a receptacle for stolen thoughts, but rather a sort of "foundling "hospital of wit." He is not the jackdaw, vain of pilfered plumes; but rather the chimney-sweeper's good-natured ass, who, on a May morning, lends his back for the purpose of displaying the riches and finery of the parish.—To be serious, we have read, with great attention, this "*masterly*" speech, which, it seems, is to be puffed out into a pamphlet, and we have been able to discover in it, no one particle of *information* on any subject; *no argument* for, or against, any position. Upon the whole, it has nothing to awaken, nothing to rouse, nothing to unite, the country; and, as to the expressions of resentment against the ambition and insolence of Buonaparté, there is in them nothing new, nothing that has not been said long ago, and better said: precisely, therefore, as in the case of Rolla, the whole merit of the thing arises from the *surprize* at hearing such sentiments from such a man.

ON THE RETENTION OF MALTA.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—Coalitions for the patriotic purpose of dividing the loaves and fishes, are occurrences so common in the annals of party, that in times of ease and security, they would hardly provoke more serious notice than puns and sarcasms; but when heterogeneous unions are patched up for the purpose of influencing the national counsels at a crisis of unexampled peril, too much pains cannot be taken to investigate the immediate causes which have given them birth. It has been the proverbial creed of more than one statesman that all patriots have their prices; and if the denomination of patriot be restricted, as I suppose it was designed, to those who assume it as the badge and watch-word of faction, without doubt the older we grow the oftener we shall see the opinion verified. That the strange combination which the present session has brought to light originates on one side in a puerile reluctance to part even with the shadow of official greatness, is too plain to receive any new light from argument; to what secret motive it is imputable on the other, as no honest one can rationally be imagined, it is to be wished that those who are most profoundly versed in the mystery of whiggism would undertake to explain. *A quid pro quo* is an essential part of every bargain, and, without doubt, it is not by gratuitous zeal that the great champion of liberty has been prevailed on to combat amongst the ministerial mer-

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cenaries; but whether the conciliating premier has gained his new associate by the promise of a pension, a partnership in power, or, *the right of dictating certain measures*, time will inform us. The latter I think the most probable as well as the most mischievous condition, considering with whose approbation both parties have been recently honoured, while those statesmen whom Britain most admired when living, and, reveres in death, (are loaded with indignities); we have the strongest reason for looking with jealousy and suspicion, to the consequences of this unheard of confederacy.—In point of fact it is evident, that a man whose triumph has always been in proportion to the calamities of his country, whose nauseous panegyrick has been successively lavished on every democratic impostor, on every ambitious rebel from the "American Cincinnatus" to the "truly great Man" "the arbitor of kings "and people," is at last become the sheet-anchor of the present administration. The virtuous imbecility for which the world gave them credit amidst all their ignorant presumption, can no longer rescue them from that mingled contempt, and, indignation, which is the merited portion of ambition without talents. Henceforward their cause will be identified with that of the man, by whose support they are mean enough to desire a continuance in power; a man, the very nature of whose ambition prompts him to aspire to greatness on such terms as would make a real patriot deplore the necessity of existence. It is not my design with unequal powers to attempt a general review of the past or present conduct of that political cameleon; a task which has been undertaken so ably, and successfully by yourself, and the excellent writer in the Morning Post, as bids fair to deprive him of the last fragment of that unmerited reputation which he once possessed; and, which gave him a greater command over public opinion than any demagogue besides has attained since the Cromwells, the Hampdens, and the Sidneys. My object is to awaken general attention in respect to a measure, which, from the close friendship subsisting between this person and the *honest tradesman* on the other side the ditch, it is probable that he will omit no endeavours to engage the ministry to adopt, for the benevolent purpose of prolonging the blessings of a safe and honourable peace, so happily established between us and our *commercial rivals*. To induce a surrender of our few remaining conquests is evidently a thing which he has much at heart. He is well aware that *Malta*, above all things, would be a most acceptable offering on the altar of friendship; and, that to act as high priest in the sacrifice would be the surest road to the everlasting gratitude of his mighty patron.

The hope of effecting this object is, if I am not greatly deceived, by no means the weakest of those motives to which the wise men of Downing-street are indebted for the support of their new adherent. The studied declamations about national honour, which now occur as often as the abuse of the Bourbons in the hypocritical palavers of the friend of Talleyrand and O'Connor, are too visibly directed to that purpose to be possibly misapplied. Poor Old England, it seems, according to this *honourable* man, must sit still and be kicked at to prove her sincerity in concluding the treaty of Amiens; and, though the enemy, not content with the enormous advantage they derived from that compact, have violated it with a perfidy equalled only by their insolence, and have even rendered its most important articles incapable of execution, we are bound to fulfil *our* part with literal punctuality, and suffer France to enjoy all the fruits of an arbitrary and unlimited infraction! Oh Heavens! if this be honour, we are already surfeited; our conciliating ministers have secured us a monopoly of that precious commodity.—And, *by whom* are we urged to this knight errantry of *honour!!!* By a man whose whole life

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and, as a suitable close to such a scene, we now view him the open assaulter of the liberty of the press, and the no less open defender of the most execrable despotism that ever existed upon the earth. But allowing, what nobody disputes, that national honour and national interest, rightly understood, can never be disunited, I protest against his application of the maxim in the case before us, which is simply a question of resolution and ability; for I affirm, and will maintain against all the sophistry with which the contrary position may be defended, that a reciprocal engagement wilfully and designedly violated by either of the contracting parties, is thenceforward void of all force to bind the other. If such, then, is the relative position of France and England, and the hostile policy of the former is incontrovertibly manifest, to surrender Malta on pretence of preserving the national faith inviolate, would be but to aggravate cowardice by duplicity; and, to render an act bordering on treason or insanity doubly execrable, by disguising it under a false and flimsy

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pretext; such as in the opinion of every impartial man, would tend more to establish the conscious guilt of the authors than to palliate the deed: such too as would sink us still lower in the judgment of friends as well as enemies, if they saw a ministry professing the utmost deference to public opinion, so confident of the abject baseness of the people, as to dare insult them with an apology so shameless and dishonest. That an apostate from all principle, a demagogue ready to glut his appetite for power on the carrion of his country, should counsel such a measure is nothing new nor surprising; it is in fact, no more than a sequel of that conduct, and a farther disclosure of those principles which have merited the applause of the great champion of revolutions, the head of the western nation, "the man by heaven "designed to set the world from slavery "free." We need not to be convinced of the eagerness of this Garagantua to possess himself of Malta, the greatest and noblest trophy of all our naval achievements; and, that eagerness, whether we consider the enterprising and crafty character of the man, or his disposition towards this nation in particular, is the best possible evidence of its importance to us, and ought of itself to determine us never to be duped or bullied into a surrender of it. The confiscation of what remained of the estates of the order in Germany and Spain, the former by his direct act, the latter unquestionably by his mandate, and the concerted refusal of Russia to guarantee its future independence, equally demonstrate the ardent desire of the consul to plant again his banners on the island, and his absolute freedom from all scruples as to the means of compassing his end.

Impotent and ridiculous as were the stipulations of our ministry for the restoration of the order in the late treaty, I would not insinuate that the nation, though at an earlier period it might have insisted on a modification of those articles, would have been justified in refusing at this time to abide by them, had the enemy faithfully executed their part of that ruinous convention, and afforded no rational cause of alarm in their general system of foreign policy. But happily for us, if we can be taught by experience, and the evidence of facts, they have set appearances at defiance. Not satisfied with the slow decay to which the peace of Amiens consigned us, but judging by the tone of our negotiators of the spirit of our people, they have renounced the crafty policy which marked their earlier attempts, and have conceived, in the delirium of success, the daring hope of accomplishing by one rapid and concentrate movement their ultimate designs upon Britain; and of wiping off at a single stroke, the long score of disgraces and mortifications which their ambition has received at our hands.—To extinguish the last spark of European liberty in British blood, to reduce us to hewers of wood, and drawers of water, is the prospect which cheers that blood thirsty, ferocious race in the depths of misery, and the gripe of despotism. They hope to find here a dastard pedling tribe half animated with the spirit of the Hawkesburies and the Addingtons; no concessions, were we base enough to submit to them, would expiate the crime of daring to be free, nor divert their attention for a moment from the favourite object of their avarice, and lurking assassin-like revenge. It is clear that we have nothing to hope for, except from the good providence of God, and the valour of our people, the only legitimate sources of confidence in a crisis like the present. The surrender of Malta, therefore, as the price of a faithless cessation of arms, should the enemy go the length of threatening an immediate renewal of hostilities in case of refusal, would be tenfold more intolerable, than signing it away in Oct. 1801. After all the additional light which the last six months have thrown on the character of the nation and the consul, with whom we have to deal, it would be a species of suicide to strip off the best piece of our defensive armour, in order to allay the fury of our resentful antagonist; if any thing can retard the threatened storm, and afford us any of the benefits of real peace, it is a resolute determined countenance; armed at all points we may inspire him with terror; he is less likely to attempt to wrest the buckler from our arms, than to aim a blow at our vitals, if he can once by a fraudulent negotiation persuade us to lay it down. The more we deprive ourselves of external bulwarks and defences, the sooner will the attack be commenced against the body of our native citadel. The disposition of France is as clear as overt acts can make it. An insatiable lust of dominion, and a rancorous determination to cut off every source of prosperity and security from Britain, are the true causes of her anxiety to make us quit our hold on Malta; and to effect that purpose she will spare neither frowns nor grimaces, she will alternately threaten and cajole. At the same time it is evident, that since by influence or possession, she is mistress of every other naval station in the Mediterranean, Malta would be but a negative

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acquisition to France; but she measures not her conquests by the narrow maxims of a short sighted commercial policy; she covets wealth less than strength; her first consideration is always the injury accruing to her rival, the next, the advantages to be derived for farther enterprizes, and in this twofold point of view she looks on Malta with an eye of peculiar desire. She is well aware that the navigation of those seas would be for ever lost to England, if she could succeed in dispossessing us of the only harbour which might henceforth afford a station for our navy, or a refuge for our merchantmen beyond the Streights.

The Barbary powers, whose friendship whether in peace or war, is an object of no small moment to this country, especially in the present posture of Europe, would be ready to commence their depredations on our commerce, and, drag our unarmed mariners into the most dreadful of all slavery on the first signal from the Thuilleries, as soon as ever they saw us destitute of the only means of enforcing respect, or affording security and protection to such as might be disposed to be our friends. Egypt, for the deliverance of which we made such prodigious exertions, would revert to the usurpation of France without a struggle; and the inestimable lives, and millions of treasure with which that conquest was atchieved, might have been spent as profitably in an expedition to the *terra incognita* of the southern pole. With Egypt once more in their hands, they would forthwith resume their designs on India, for the security of which we fought in Egypt, and if they could not finally eject us from that country, they would at least find means of exciting perpetual commotions, and, by keeping us engaged in contest after contest with the native powers, would render it, instead of a source of prosperity to England, an insatiable drain of her blood and treasure. If we are at this time as sensible as we seemed to be eighteen months since, of the magnitude of these evils, let it not be forgotten, that Malta is the only remedy which the fate of the times has left us; and, that its value is in a direct proportion to the importance of these consequences, which would result from its even falling into the hands of our enemies. Besides this, in the present state of the world, especially if those countries which inclose the Mediterranean sea, and which are for the [illegible] not in any thing, but in name, dependants of the great Colossal Republic, [illegible] could give no dissatisfaction to France, if she was not conscious of deep laid schemes to wound the interests of this kingdom. In her hands it would be a potent engine of destruction, in ours a mere inoffensive pledge of security. Notwithstanding the embarrassments of the country from the most unexampled series of errors on the one side, and, frauds on the other, I see no reason for despair; that infatuated credulity concerning the dispositions of France, which till lately constituted our greatest danger, has been radically cured: the nation is indignant at the insolent presumption of the ruler of that country, and, a meaner view has convinced them, that the same spirit pervades all descriptions of republican Frenchmen.—Let a clear case be made out, and, an appeal directed to the manly virtues, which I am persuaded are still the growth of the United Kingdom, as abundantly as during the seasons of our greatest prosperity, and, I doubt not, our efforts will be fully equal to the exigency of the occasion. In the mean time we have a right to insist, that neither the present ministry, nor their successors in office, will so far forget the responsibility of their situation, or the interests of their country, notwithstanding *the suggestion of evil counsellors*, and, the threats and artifices of their *great admirer*, as to give up Malta into any hands or on any conditions, while Britain has an arm to raise in vindication of her rights; the circumstances of the times are by no means unfavourable to the display of a seasonable vigour, which might in some degree atone for that apathy which till lately stigmatized their administration, and reduced the country to a state bordering on the most abject despondency.

Dec. 16, 1802. *Tyrtæus.*

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Substance of the Declaration made by the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, in the 32d Sitting of the Deputation at Ratisbon, held on the 8th of Dec. 1802.

His Imperial Majesty has seen with pleasure, the laudable zeal with which the deputation has sought to provide for the support of all those who will suffer by the secularizations, and he accedes with all his heart to the arrangements made in that respect. His Imperial Majesty declares, that the Archduke Anthony renounces formally, and without reserve, all his rights respecting Cologne and Munster; he declares besides, that on the subject of the occupation of Passau, he has given assurances the most tranquillising, and invested his ambassador at Paris, with full powers and definitive instructions, in such a manner, that, in order to terminate the business, every thing depends a

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present on the dispositions of the mediating powers and of the deputation. If, however, the deputation, contrary to all expectation, do not wish to wait the issue of that negotiation, it will be necessary to insert in the Recess a clause in favour of the changes which may yet take place in the actual allotment of the indemnities at the conclusion of the said negotiation, and it is only in reserving a similar clause, that the sub-delegate can accede to the Recess. His Imperial Majesty still thinks it his duty to make the proposition of conferring upon the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the grand master of the Teutonic Order, the electoral dignity, and also to propose the establishment in the college of princes, composed, according to the new arrangements, for the most part of protestant states, a certain number of new catholic votes, such a measure being necessary to preserve the equilibrium, and a just proportion between the two religions.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

General Sahuguet, Captain General of Tobago, to the Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

"*Scarborough, Oct. 7.*

Citizen Minister,—I arrived on the 29th ult. in the Bay of Courland, in the Island of Tobago, with a part of the troops destined to compose the garrison. They disembarked at Courland on the 2d inst. and this day they occupied the Fort King George, which had been delivered up to me by Brigadier-General Carmichael, Lieutenant Governor of the island.—I send you inclosed the act of taking possession, with the state of the houses, which were occupied by about 500 men of the English garrison, and also an inventory of the artillery and ammunition which has been delivered to me. All the intercourse which I have had with General Carmichael has been that of reciprocal satisfaction.—The planters are highly grateful for the favour they have received from the consuls, in the maintenance of their interior laws.—All that part of the island which I have traversed is cultivated with sugar canes, which I have almost every where replaced with cotton, which was formerly the principal produce of the island. The produce promises to be very abundant.—It will be necessary that the merchants of France should establish with Tobago, relations of commerce and credit, in order the more effectually to ensure the transport of the produce of the island, and to support the trade between it and the mother country.—I shall have the honour of transmitting to you more minute details the first opportunity.—I salute you with respect. SAHUGUET.

R. Lacrosse, Rear-Admiral Captain-General of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies, to Rear-Admiral Decres, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.—Grand Terre, Guadaloupe, Oct. 24, 1802.

Citizen Minister,—On the 7th inst. I announced to you, that tranquillity prevailed in the colony, and that I only knew of two assemblies in the woods. On that day, one of those assemblies deceiving those who were in pursuit of them, dared to appear in the environs of St. Arme, in Grand Terre. As soon as I was informed of this, I hastened to the place, and found that a band of Brigands, led on by two white chiefs, Barse, formerly commissary of government, and Millet de la Giradiere, formerly an officer decorated with the order of St. Louis, had attacked several habitations, and assassinated their proprietors.—The greatest exertions have been made to seize these robbers, a great number of whom have been arrested, and have met with that punishment which their crimes merited; amongst others, one of the chiefs, Millet de la Girardiere.—Grand Terre now enjoys its former tranquillity, and measures have been taken to insure its continuance.—As to the brigands in the woods, they are cut off from any communication with the other parts of the island, and deprived of the means of procuring provisions and ammunition.—I have the satisfaction to announce to you, that the sickness is almost entirely at an end in this island.—The 480 men which you expedited by la Foudroyante & l'Etonnante, have arrived in the best state. This reinforcement will insure, in a great degree, the security of the colony.—According to the intelligence received from St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, an assembly of men of colour, with the addition even of some whites, exiled from Guadaloupe, has been formed in those isles, to the number of 250 or 300. Their project is to disembark upon this island, to join the wrecks of the brigands whom we have pursued, and to bring them arms. They are said to be provided with small vessels for that purpose.—There is little probability that the governors of St. Thomas and St. Bartholemew would sanction assemblies of this nature. I have, therefore, thought it sufficient to transmit to them the details which I received upon the subject, with a request that they will arrest the chiefs and accomplices in these plots against the tranquillity of this colony.—I expect their answer by the frigate La Didon, which I have expedited with the dispatches.—The corvettes, la Foudroyante and l'Etonnante, have set sail for St. Domingo, where they transport the 7th demi-brigade.—Health and respect,—LACROSSE.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Milan, Nov. 21.—The Polish troops remaining in our republic will be sent to St. Domingo.

Aschaffenburg, Nov. 30.—Yesterday the bishoprics of Bamberg, Wurtzburg, and Eichstadt, were taken possession of by Bavaria, under the title of the Dutchy of Franconia. The Prince-bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg have resigned their government, and the minister of the Elector of Bavaria, Baron Hompesch, has received homage at Wurtzburg.

Vienna, Dec. 1.—We have received intelligence from Constantinople, that the Beys in Egypt, have defeated the Turkish troops in seven actions and battles, and so diminished their numbers, that they have been obliged to apply to the English for aid and protection, to prevent their being entirely driven out of the country. These accounts from Egypt come down to the 31st of Oct. Some French officers and commissaries had also arrived in Egypt, to regulate some commercial affairs, mercantile debts, and other matters.—Prince Nicholas Esterhazy is still here.—This day Baron Armfelt had his audience of entry of His Imp. Majesty, as Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenipo. from His Swedish Majesty. Our Envoy to the court of Sweden, Count Lodron Laterano, has arrived here from his estates, and, it is said, will in the spring return to Stockholm.

Frankfort, Dec. 4.—Our city having taken posses-

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sion of the catholic convents and foundations assigned it by the plan of indemities, published on the 27th of Nov. a notification, signifying that no alteration should in consequence of this be made in the catholic worship, the regulations of the catholic schools, or the provisions made for the catholic poor.

Augsburg, Dec. 5.—According to the intelligence from the Inn, Austria has neither evacuated Passau, nor taken possession of Saltzburg, and the other countries assigned to the Grand Duke of Tuscany by the plan of indemnities. It is still asserted, that the indemnities of that Prince have been definitively regulated by a convention signed at Paris between Cit. Talleyrand and Count Cobentzel.

Aix La Chapelle, Dec. 6.—There is no truth in the report of Cleves and Gueldres being about to be ceded to the Batavian Republic.

Basle, Dec. 9.—A corps of artillery from Huninguen has traversed our city in its way to Zurich.—There has been a general movement amongst the Helvetic troops. The first battal. of the line is at Berne, the second on its march for Lausanne, and the battal. of light infantry at Zurich.—A battal. of light infantry is stationed in the district of Ilanz and Dissentis. Gen. Serras has caused to be arrested the chief promoters of the insurrection, which desolated the canton of Rhelia, and has imposed a sum of 48,000 livres on the communes and individuals who took part in it. Gen. Serras has set out for Lucerne, where he intends to establish his head quarters: those of the Gen. of division, Barbon, have been established at Zurich.

Hamburgh, Dec. 10.—According to private advices from Vienna, of the 1st. inst. it is certain that two Russian Couriers have passed through that city with letters from the Emp. Alexander to the First Consul and the Brit. govt. containing the most urgent representations in favour of the King of Sardinia, and of the amelioration of his establishment.—The Dutchess of Parma is to remain at Vienna until the convention between France and Spain, respecting Her Highness's future support, shall be settled. Those negotiations were begun at Barcelona, and will be terminated at Madrid.—*By order of the court of Vienna, a paragraph has been inserted in the Austrian Journals, purporting, that the rumour of an alliance between the two Imperial Courts and* GREAT BRITAIN *is void of foundation.*—The French interest seems at present to be very high at the Court of Vienna, since the arrival of two Couriers from Paris, at the hotel of the French Ambassador, Champagny, who immediately after visited Ct. Cobentzel, with whom he had a very long conference; after which the count waited on the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the latter of whom those dispatches seem to concern.

Hague, Dec. 14.—Gen. Montrichard, whom the First Consul has sent hither, to take the command of the French troops in this Republic, immediately after his arrival, informed the Battavian gov. that he would fix his head-quarters in this city, into which he would introduce as a garrison, a company of carabineers, with a few troops of infantry. This intimation excited much disagreeable surprize, as the public had conceived the period to have arrived at which the troops of France were to be withdrawn entirely out of this country.—The Batavian govt. signified to Gen. Montrichard, that it could not recognize him as commander in chief of the French forces in this republic. The gen. upon receiving this answer, in which the govt. evinced the greatest firmness and decision, dispatched one of his aides-de-camp to Paris, to report what had passed, to the First Consul. The termination of the affair is expected here with much anxious curiosity.—DEC. 17. The affair of Gen. MONTRICHARD remains as it was. The Courier sent to Paris is not yet returned.

Gen. Victor, Capt.-Gen. of Louisiana, is expected to arrive tomorrow at the Hague: he will embark with his troops at Helvoetsluys in transport ships furnished by this republic. The expedition will, without touching at Dunkirk, proceed directly to the place of its ultimate destination.—The Batavian gov. has signified to that of the French repub. that it cannot continue its pay to the French troops beyond the close of the present month.—DEC. 17. Letters from Vienna, of the 6th, inform us, that the plan of an alliance between G. Britain and Austria has entirely failed. The failure of it is attributed to the Archduke Charles.

Paris, Dec. 13.—The following passage, extracted from the speech of Lord Grenville, in the British Parliament, Dec. 2d appears worthy of remark.—"I "cannot help saying a few words on the conduct "of ministers with respect to Switzerland. Their "strange and contradictory language, their affecta- "tion of dignity, the testimony which they give of "not having compromised the honour of the coun- "try, all astonish me. It is said, that a person "who occupies an important post in the office of "the Secretary of State, had resided a long time at "*Constance*, before the troubles broke out in *Swit-* "*zerland*, and that he had frequent conferences "with the principal directors of the Swiss insurrec- "tion. This assertion, if true, ill accords with what "the ministers have stated, who boast of not hav- "ing compromised the honour of their country."—Lord Grenville must be perfectly aware of the swarm of agents which the former ministry were in the habit of spreading over the Continent for the purpose of forming and fomenting conspiracies, who plotted the massacre of Rastadt, and caused the French ambassadors to be insulted at Vienna and at Rome. According to him, one of these agents has also plotted the insurrection in Switzerland.—For our part we have too good an opinion of the *present* ministry, to believe that they would continue to follow that abominable system which was pursued with so much activity by Lord Grenville and his colleagues.—(*Moniteur.*)

It is asserted, that the Dutchies of Parma and Plaisance are to be united to the kingdom of Etruria, if Spain will consent to cede the Floridas to France. If the latter does not take place, those Dutchies will be given to the Italian republic.

Dec. 16.—Consul Cambaceres gave on Saturday a dinner of ceremony to the Brit. Ambassador, at which were present the members of the Corps Diplomatique, and a number of general officers. Amongst the persons of distinction presented by Lord Whitworth, were Lords Cholmondeley, Conyngham, Boringdon, Coleraine, and Frederic Montague, Cols. Roche and Mathew, and several other Eng. officers of rank. Amongst the foreign ladies who attended the assembly in the evening were, the Dutchess of Dorset, the Dutchess of Gordon, Lady Georgiana Gordon, the Marquise de Gallo, the Princess Justiniani, Mad. de Boufflers, Mad. Saladine, Mrs. Hunter, and several other English ladies of the first distinction.

Dec. 18.—The government has received official intelligence, that the Pope has sent to Switzerland a Legate, furnished with full powers to conclude a Concordat between his Holiness and the Helvetic Republic.

Gibraltar, Nov. 20.—The Niger Frigate, Captain Hillyar, arrived here this morning, from Portsmouth. Brig. Gen. Oakes and his suite are on board, with

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200 recruits for the different regs. at Malta, and 150 for this garrison. Gen. Oakes is going to Malta, as 2d in command under Gen. Villettes. It is now beyond all doubt that we shall retain Malta, for some time at least; as we know, for certain, that orders have been sent for evacuating Egypt, and withdrawing the troops from thence to Malta, where all that can be accommodated will remain, and the rest are to be quartered here. It is supposed that about 6000 Brit. troops will be stationed at Malta, and that either three or four regs. will come to this garrison.

Ratisbon, Nov. 29.—The *recess*, or *general conclusion* of the deputation, is published. It contains eight sheets, and may be purchased of every bookseller. It was communicated to the Imp. Plenipo. on the 25th, but the latter has not given in his declaration on the subject.—*Dec.* 2. The deputation is at present in vacation. The Imp. Plenipo. has communicated to the ministers of the mediatory powers, the general *recess* of the deputation, but he qualifies it only as a project. He declares, at the same time, in a private note, that he cannot accede to the *recess*.—*Dec.* 4. The ministers of the mediatory powers transmitted yesterday to Baron D'ALBINI another note for the deputation, announcing the receipt of the recess from the Imp. Plenipo. With respect to the want of the concurrence of the EMPEROR, they add, that they will neglect nothing to remedy this defect.—The plan of indemnities, the sanction of which is still discussed at Paris, between Austria and France, and remains to be completed at Ratisbon, has already been carried into execution, by the entry of the German States into the civil possession of the territories allotted them. There is, however, a remarkable exception in the case of the ELECTOR of BAVARIA, who still continues excluded from Passau by the Austrian troops.—*Dec.* 8. The Imp. Plenipo. has addressed a new note to the deputation detailing the reasons which will not allow him to accede to the *recess*.

DOMESTIC.

COUNT WORONZOF, Ambassador from the Court of Russia, landed at Dover from Calais, on Monday afternoon, from the commissioners yatcht, which had been dispatched to convey his Excellency to this country; the castle guns were fired, and the military were ordered out to receive him. A band of music played during the whole time of his landing and proceeding to the Ship Inn.

On Wednesday Mr. Moore, of Lord Hawkesbury's Office, arrived in town, having travelled from Switzerland direct for Holland. He sailed from Helvoetsluys, and landed at Harwich.

Prince RUSPOLI, the elected Grand Master of Malta, was the other day at Portsmouth with General Paoli.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

MONDAY, *Dec.* 13.—LORDS.—Counsel were further heard relative to the Scotch Appeal, Kinnaird *v.* Mathewson.—On the first reading of the Malt Tax Bill being regularly put, Lord Spencer commenced an interesting debate on the present critical and momentous state of the country, the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, and the enormous peace establishment. His lordship was followed on the same ground by Lords Carlisle and Grenville, and replied to by Lord Pelham, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Limerick, and the Lord Chancellor. *(See Supplement).* Question put and carried.—Lord Pelham presented certain accounts relative to the exportation, &c. of corn.—Mr. Owen, from the East-India House, presented at the bar certain papers and documents, pursuant to their lordship's address of the 3d.

COMMONS.—Malt Bill, Pension Duty Bill, and Exchequer Bills Bill were read a third time and passed.—A petition against the Malt Duty was presented from Stafford.—Dr. Lawrence gave notice that he should on an early day after the recess, bring forward "a motion relative to the arrest of Capt. D'Auvergne and another gentleman in France, also respecting the suppression of letters written by them, representing their situation to the British minister at Paris, concerning certain interrogatories put to them, for the purpose of obtaining the secrets of the King's government, and respecting the manner in which they left that country."—A petition from the chemists of Ashburton against the Medicine Act was presented.—Mr. Addington moved, that the order for hearing the first election petition be discharged, for the purpose of fixing it for the 8th of February.

The order was then discharged, and the hearing of the petitions was fixed in the following order:—Dunfermline, a double return, the 8th Feb.—Shaftesbury, the 8th Feb.—Dublin University, 10th Feb.—Great Grimsby, 10th Feb.—Nottingham, 15th Feb.—Barnstaple, 15th Feb.—Coventry, 17th Feb.—Bridgewater, 17th Feb.—Kirkcudbright, 22d Feb.—Inverness, 22d Feb.—Liskeard, 24th Feb.—Waterford City, 24th Feb.—Drogheda, 1st March.—Hereford County, 1st March.—Penrhyn, 3d March.—Stranraer, 3d March.—Chippenham, 8th March.—Carmarthen County, 8th March.—Ilchester, 10th March.—East Grinstead, 10th March.—Glasgow, 15th March.—Oakhampton, 15th March.—Harwich, 17th March.—Berwick, 17th March.—Taunton, 22d March.—Boston, 22d March.—Malmesbury, 24th March.—Stirling County, 24th March.—Cirencester, 29th March.—Bishop's Castle, 29th March.—Evesham, 31st March.—East Retford, 31st March.—Newcastle, 5th April.—Radnor County, 5th April.—Kingston-upon-Hull, 14th April.—Leominster, 14th April.—Aylesbury, 19th April.—Middlesex, 19th April.—Malden, 21st April.—Honiton, 21st April.—Shaftesbury petition against Mr. Loveden, 26th April.—The order of the day being moved for resuming the debate upon the Middlesex petition against Mr. Mainwaring, the Speaker stated the question before the House, and Mr. Tierney, in a speech of some length, supported the petition, he was answered by the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Glenbervie. On the question being put, "that the said petition does not come within the description of any petition, it was carried in the affirmative, and two other petitions, under the same circumstances, disposed of in like manner.—Capt. Markham moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill for appointing commissioners to examine into the frauds, abuses, and irregularities, practised by persons in the several departments of the navy, and in the business of prize-agents, and to report the same, together with such observations as may occur to them, in order to prevent such frauds, abuses, and irregularities in future, for the better conducting and management of such departments of the navy, and the business of navy agents, &c."—After a short conversation between Lord Temple, Lord

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Hawkesbury, Admiral Berkeley, Capt. Yorke, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the motion was put and the bill read a first time.—Transportation Bill read a second time.—In a Committee of Supply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the following resolutions which were agreed to. 1,500,000l. to be granted to his Majesty for the purpose of discharging Exchequer Bills to the same amount, issued by authority of Parl. in an act of last session.—524,524l. for Corn imported in the same year.—25,000l. to pay such Bills as may be drawn, or become due, for the settlement of New South Wales in the year 1803.—4,60cl. for the supply and maintenance of convicts at home.—191,000l. for the suffering clergy and laity of France, and the American loyalists.—This sum, he said, would not have been so considerable but for the gross sums advanced to emigrants wishing to return, and would, in the next year, be to a much smaller amount.—219l. 12s. to C. Bolton, Esq. for money advanced from the Civil List to defray certain expenses in the Exchequer.—300l. to John King, Esq. Sec. to the Commission for settling the boundaries in America.—1066l. to Mr. Sec. Baldwin, for services performed in Egypt.—324l. to Mr. Chinnery, for his services under Gov. Hunter, in N. South Wales.—659l. to Mr. Brodie, for compiling the Journals of the House of Lords.—2,701l. to Ld. Walsingham, as Chairman of the Commit. of the House of Lords.—360l. to George Rose, Esq. Solicitor to the Exche.—161l. 7s. 6d. to Mr. Missen, for his attendance on the Committee, upon the improvement of the Port of London.—500l. to C. Smith, Esq. to repay money advanced, in making out extracts of the proceedings of Parliament.—146l. and 815l. to other gentlemen for similar services.—7,134l. to Mr. Cobb, for an addit. allowance to the clerks in the Aud. Office.—3,000l. for the discharge of Exchequer Fees.—1,260l. to J. W. Hay, Esq. for Public Services.—1,228,000l. for the repairs, &c. of Ships of War.—590,000l. for the expense of Transports.—22,000l. for the maintenance of Prisoners of War.—5,000l. for the sustenance of Pris. of War for 1803, &c.—Mutiny Bill read a first time.—Mr. Vansittart moved for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the proceedings in the courts of law upon penalties incurred under former laws, particularly one in the reign of Queen Eliz. for machines, and persons employed in the woollen manufactures of the country. Leave granted.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 14.—LORDS.—Counsel finally heard on the Scots Appeal, Kinnaird *v.* Mathewson.—Malt Tax Bill read a second time.—Irish Militia Bill went through a Committee of the House.

COMMONS.—New writ ordered for Midhurst, in the room of S. Smith, Esq. who made his election for Leicester.—Mr. Burdon moved for leave to bring up a petition from the ship-owners of Durham, praying a repeal of the Tonnage Duty Bill. Ordered to lie on the table.—Bill for appointing commissioners to examine into the frauds and abuses in the navy was brought up and read a first time.—In a Committee of the whole House on the importation of Malt from Ireland, the resolution "that it is the opinion of this Committee, it is expedient to permit the importation of malt made in Ireland into Great-Britain," was put and carried; and also another resolution "that it is the opinion of this Committee, that seed corn be permitted to be exported from Great-Britain to Ireland."—Report of the Dublin Baking Bill brought up and agreed to, and also the resolutions on the drawback on sugars.—Report on expiring laws relative to Corn brought up and agreed to.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Crown-Office, Dec. 17.—Members returned to serve in the present Parliament.—*Borough of Heytesbury.*—Charles Moore, of Lambeth-Palace, in the County of Surrey, Esq. in the room of the Right Hon. C. Abbot, who was chosen a Burgess for the said Borough of Heytesbury, and also a Burgess for the Borough of New Woodstock, in the County of Oxford, and hath made his Election for the said Borough of New Woodstock.—*Borough of Brackley.*—Robert Haldaie Bradshaw, of Berner's-street, St. Mary-le-Bone, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. in the room of Samuel Haynes, Esq. who has accepted the Office of Steward of his Majesty's Manor of East Hendred, in the County of Berks.—*Borough of Lymington.*—John Kingston, Esq. in the room of Maj.-Gen. Harry Burrard, who hath accepted the Office of Steward or Bailiff of his Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the County of Bucks.

Whitehall, Dec. 22.—The King has been pleased to grant the the Dignities of Baron and Viscount of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland unto the R. Hon. Henry Dundas, and the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten, by the names, styles, and titles of Baron of Dunira, in the County of Perth, and Viscount Melville, of Melville, in the County of Edinburgh.

The King has been pleased to order a Congé d'Elire to pass the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Hereford to elect a Bishop of that See, the same being void by the Death of the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. John Butler, late Bishop thereof; and his Majesty has also been pleased, by his Royal Sign Manual, to recommend to the said Dean and Chapter the Right Rev. Father in God Folliott Herbert Walker, Lord Bishop of Bristol, to be by them elected Bishop of the said See of Hereford.

BANKRUPTS.

Humphrys, W. elder and younger, Old Fish-street, grocer.—Stapleton, T. Sheerness, shopkeeper.—Tunnecliffe, R. Long Stratton, draper.—Bird, J. Houndsditch, hatter.—Tarn, W. Bishop-Wearmouth, painter.—Probert, J. Leadenhall-street, victualler.—Frankland, F. Cheapside, warehouseman.—Bartlett, J. Frome-Selwood, baker.—Jones, J. Princes-street, agent.—Bowman, Garford, and Bowman, Poplar, seed-crushers.—Worthington, T. Manchester, merchant.—Dornford, T. Philpot-lane, wine merchant.—Peckover, H. Ipswich, woollen-draper.—Smallpiece, T. Manchester, druggist.—Jowsey, T. Sunderland, inn-keeper.—Launcelot, J. Holborn, linen draper.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—On Thursday, at his house in Conduit-street, the Lady of the Right Hon. George Canning, of a son.

Marriages.—On the 16th inst. at Fryern Barnet, Sir Wm. Johnston, to Miss Maria Bacon.—On Tuesday, at Gloucester, Rear-Admiral Thornborough, to Miss Jeynes, daughter of Sir Edwin Jeynes.—Lately, at Chatham, Major Campbell, of the

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Royal Marines, to Miss Catharine Mawby.—At Edinburgh, on the 14th inst. Lieut. Kinghorn, of the Navy, to Miss Mary Morton.

Deaths.—On the 11th inst. Lady Dundas, relict of the late Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart. and mother to Lord Dundas.—At Bath, John Hunter, Esq. a Director of the E. I. Company.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.
Bank Stock	179¼	190	189	—	—	—
3 pr. C.R. An.	86	79½	71½	—	71½	70½
3 per C. Con.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 pr. C. Con.	83¾	87½	86½	—	85½	85½
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	19¾	—	20¼	—	20 1/16	20 1/16
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	4¼
5 per Ct. 1797	103½	103½	102½	—	102	101¼
Omnium	3¼ dis	3 dis	3¼ dis	—	4¼ dis	4¼ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 6	2 us.	Leghorn 50¾
D°, at sight	11 4½		Naples..... 42
Rotterdam	11 7	2 us.	Genoa 46
Hamburgh	34	2½ us.	Venice, 51 livres piccole effective per £. ster.
Altona....	34 1	2½ us.	Lisbon..... 67
Paris 1 day	24 8		Oporto 67½
Paris.....	24 12	2 us.	Dublin..... 12
Bourdeaux,	24 12		Bilboa ..... 36¾ D°
Cadiz	35	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol. p.
Madrid ..	35¼	effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq.	42s. to 58s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 273s
Rye.....	35 .. 39	Hay per load....	80 .. 150
Barley.....	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	40 .. 46	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s 6d
Oats	16 .. 24	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 4d.
Pease (white)....	40 .. 43	Pork....	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)....	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack ..	40 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33¼s.
Seconds.....	40 .. 44	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10d.
Coals per chal....	43 .. 49	Bread	9½d the Quar. Loaf.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under our Foreign head (p. 846), there will be found several interesting articles, on which we have not, at present, room to remark. One or two of the topics must, however, arrest our attention.

Intelligence from the Hague of the 14th of December contains some curious particulars respecting the French army in the free and independant republic of Batavia. General Montrichard, it appears, whom the First Consul has sent into Holland to take the command of the French troops there, immediately after his arrival, informed the government of his intention to fix his head-quarters at the Hague, into which he was about to march a garrison. This intimation (we are told) excited, in the Batavian government, much *disagreeable surprize*, as it had conceived the period to have arrived, when, according to the *treaty*, the troops were to be entirely withdrawn. It is further said, that the government has refused to recognize Montrichard as commander in chief of the French forces in Holland; that the general has sent off to Paris, and that the event is waited for with great anxiety. An article, apparently of a later date, says, that the Batavian government has signified to the French Republic, that it cannot continue its pay to the French troops beyond the close of the present month.—The *treaty*, to which the poor Batavians allude, is the treaty of peace, between France and Holland; by the 17th article of which, it is stipulated as follows: "The French Republic shall "keep military possession (but with a "fixed number of troops agreed upon be-"tween the two nations), *during the present "war only*, of the places and positions, "which it shall be useful for her so to "keep for the defence of the country."—If, therefore, we regard Holland as an independent country, this treaty has been grossly violated, on the part of France. Indeed, she has been in the violation of it, ever since the treaty of Amiens was signed; but, according to the doctrine, now laid down by her, and recognized, in fact, by our pusillanimous ministers, we have no right not only to interfere, but even to ask a question, upon the subject. Ceylon, which belonged (according to our own acknowledgement) to the Dutch, our ministers, those very ministers, whom Mr. Wilberforce thinks "too honest" to have any political intercourse with the powers of the continent; those too honest, those Richmond-Park ministers, by the very same act, in which they acknowledged Ceylon to be the property of the Dutch, received it from the hands of the French, as a good and valid cession. And, will these men dare to tell the Parliament and the nation, that they are going to war for the *independence* of Holland? Will they dare keep the Dutch colonies, or any part of them, because Holland is evidently a province of France? They some time ago blustered, and threatened to keep the Cape, Demerara, and Essequibo, (see Register, p. 701); but, it is now understood, that the Cape is gone, and our readers may be assured that the other Dutch colonies will soon follow.

Advices have been received in France (see p. 845), from Tobago and Guadaloupe. The former was surrendered to the French General Sahuguet, on the 7th of October; and thus was consummated, on the part of the Richmond-Park ministry, a most scandalous breach of faith with the people of Tobago, who had a solemn promise from the government, that they never should be again given up to the French.

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Relying upon this promise, they made uncommon exertions and uncommon sacrifices to assist, not only in the defence of their own island but in the reduction of the other French colonies, in return for which they have been shamefully abandoned, and, the far greater part of them, absolutely ruined. — From Guadaloupe the intelligence is of no very interesting nature. It is well, however, to pay attention to it, as very much depends upon the situation of the French West-India colonies.

By a declaration made, on the 8th instant (see p. 844) to the Deputation at Ratisbon, that a negociation is still going on between France and the Emperor relative to the indemnities for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, it appears that His Imperial Majesty, has an humble hope, that the *mediators* (he certainly feels that they are *Dictators*) will admit the Grand-Duke and the Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order into the number of Electors, which, from *three*, would reduce the Protestant majority to *one*. This declaration includes also a hope, that certain Catholic voices will be admitted; but, were this granted, it would not prevent a Protestant majority in all the colleges.—In fact, the court of Vienna, though, like us, it still makes a shew of resistance, like us, is, in reality, softened, by an ignorant, a frivolous, a weak and pusillanimous, ministry, to any mould of submission. The very rumour of an alliance *with us* has, it seems, created a trepidation at Vienna, where, according to the Hamburgh papers of the 10th instant, "a paragraph has been, by "the order of the court, inserted in the "Austrian journals, protesting that the "rumour of an alliance between the Em"peror and Great-Britain, is totally void "of foundation."—As we would say in Westminster Hall, a false, scandalous and malicious libel, conceived by certain journalists, not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being thereunto moved and instigated by the devil, in order to blast the good name of His Imperial Majesty, and to bring him into hatred and contempt. Good God! And is Great-Britain become, amongst nations, what the satyrist describes Anthony Pasquin to be amongst individuals: "a wretch whose acquaintance is "infamy, and whose touch is poison"? Is it, is it possible, that our once great and glorious country can, in the short space of eighteen months, have been brought into a state to justify this description! So, however, foreigners seem to think; at least, if the Hamburgh news be authentic. And, though we may wince under the lash, we have, I fear, no right to complain. Messrs. Fox and Wilberforce, the "too honest" supporters of the "too honest" Richmond-Park ministry, have, if they are not grossly misrepresented by the news-papers, openly accused the court of Vienna of breaking her engagements; and the former has even accused her of having, in the negociations for peace, caused the expulsion of the King of Sardinia out of Italy, than which a more daring calumny never was uttered. But this is what France likes to see. To make all the nations in the world hate and despise us is a part of the means which she is employing for our final extirpation; and no man will serve her cause so effectually as he, who shall succeed in making an open breach with the court of Vienna. As to the King of Sardinia, he was, in fact, deserted by nobody so shamefully as by the "too honest" ministers. We took a spice and a sugar island, while we left him without a single mention of his name. We may, however, be *obliged* to do him justice at last. The foreign journals talk of an *indemnity* to be procured for him by Russia, France, and Great-Britain; and, it needs no supernatural intelligence to foresee, that the only part which the latter will have in the arrangement will be the *paying* part. In truth, we believe it to be the intention of the two "mediating "powers," to compel us, as in the case of the Stadtholder, to refund, in behalf of the King of Sardinia, a portion of the worth of Ceylon and Trinidad, which, upon a recalculation appears to Buonaparté to be rather more than our share of the spoil! For our parts we always abhorred the idea of taking those islands, while the Queen of Portugal lost part of her dominions and the King of Sardinia almost the whole of his. We *ought* to be made to refund the worth of those islands (yea, to the uttermost farthing), and, that we *shall*, there is, we think, but very little doubt; nor should we be at all surprized, if, at the same time that Mr. Addington brings down a message respecting the Stadtholder, he should signify that the same *generous* intentions are entertained with respect to His Sardinian Majesty.—Such ministers do the Consul "best service in the end: he, "like an ape, keeps them in the corner of "his jaw; first mouthed, to be last swal"lowed: when he needs what you have "gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, "spunge, you shall be dry again."

The French official paper the *Moniteur*, has fallen upon a new way of sending forth

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its anathemas against this country. It being well known to be the *official* journal of the French government, has brought upon that government charges a little more direct than are, at sometimes, convenient to answer. For this reason, the Moniteur has lately *copied*, from the *Mercure de France*, such articles as it is thought advisable to circulate. This is, indeed, a mere subterfuge; for the Moniteur, being official, renders official whatever it adopts, whether of information or opinion. There is a notion prevails here, that the Moniteur is an official paper in no other way than are those papers, which are called *ministerial* ones, in this country; but, the case is very different; for the Moniteur has long had at its head a notification, that it is the *only official paper in France*: so that, in fact, it answers to the *London Gazette*, the words of which have ever been regarded as the words of the government. Having premised thus much, we should now proceed to comment at some length upon two articles, which have very lately reached us through the French official Gazette (one of which will be found in p. 848, and the other in our next sheet); but, for want of room, these comments must in part, be postponed till another opportunity. Some few points, however, must not be delayed.—The Moniteur (see p. 848) takes occasion, from what was said, or pretended to have been said, by Lord Grenville, or Mr. Thomas Grenville, respecting the journey of Mr. Moore to the Continent, to revive that exploded falsehood, the charge against the English government of having caused the assassination of Roberjot and Bonnier at Rastadt, a charge most impudently preferred by the French for the infamous purpose of disguising their own bloody-minded perfidy. Perhaps, however, it is not correct to say, that they have *revived* this falshood, seeing that they have never let it sleep. There is, in one of the picture rooms at Versailles, a design of a monument intended to be erected to the memory of Robejot and Bonnier, the two French plenipotentiaries, who were assassinated in the neighbourhood of Rastadt; and, upon a pedestal represented in this picture are these words: *Ils furent égorgés par des assassins soudoyés par le gouvernement Anglois.* And, it is while this audacious falshood, this infamous libel, against us, our government, and our sovereign, is by the French government constantly kept in the eye of the world; it is at the same time, that the French official paper, styles our king the rewarder of assassins; this is the time, that the ministers, the servants of that king, are prosecuting a writer for a jest on Buonaparté and his wife! — Mr. Addington, in reply to Dr. Laurence respecting the shame of passing over the French libels on His Majesty, is, by the news-papers, reported to have said, with his usual solemnity, that "he *wished he* "*could shew* to the learned and honourable "gentleman the *satisfactory explanations*, "which had taken place on that head;" but, that gentleman must, we think, be much less learned and infinitely less honourable than the world takes him to be, if those "*explanations*" would be satisfactory to him. No, no; while our government is making a *public* matter of a jest on Buonaparté and his wife; while Mr. Peltier is, for his jokes upon those people, to be brought into the Court of King's Bench, and to be arraigned as a criminal; while this offence (real or not) of the English press against the rulers of France, is so to expose the offender and so to occupy the attention of the world; while the party offended is, in this case, to receive such ample and open justice; in the other case, when the British nation is libelled, when her ministers are publicly, and in the official Gazette of France, styled the employers, and their royal master the rewarder, of assassins; in this case, the matter is to be settled by an "*explanation*," and that explanation so *secret*, too, as not to admit of being communicated to the Parliament!—But, why do we waste our time in exposures of this sort? There is no such thing as *exposing* the conduct of such people: it is so openly, so flagrantly, so barefacedly mean and pusillanimous, they are so evidently resolved to sacrifice the honour and interest of the nation, whenever such a sacrifice appears necessary to the gratification of their own vanity and selfishness, the whole of their conduct is, in this respect, so odious in itself, that no picture, no caricature even, can come up to the original.

The other article, in the Moniteur, to which we have alluded, and which is too long for insertion in the present number, contains several things well worthy of remark; but, with one exception, we shall reserve them, till we have room to insert the whole of the article itself.—The point on which we, at present, think it necessary to say a few words, is an important one, as it relates to the description, said, by the Moniteur, to have been given of the Russians, by a statesman whose opinion must naturally be supposed to have a great and

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extensive influence. The Moniteur puts into Mr. Windham's mouth, in the debate upon the address in answer to the king's speech, words which he never uttered. We shall quote the whole passage:—"It appears, that the commercial and financial "system has not turned Mr. Windham's "head. He could rather see his country "in possession of more glory, and of fewer "bank notes. With such sentiments which "do so much honour to the human heart, "Mr. Windham has nevertheless proved a "dangerous minister to his country; because he is violent in his pursuits and "not overguarded in his expressions. While "drawing the picture of Europe, he has "again offered insults to Russia, whom he "should love; for in that empire, there are "no funded debts, and great things are "achieved without being instigated by a "vote for public credit.—On this point he "spoke as follows:—*Russia in her extreme "dominions bordering upon Asia, presents nothing "but a mass of rude, uncivilised barbarism, unworthy to be compared with the inhabitants "of the French territory.*—The Russians will "not think themselves highly flattered by "this compliment, and Mr. Windham must "get into disgrace with all our philosophers "who have proved, during the last century, "that light broke upon us from the north."—Mr. Windham said no such thing, as will appear from the report of the Morning Post, which is universally allowed to have the best reports of any paper in London.—"With "respect to the nature and situation of territory, Mr. Windham said, it might lay "remote and detached, like that of Russia, "which extends behind the north of Asia, "and so cannot be brought into effect; "and, as to population it might be timed "and feeble, like the Asiatics, with whom "we have been fighting; but was that the "character of the people of France, or of "the nations whom she had overthrown?" (*Morning Post, Nov. 25.*)

Is there any thing here *insulting* to Russia?—The object of this base misrepresentation is evident enough. The Moniteur surely forgets, when it gave, during the honeymoon of the peace of Amiens, a speech of Buonaparté, wherein it was said, that there were but two nations in Europe, worthy of being so called, *England* and *France*, and this, too, in the presence of the Russian, amongst other ambassadors. In the main, however, we are pleased at this trick of the Moniteur. It shews, that there is *one nation in Europe* and *one statesman in England* that Buonaparté is afraid of. It is infinitely his interest to cajole the former, if he can, and not less his interest to keep the other from the British ministry, which he thinks (and far be it from us to say that he is mistaken) he shall always be able to do, by giving this degraded nation to understand, that he does not approve of him for a minister.—It is truely curious to see with what harmony the Moniteur, the same Moniteur that calls our king a *rewarder of assassins*, chimes in, with respect to Mr. Windham, with the cant of the ministers and their adherents:—"With such sentiments, which do "so much honour to the human *heart*, Mr. "Windham would nevertheless be a *dangerous* minister, because he is *violent* in his pursuits *and not overguarded* in his expressions."—So says the Moniteur, the infamous Moniteur, who accuses our government of having paid for the assassination at Rastadt, and so says the True Briton (see Register, p. 227). "Mr. Windham is *sans peur* and "*sans reproche*, but he pushes things to extremes, and is *not a safe politician.*"—Wonderful harmony! It has only to be continued, on both sides of the water, for another year or two, and this nation will receive the chastisement which is justly due to its incorrigible cullibility.—"*Unguarded "in his expressions!*" This is the cant, the cookoo cant, of a crowd, a mob, of miserable creatures, whose only pretension to *prudence* consists in their never having, in the whole course of their lives, uttered or conceived, one bold or brilliant thought.—But, as if the Moniteur had left its business unperformed, the Morning Post, in its comments on the French article, makes Mr. Windham a party with Mr. Dundas and Lord Grenville in the system of *making war for Sugar Islands*, while the text accuses him of *making war for glory*. Either text or comment must be false; but, in our opinion the text is far the most correct of the two. We do not believe that the selfish policy of making war merely for the sake of commerce was ever adopted by Lord Grenville; and, as to Mr. Windham, the whole course of his conduct proves, that he has always preferred wars of principles to wars of profit, the support of the royalists in France to the capture of islands, and that he has ever thought, as he now thinks, the glory of the country, rightly understood, not the least valuable of its possessions, an opinion which is at this moment most amply and strikingly verified.

The French papers tell us, that the Dutchy of *Parma* and its dependencies are to be given to the King of Etruria, that is to the family of Spain, in exchange for the *Floridas*; and, it is said, that ministers have re-

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ceived certain intelligence, that *Cochin* has been ceded *to France* by the Dutch.—But, we must first shew our readers what the ministers themselves say on this subject. "Our pre-eminence [in *riches*] we have every reason to believe, is regarded with *an envious and malignant eye*; and we have no doubt but that, *even under the mask of peace*, means may be used *to sap the foundations of our commercial greatness*, upon which, it has been justly observed, our political existence now essentially depends. The present has been admitted by all parties in parliament, with the solitary exception of Mr. Fox, to be a period big with danger; that it is so, no man in his senses can for a moment doubt. The *address* and *firmness* of our ministry may avert war *for a while*, but it is too much to say that France will, *under her* PRESENT GOVERNMENT, abstain from giving frequent occasions both of jealousy and alarm. That the Chief Consul *is bent upon disturbing our sovereignty in India*, has been long proved from his actions, and is now *pretty generally believed*. His expedition to Egypt had that principally for its end; and his eye is *still fixed upon it with a steady perseverance*. He is attempting every thing, *even now*, to facilitate, at some future period, and that, perhaps, *not very distant*, the accomplishment of his views, and it behoves us to watch his every movement with the most scrutinizing attention. It has been stated from the Hague, that since Lord Whitworth's arrival at Paris, the embarkation of French troops for Louisiana, which was to take place in the Dutch ports, *has been countermanded*. We think this extremely probable, because we can readily conceive it was a measure which our ambassador was likely to be instructed *to remonstrate against and oppose*, and we sincerely hope it is true; but, if the accounts received by the French papers last night be correct, the views of the consular government are not bounded by one acquisition in the same quarter. It is now said, that Spain has been required *to cede the Floridas to France*, on condition of which the Dutchies of Parma and Plaisance are to be united to the kingdom of Etruria, and if not, to the Italian republic. It is almost needless to observe, that if the bait offered to the court of Spain is not great enough to induce a compliance, the influence of France in that cabinet can enforce it as a demand. It has likewise been stated, from a respectable quarter, *that Cochin has been given up to France by the Dutch*. It is true His Majesty's ministers have not officially learnt this circumstance, but that does not lessen its probability. At peace with the French republic, *are we thus to be doomed to witness a perpetual succession of encroachments*, against which, we presume, remonstrances will on our part be made? Are we to *come, period after period, to the verge of hostility, and then to be soothed with explanations, which may be no sooner made than the occasion of them may be repeated?* We think too highly, both of the discernment and the spirit of our ministers, to suppose for a moment that they would thus compromise the honour of their country, by descending to such mean submission. Buonaparté *may cut and carve on the continent as he pleases*—there seems no power existing in Europe to prevent him from giving full scope to the dictates of his towering ambition *there*; but when he thinks of extending his empire *on the other side of the Atlantic*, or to *the shores of India*, he must be sensible, we should suppose, of the necessity of obtaining the concurrence *and assent of the British government*; and it must strike him, that these transfers of property, and bargains of exchange, are not likely to meet with *our approbation*, more especially as the equivalent, if such it may be called, to be given on his part, has been illegally obtained.—Amongst the subjects of discussion at Paris, of which we conceive there must be many, Malta will doubtless form a very leading and important one. We perceive with satisfaction, however, from the proceedings in the House of Commons last night, that the laws relative to its trade and its geographical situation are to be renewed, a pledge that it will not be immediately, or without due consideration, ceded. The material changes indeed that have taken place in the political situation of Europe, and that are projected and carrying into effect in other quarters of the globe, would, in our opinion, fully warrant us *in permanently retaining it*. The French government may say, that that would be a violation of the treaty of Amiens; but *in how many instances has it been already grossly violated by France?*"

We regret, that the narrowness of our limits prevents us from remarking, at any considerable length, upon this article, which appeared in the True Briton and the Sun of the 17th instant, and which our readers may be assured came from the offices in Downing Street.—What! is "our *pre-eminence*" [in riches] really, then, "regarded with an *envious* and *malicious* eye by the Chief Consul"?

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Why, we said it would. We remarked, no longer ago than last week (p. 795), that Mr. Addington's statements, which had so charmed the patriots of Change Alley, would make a good deal of *mauvais sang* at St. Cloud:—Is the Consul, indeed, "*bent* "*upon our destruction in India*"? Has he, in good sooth, "*already*, in many instances, "*violated the treaty of Amiens*"? And do the ministers, do those who, the public prints inform us, are *feasting* off the presents received from Buonaparté, do these men acknowledge all this in their demi-official paper?—But, where is the wonder that Buonaparté should receive *Cochin* from the Dutch, and what right has the ministers to complain of it? Has he not as much right to obtain a Dutch colony from the *Dutch themselves*, as we had to obtain a Dutch colony *from him*? And is not his title as valid? And, as to the *Floridas*, were not the ministers told, over and over again, that the French would have those colonies; that those colonies must go with Louisiana? And, again we ask, upon what principle, upon what pretext, they, who made the treaty of Amiens, they who, both in their public speeches and their public acts, have recognised the doctrine of *non-interference in the affairs of other nations*, upon what pretext will they attempt to intermeddle in a transaction between France and Spain? "Suppose," (said Mr. Windham, in his Speech of the 4th Nov. 1801), "suppose France, by an arrange- "ment with that *independent* power Spain, "should obtain the cession of the Spanish "Settlements in America (which would "be in violation of no treaty), would you "consider that as an occasion for war?"—Here is the case precisely foreseen. This question is now to be answered by the "*safe* "politicians," the "*prudent* ministers," who, in spite of their blustering, will answer it in the negative; and, Mr. Fox, ci-devant counsellor of their sovereign, and now their counsellor and supporter, will say, that the obtaining of the Floridas is, on the part of France, only another little start in the pleasant and inoffensive "*rivalité* of "commerce." Thus it is that the nation will be lulled.

But, of all astonishing things, the most astonishing is, that Lord Whitworth (while his Duchess, and her Grace the Duchess of Gordon, are, by way of parenthesis, crouching at the feet of Mistress Buonaparté), should be directed to *remonstrate against*, and *oppose* the embarkation of French troops for Louisiana! Not only did the ministers, before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, know that this colony was ceded to France by Spain; but they and their partizans, (particularly Lord Hawkesbury, the Master of the Rolls, and General Maitland,) contended, that the cession was a thing for *this country to rejoice at!*—As to the *effect*, however, of the remonstrance of Lord Whitworth, it has, it seems, been much about the same as that of the famous remonstrance in favour of Switzerland; that is, it has, if any thing, accelerated the operations which it was meant to put a stop to; for the intelligence from the Hague, of the 14th instant, informs us, that General Victor was hourly expected there, on his way to Helvoetsluys, there to embark with the troops for Louisiana, on board of Dutch transports, without touching, as was intended, at Dunkirk, or anywhere else; but to proceed directly to New Orleans.—So much for the "mix- "ture of *firmness* and *conciliation*;" so much for the operation of what Lord Temple happily termed, "the most nauseous mix- "ture that ever poor nation was drenched "withal."

One word on *trade and commerce*.—The people in the city begin to discover, that Mr. Addington's financial and commercial statement will not bear a close examination; and, the state of the West-India colonies, as described by the West-Indians, in the late debate on the sugar duties, is that of *irretrieveable ruin*, if something effective be not done for them. The new *drawback*, as they are called, but, properly speaking, *bounties*, must amount to about £150,000 or £200,000 a year, as a further payment on account of the peace; and this expense will only end with the end of our great importation of that article of produce, that is, with the loss of a very great part of our colonial trade, involving our manufactures and navigation, in their several degrees of misfortune, if not actually diminishing them on the whole balance of our trade, yet by their defalcation in that quarter, preventing their general increase. It was on the diminution of the West-India and North American trade that the opposers of the peace particularly dwelt as the first, and only *immediate*, injury to our commerce and navigation.

To CORRESPONDENTS and READERS.—Mr. WILBERFORCE will be so good as to wait one more week.—The *Post-Office* shall be attended to without delay.

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CONTENTS.—*Irvine. Stand.* 865. *Read. Ball,* 871. *Ext. from Monit.* 875. *Sebastiani,* 880. *Hague,* 880. *Montrichard,* 880. *Vienna,* 881. *Stutgard,* 881. *Constance,* 881. *Paris,* 882. *Proc. in Parl.* 882. *Sum. Pol.* 896. *Mr. Moore's Mes.* 886. *Mr. Windham,* 888. *Ney,* 890. *Malta,* 890. *C. D'Auvergne,* 890. *Navy Bill,* 891. *Wool-Man. Bill,* 895. *H. Addington,* 896.

INVINCIBLE STANDARD.

The Narrative, which I last week published on this subject, has excited an uncommon degree of public curiosity, and, I am proud to add, of generous public feeling. About *forty* of the portrait of the brave LUTZ have been sold; the first purchasers were Lord and Lady Folkestone, the former five prints, and the latter two.—I have received a great number of letters on the subject, from different parts of the kingdom, all expressing the utmost admiration of LUTZ, and entirely approving of my humble endeavours in his behalf. Amongst these letters there is one, which, with the omission of the name of the writer, I shall take the liberty to insert here, as it appears to me to contain the general sentiments of all those who have done me the honour to write to me on this occasion; and, as it contains, moreover, a hint which I hope will be turned to account.

Bath, Dec. 27, 1802.

"SIR,—I have read with particular interest your account, in the last Register, of the gallant achievement of Antoine LUTZ, in seizing the standard of the corps, termed Invincibles, in the glorious battle of the 21st March, 1801, near Aboukir in Egypt; and although your plain narrative tears the laurel from a Briton's brow, yet as *Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine habetur*, I rejoice that you have restored the 'hard earned honours of the well fought field' to him who so heroically won them. I have to request the favour of you to send me one of the best impressions of your gallant Protégé. At the same time I should be very unwilling that the affair should die away, without some signal mark of public acknowledgment conferred on LUTZ. The City of London very properly, in their Common Hall assembled, publickly granted *a pension for life* to the daring seaman, who rescued, at the imminent risque of his life, the dispatches of Buonaparté from entire loss, when thrown overboard and sinking, at the instant of the capture of the French corvette, in the Mediterranean by our fleet, that was carrying them to France. Perhaps the recovery of these dispatches led the way, though remotely, to the capture of this very trophy of national glory, upon which we so justly pride ourselves: and while we reward the daring sailor, shall the gallant soldier not taste the bounty of an admiring public? Upon revolving these circumstances in my mind, I beg leave to submit to your consideration, whether it would not be very proper to endeavour to raise a fund, wherewith to purchase for LUTZ some situation in that army, in which this brave fellow has so eminently distinguished himself; such, for instance, as a Quarter-Master's Warrant in the cavalry, or a like situation in the infantry. This would be rewarding him in a way most congenial to a soldier's feelings, and have the good effect of constantly shewing to his fellow soldiers, that true merit will ever find its reward from a British public, that a friendless foreigner in the British service, unknown but by his brave conduct and good discipline, by those and those only, found, in the fostering hand of a grateful nation, that distinction and promotion, which ever ought unerringly to accompany such valour and like successful enterprize; and that while the highest dignities await the victorious commander, the common soldier's heroism shall not be forgotten amidst the din of triumph, but his well earned fame shall find its due estimate and reward here, and go down to posterity along with that of his superior, an example of imitation to his fellow soldiers. With these sentiments thus strongly impressed on my mind, I am very anxious that a subscription should be set on foot for this purpose, and I do think among your numerous readers an adequate sum might very soon be raised. Should you incline to my opinion and one should be commenced, I beg the favour of you to put down my name for five guineas, which I will cause to be paid to you so soon as

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"you may apprize me of having done so.
"—I remain, Sir, your humble Servant,
* * * * *

Yes! the man who jumped overboard, and saved the dispatches of Buonaparté, was rewarded with *a pension for life*, by the City of London, in Common Hall assembled. John Saunderson, the sailor who, during the heat of the battle of Camperdown, went aloft and nailed to the mast, the flag of his admiral, which had been shot away by the enemy, received a very handsome gratuity; enough to enable him to live at his ease, and to make a comfortable provision for his aged parents. "But, the men thus "rewarded were *natives* of this country!" This will be the observation of some few persons; but, as if it were decreed that nothing should be wanting in support of the claim of LUTZ; as if no proof should be wanting of the injustice of those who would with-hold a reward from him, the history of the war furnishes an instance of a *foreigner*. I allude to Mr. *Goddard*, an American. He was a prisoner of war on board the French privateer the Jean Bart, which privateer was going to France from the United States, and had the French minister Fauchet's dispatches on board. The Jean Bart was, in the channel, obliged to strike to a British frigate, and, while the frigate's boat was making towards her, the French captain threw the dispatches overboard, when Goddard (whose family had been loyalists, and who had been one himself) most gallantly jumped over the side after them, and was lucky enough to keep them afloat, till he was taken up by the boat of the frigate.—Goddard (whose rank in life was that of captain of a merchantman) was offered a good situation in the West-Indies, which he refused; he was, I believe, also offered the Consulship of Rhode Island, worth about £500 a year. He wished for a situation in England; but whether he finally got one, or took a sum of money I know not, nor, indeed, is the fact at all necessary to the inference which I mean to draw from this statement, which is, that, the quality of *foreigner* has not, heretofore, been regarded as a bar to claims on national gratitude and national justice. And shall it be so regarded now? Shall this selfish exception be made in only *one* case; and that, too, in a case which calls aloud for an extraordinary exertion of liberality; in a case calculated to banish every sinister feeling from the breast?

As to the part of my correspondent, relating to a subscription for the purpose of purchasing a commission for LUTZ, it will, I think, be right to postpone that laudable undertaking a little while, for two reasons; first, to give the public time to be fully convinced that the claim of LUTZ cannot be invalidated; and, secondly, to afford His Royal Highness the commander in chief an opportunity (now that he will know all the circumstances) of proving to the world, that deeds of glory are, in the army which has the honour to be commanded by him, sure to meet with their reward.—In the mean time, the *fame* of LUTZ is spreading far and wide. The Political Register will carry it to *every court in Europe*, without one single exception. In the United States of America it will be echoed through about three hundred different news-papers, and will be known to every man, woman, and child in the country. In the East and West Indies it will circulate sufficiently; and, in His Majesty's European dominions, it has already made no inconsiderable progress. The Register itself is read by a vast number of persons. There has been a great extra demand for the narrative, which will take altogether upwards of five thousand stamps, and will bring into the stamp office about *seventy pounds* duty! (Poor LUTZ might have *this*, one would think!) The London news-papers, too, have, from one motive or another, almost all of them, for once, at least, during their existence, contributed towards the circulation of truth. Some of them have made extracts from the narrative, others have mentioned it, and *all* of them have inserted a paragraph in the following words, which appears to me to have been published by the authority of some persons deeply concerned:—"We have good reason to be-
"lieve, that the statement which appeared
"in a periodical publication of recent date,
"respecting the capture, in the battle of
"Alexandria, of *what has been* CALLED the
'Invincible Standard,' "will not escape ob-
"servation from those whose business it is
"to notice it; and that it will be clearly
"and incontestably proved that the 42d
"regiment did take the standard from that
"body of men termed the Invincible Le-
"gion, whom they engaged in the com-
"mencement of the action; which standard
"was, in a subsequent attack by the ene-
"my, lost by Serjeant Sinclair, who received
"it in charge from the officer of the 42d
"regiment, to whom it had been surren-
"dered: nor will this fact be found incon-
"sistent with the documents adduced in the
"publication above-mentioned, however
"*contrary* to the *reasoning* and *insinuation* of

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" the author."—So! " what has been *called* " the Invincible Standard!!!" Mark the hypothetical phraseology! " What has been " *called!*" Yes, what was so *called* in all the public prints, ten thousand times over; what was so *called* in the theatres, at Sadler's Wells, and at Astley's; what was so *called* in the Panorama; what was so *called* by the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Baronets, and Gentlemen of the Highland Society; and what was so *called* by His Majesty's minister, when, in parliament, he signified the pleasure of his Royal Master that it should be placed on Abercrombie's tomb.—Yes, not only what *was* called the Invincible Standard, but what *is* called the Invincible Standard, and which is not only *called* such, but *is* such, or *else we have no Invincible Standard in our possession.*—And, is it possible, that the nation will relinquish this honour rather than do justice to LUTZ? Will it be inveigled into this act of baseness and folly merely to gratify the spleen arising from disappointed assurance and intrigue?—My " *reasoning*" and my " *insinuation*" are before my readers: let them judge. I do not know who this paragraph comes from; but, its publication in so many papers cannot have cost less than *twenty guineas*, an expense to which an *individual* would, at least without some very powerful motive, scarcely have put himself to, on such an account. As to the *case* stated in this paragraph, I shall say nothing, until it shows its front in a more authentic form; but, while I sincerely desire to avoid a controversy, which, if persevered in, must finally bring shame in some portion, at least, of my fellow subjects, it will not, I trust, be expected, that the advocate of LUTZ will suffer either his hero or himself to be unjustly attacked with impunity, however numerous or powerful the assailants.—It is not my intention to trouble my readers with remarks on every *unofficial* misrepresentation that may appear relative to this subject: a passage, however, in the Morning Chronicle of the 27th inst. seems to demand immediate attention. After inserting the substance of my narrative, the writer concludes thus:—" The above " narrative certainly will give great offence " to the 42d regiment, who are represented " to have been in a very shameful situation " when rescued by the German regiment; " and, if this account be true, were so. If " it is false, the officers will no doubt vindicate the character of the regiment by a " fair narrative of facts; and, if their regiment has just claims to the honour of " having taken the Invincible Standard, will " defend them by evidence. It certainly " will afford us great pleasure to find that " the merit of an exploit so highly extolled " belongs to a British regiment and a British soldier, and not to a *French deserter*, " which Antoine Lutz was. We do not " blame any man from endeavouring to " vindicate the claims of a *foreign deserter* to " a gallant action he had performed; far " less do we blame any one for endeavouring to strip another of honours he has arrogated by lies and misrepresentations. " If the above narrative be true, Serjeant " Sinclair has been guilty of lies and misrepresentations. We think, however, " what we are sure every *British heart* must " feel, that it was possible to have vindicated the claims of this French deserter " without the innumerable sneers at, and " we will venture to add, misrepresentations " of the conduct of the 42d regiment."—To this I must add the closing sentence of a paragraph, in the same print, of the 29th inst.—" It does not show much of the *English spirit*, of the want of which some " people so petulantly accuse others, to insinuate that the *foreign* corps had a greater " share in the victory of the 21st than any " of our *native* troops."—With respect to " *sneers* at, and *misrepresentations* of, the " conduct of the 42d *regiment*," none are to be found in my narrative, which I have now re-perused with great attention, and in which I see nothing to lament but that want of ability, on my part, which I doubt not my readers will have the goodness to excuse. But, it seems, that " to insinuate, that the " *foreign* corps had a greater share in the " victory of the 21st of March, 1801, than " any of our *native* troops, does not show " much *English* spirit." I will not disgrace the lash by bestowing it on a sentiment so mean, so grovelling, so detestably vile and base; but I must just point out the artful attempt which is here made to drag in *all* the native corps to make *common cause* with the 42d regiment, or rather with Serjeant Sinclair. " *Any* of our *native* troops?"—Where did I say so? Where did I say or insinuate, that the " foreign corps had a " greater share in the victory than *any* of " our native troops?" I have merely stated the fact as far as related to the Highlanders and the Queen's German regiment, and even that no farther than was necessary to elucidate and establish the particular case of LUTZ. The Highlanders, while the honour of taking the standard was awarded to them, never called upon the rest of " the *native* troops" to share that *honour* with them; but, now

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that something a little resembling *detection* and *disgrace* appears to be approaching, they are calling in all the "native troops" to unite with them. For what? No other part of the "native troops" ever claimed the honour, and why should they share in the disgrace? Neither the 26th regiment, nor the 90th regiment, both of which corps behaved most gallantly, have ever brought forward any Serjeant Sinclair. No, no; I must not suffer the question to be thus battered out: it must be confined to the 42d regiment and to LUTZ; and there, if it pleases God to grant me life and health, it shall be confined, 'till there remains not a single human being in this kingdom unacquainted with the truth and the whole truth relative to the subject. —The writer in the Morning Chronicle, foreseeing that the result of every inquiriy will but injure his cause, endeavours, beforehand, to prejudice the public against LUTZ, by calling him a "French *deserter*, a foreign "*deserter*;" and these phrases are studiously repeated two or three times in a paragraph. LUTZ was, as I clearly and truly stated, taken in *requisition* by the republicans; that is to say, he was seized by his rebel fellow subjects and carried by force to their army, where he was detained by force, 'till he found an opportunity of escaping to the Prince of Condé's corps; so that, he *deserted* to the army of his lawful king, a step which the writer in the Morning Chronicle must naturally abhor.—Far, however, be it from me to complain of this malice against LUTZ, who is honestly, indeed, entitled to the slander of that pen, that infamous pen, which has eulogized O'CONNOR, Napper Tandy and Fox: what degree of honour the cause of the *Royal* Highlanders will derive from such a defender it is none of my business to enquire.

London, 29th *Dec.* 1802. W. COBBETT.

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

SIR,—In my last I promised to resume my exposure of CANDIDUS' treachery, which seems to me so apparent in the whole of his first letter, as well as in some other passages of the second, whereon I have not yet touched. Indeed there is hardly a paragraph, I might say hardly a sentence, that does not contain some sly attack or other. Not only my respectable friend, but the inhabitants of Reading (as I have already shewn in one instance), young Mr. HENRY ADDINGTON, Mr. PITT and all, are included in the malice of his pretended defence.

If it had not been for the ridicule thrown on the good people of this town in a passage which I examined in my last, I might perhaps have missed that with which his second letter sets out. But, with the clue which I have furnished to this insidious writer's real designs, who can doubt the slanderous equivocation lurking in his assertion, that "a "lover of truth and decorum knows nothing "of the town of Reading." Can any man suppose that he did not mean to suggest too the obvious turn, that "the town of Read- "ing knows nothing of a lover of truth and "decorum?" For shame, CANDIDUS, to abuse in this manner as worthy a set of neighbours as exist! And for this purpose to pillage one of Shakespeare's most farcical jests! For is not this a plain imitation of Dr. Caius, who, on being told that the man whom he had found in his closet was an honest man, cries out, "Dere is no ho- "nest man that shall come in my closet?" Between ourselves, Sir, I have good reason to suspect that CANDIDUS is a professed mender of Shakespeare's good things, and the same person at whom a passage which you struck out of my first letter plainly enough glanced, as the known author of the original account of the ball and supper.

But the other sarcasm levelled at my fellow townsmen is less concealed. You had a little flippantly said in one of your summaries, that "the simpletons of Reading "had bestowed on the new Clerk of the "Pells the honorary title of Captain of Vo- "lunteers." It was a cursory stroke of satire, forgotten immediately perhaps by yourself, and, I am sure, by the greater part of your readers. You took it, I dare say, as you found it, in one of the newspapers: and who can expect you to investigate and ascertain every trifling domestic fact, with which you may point a sentence in passing, as if you were building the gravest argument on that foundation? A real friend of Mr. ADDINGTON and the inhabitants of Reading would have let this sleep in quiet; or, at most, have contented himself with observing, that the inhabitants of Reading had not the power of bestowing such an honorary title; and, that in fact, the young Clerk of the Pells was not yet even admitted a private in the corps, though he had been proposed as such and not as an officer at all. But what does CANDIDUS? Why, the very reverse of this, you may be certain. He leaves the appellation of simpletons to all the inhabitants of Reading, without once remarking, that even you could only apply it to the members of the corps, which includes a very small part of the inhabitants

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of the town; he tells us, that they did actually propose to the father to compliment his son *(a young man at school,* as Candidus takes care to remind us just before) with a *cornetcy*, which in common familiar language does "bestow the honorary title of captain," and in reality gives some portion of actual command; and to rouse our indignation at the want of all dignity in the minds of our country gentlemen, he then adds, that the corps which thus desired to be put under the authority of a school-boy, whose father had just sold all his property in that quarter, but happened to be prime minister, was a corps composed "of the most illustrious "characters for property *and public spirit* in "that neighbourhood." You, Sir, have written many desponding and many severe things on the decay of public spirit among us; but you have chiefly pointed at our love of money in preference to glory, the fault of another and very different class of men from our landed gentry and yeomanry. Of them you have never said any thing that presents half so melancholy a picture to the mind. For the sake of my country I am compelled wholly to disbelieve this account; and on behalf of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, I challenge CANDIDUS to the proof of the fact.

Justice, however, I must say, is here done to my friend. He shines, and he could not but shine, in contrast with such "most il-"lustrious characters." He is represented as having seen and resisted the impropriety of this application. For the enmity of this writer seems to be even less against Mr. ADDINGTON than against the landed gentry and yeomanry of this kingdom, who are our great bulwark and support. Yet he takes care to be even with my friend by joining this incredible story of the *cornetcy* with a most malicious defence on the subject of the *Clerkship of the Pells*. You had said that MASTER ADDINGTON might be seen "play-"ing at marbles under the cloisters of "Westminster Abbey;" rather a pert way I must observe, Sir, of signifying that he has still all the levity of a boy about him.—Now what answers CANDIDUS? Why, truly, that the eldest son of Mr. Addington is not at Westminster, but at Winchester school;—admitting the full force of your expression. And as he could not but say something civil of the "young man" (for so he styles him, as you would speak of the most obscure apprentice), he refers for his character to the warden of the college, who, like the provost of Eton, better known to us in this neighbourhood, every one is aware has little or no concern in the intermediate management of the school, instead of sending us to the masters who are the best judges of the boys under them. As to the appointment itself, this false friend of our incorrupt and disinterested minister says that, if "the confer-"ing of a vacant place of honour and emo-"lument on his family, be a subject for cen-"sure and invective, all places in future "must be bestowed according to the "chances of the lottery-wheels." Now what is this, but to say, that if Mr. ADDINGTON continues to have the disposal of good things, we must expect a full share of them at all times to go to his own family? What an opinion might not the reader of this malignant vindication have entertained of my friend, if he had not lately shewn his integrity so clearly to the world by making an example of that poor ignorant Devonshire fellow, who foolishly attempted to bribe him with the paltry sum of 2000 l. though some people, I know, pretended to sneer at that prosecution as a sort of theatrical trick, unworthy the dignity of a great statesman!

The true ground both of my friends with-holding the cornetcy, and of his giving the Clerkship of the Pells (and I am glad to have the opportunity of stating it) is *precedent*. He is a politician trained to study and respect the genuine practice of our excellent constitution. By that, he therefore guided himself, on these as on all other occasions. It is true, that cornets of horse might formerly have been seen playing marbles at school. But that used only to be done for the sake of getting rank in the army, a motive which could not apply to the cornetcy of the Woodley Cavalry; and this very abuse was among the first which the Duke of York reformed when he was placed at the head of the army. All the precedents of former times have thus been reversed, and my friend acted accordingly. On the other hand, it is well known to your readers (for it was the chief defence made at the time) that there are several precedents for the appointment to the Clerkship of the Pells, and of Mr. Pitt, when he had been in the King's service about as long as my friend, choose to give the very place in question to another; if too, when after being eighteen years in that service, he had retired with large debts and little comparative emolument, no richer a man than he entered it, he still thought proper to persist in refusing the same place, when my friend so handsomely offered it to him, by what rule is it, that a fit of

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romantic disinterestedness in him ought to have overturned the precedent made by Sir Robert Walpole, and other precedents of the best times, favourable to young Mr Henry Addington! It is not in his idle whims and caprices, but in his policy and eloquence, that my friend aspires to rival his great predecessor.

It was my intention originally, Sir, to have finished the subject in this letter, and to have exposed the design of this man of mock-candour in seeking, as he does, to sow animosity between the present and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. But in a third letter, lately inserted in the Star, he has himself pulled off the mask. He is, what I all along suspected him to be, a declared admirer of Mr. Fox. There is at once the clue of his whole conduct. I shall therefore reserve for a concluding letter the little which remains for me to remark on this writer's two former letters; that is, what relates to Mr. Pitt, with a word or two respecting yourself: and I shall endeavour to trace through all his crooked artifices, the turnings and windings of the faction to which he belongs.

I am, Sir, &c. *J. Tietenser,*

Reading, Dec. 27, 1802.

Extract from the Moniteur of the 14th instant, (quoted from the Mercure de France), containing Observations on the Speeches at the Opening of the present Parliament.

As the address to the King on the opening of the session was voted without any amendment or division, and in appearances with unanimity, it might be imagined that there prevailed but one opinion in parliament. A volume might however be made up out of the contradictory speeches to which that Address has given rise. When men are collected together in order to speak, they cannot well refrain from speaking; and as very frequently they would have nothing to say, if they were not animated by the spirit of party, it may naturally be expected that a party spirit will break out wherever a number of men are assembled together to deliberate. All the speeches that have hitherto been delivered have therefore tended only to disclose the parties into which parliament is divided. These parties may be distinguished into three, the party of the present administration, Mr. Pitt's party, and the party of the old opposition, who seem disposed to support the ministers who made peace, with the view either of preventing or retarding the return of Mr. Pitt and his adherents into office, or of forcing in along with them some of the most distinguished members of the opposition. The latter view appears the more probable,—These three parties agree together on one point, but under a variety of modification, viz. that a great state cannot be indifferent to what passes in other states; that is, that England is inclined again to interfere in the affairs of the continent, although she laid it down as a principle, on concluding the peace, that all continental alliances were burthensome. When, notwithstanding the collision of sentiment which took place between the different speakers, not one of them has explained why England pretended to insulate herself from the continent on making the peace, or why she would now again endeavour to re-establish her influence on the continent; their silence upon this point we shall attempt to make up for.—During the late war the British cabinet were loud in their complaints of having been abandoned by all their allies. No complaint more groundless. It was England that sacrificed all the powers who, at her instigation, had taken up arms. Let us take Austria as an example of their conduct. When the cabinet of Vienna made peace, it was indubitably from necessity: as England had made some conquests, if she had attempted to interfere in that treaty, she must necessarily have placed some compensations in the balance, a thing which she was anxious to avoid. Austria was left to her fate, under the disadvantages of a power laid prostrate by defeats. France, however, took no undue advantage of her victories; but it is not to the British cabinet that Austria is indebted for the arrangements which promoted and directed the peace. It is therefore incontestibly proved, that Austria was abandoned by England, who declared at the time that she could no longer concern herself with the affairs of the continent. The British cabinet made afterwards a separate peace for England, with all the advantages of a power that has made conquests, and that treats for itself alone. That is, that England restored much less than she would have restored, had she treated at the same time for herself and her allies.—But now, when there are no more compensation to be made, England shifts her principle, and tells us that she can no longer remain indifferent to what passes in Europe. In order to come therefore to some explanation of this changeful policy one must be brought to believe, that the English minister, guided solely by his own interest, insulates his country in order to preserve the profits of the war, but forms alliances that he may not have to support the expenses of it. In this consists the secret of the derangement which the space of a few months has introduced in the opinions of parliament. And these, however, are the men who attempt to complain that they are left without allies! Because they give money, they imagine themselves to be absolved from every obligation. To expose to hazard their dominions in order to increase the commerce of England, opens such golden views, that the bankers of London cannot conceive how the governments of other countries can refrain from war. They have at length nursed themselves into a belief that at their leisure they may say to kings, "Fight for "us; we will make peace without you, while we "accuse you of not having gained victories at the "stipulated price."—After having declined taking any part in the treaty of Luneville, it is somewhat whimsical that England should enter into discussion upon that treaty, in which she is not so much as named. Whether additions be made to, or retrenchments from it, what right has England to complain? Who has told her that every thing that happened since the conclusion of that treaty, was not previously agreed upon by the contracting parties? Who can assure her that many more things may not still take place with respect to which the parties interested will not trouble them-

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selves, even in thinking what the parliament of England may say about them? If England was anxious to retain a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of the continental powers, she should not have negotiated merely on a maritime and insular power.—England reproaches France with inordinate ambition; but the ambition of a nation is not to be judged of by her victories, because her victories prove nothing but her courage. We shall not therefore enter into an idle discussion of such an accusation, but simply appeal to the evidence of facts. At the commencement of the war, England had a great number of allies: at the conclusion of peace she had not a single one. France, on the contrary, had to stand alone against all Europe, while every peace she concluded procured her alliances. May it not then be asked, of which nation the ambition is most fatal to other governments, whether that which had allies and lost them, without suspending the course of her conquests, or that who had no allies at the beginning of the war, and who, at the conclusion of the peace, had allies all over Europe?—A member of parliament asserted, that France had allies merely because she favoured their projects: it is impossible to reason more happily; for it is evident that every alliance between the greater states rests upon the reciprocal advantages which they can guarantee to each other: but it were vain to enquire what advantages could be procured and guaranteed to other nations by a people who avow that they fight only to promote their commerce. England stands out of the continent.—There let her remain.—Such is at present, and long will continue to be, the first principle of European policy.—We have proved that the English court alliances only for the purposes of enabling them to wage war, and that they insulate themselves with the view of making peace, while France supports war by her own strength, and seeks allies only to consolidate peace.—This difference of conduct, so honourable to the French nation, ought to regulate the policy of all the cabinets of Europe. We ought not, therefore, to be astonished at hearing England complain of not being able to find allies; it is the contrary which ought to excite our astonishment. At this moment it is important to examine what circumstances give rise to the agitation which distinguishes the English government, contrasted with that steadiness and security which marks the conduct of the government of France.—On this point we cannot do better than quote a passage from "Letters on England," a work written within the last six months. "To describe in "a word the actual situation of the French and "English, I would say, that abroad, as well as at "home, France finds her level, while this level is "sought for by England." This phrase contains the explanation of all the debates which have taken place in parliament. There is not an Englishman who does not feel that England has lost that ascendency in Europe which she had acquired before the revolution; and, through the fault of France, this ascendency was an usurpation. The English, however, enjoyed and exercised it with haughtiness. Even now they cannot make up their minds to give it up, while they admit they are not in a situation to recover it.—Hence all the contradictions observable in the speeches of their orators. One cries out, "We "are on the brink of destruction;" another affirms, that "Never did there exist greater security." The one deplores the ruin of the commerce of his country, while the other draws the most flattering picture of national prosperity. All bold sentiments, contrary to each other, and still all are in the right. The only subject of discussion is, to ascertain from what point they set, and whither they wish to advance. Those orators who regard England only as a *commercial power*, (if these two words can with propriety be united) are in the right when they describe it as in a state of prosperity, and that it has gained more than it has lost this war. Those speakers who dream that England had united glory and commerce together, reflect that a nation cannot without injury be robbed of its glory, and that it would have been better never to have adopted too lofty pretensions than to be obliged to relinquish them. Speakers holding this opinion see nothing in the future but disaster, and they may have reason for their opinion. Other speakers (for in England there are different descriptions), admitting that England has seen her consideration in Europe diminished, contend that this consideration is not absolutely necessary to the prosperity of a commercial (*marchands*) people, and that with a good grace they shall determine to yield to circumstances, they will find themselves freed from a very burthensome illusion. These also are in the right. But allowing all these different reasonings to be right, opinions are constantly floating, and the feelings of men are agitated; and if the English were weak enough to suffer themselves to be guided by those who now predict the ruin of their country, it would incontestibly be so in a very short time—for nothing is more fatal to a nation than high pretensions or haughtiness of spirit united to positive weakness. If to this agitation which prevails in England we compare the calm which reigns in France, how very striking is the contrast! Negotiations are continued and treaties executed: No dispute is carried on about our means, for they are ample. No one accuses those who made the peace, for all enjoy its blessings. No one provokes war, by accusations against England, because if it should become indispensable there would be no necessity to make allies to carry it on. No pains are taken before-hand to make it agreeable to the national feelings, because in France all wars are naturally national. In a word, there is no necessity for speeches to prepare them for the execution of the terms of the treaty, because France was so powerful as not to be under the smallest inducement to sign any treaties which she would not wish to execute, and because she had done, during war, all that England wished to have effected.—From all the speeches which have followed that of the king, the only positive inference which can be drawn is, that the English know not what it is to be contented with their situation, their commerce, or their government. Before meddling with the state of France, their orators ought therefore to come to something like an agreement about their own situation; for how can they hope that Europe can derive any instruction from their speculations on the future plan of the French government, if they have not been able to form a decided opinion respecting the past conduct of their own ministers?—Never did any minister, more than Mr. Pitt, employ young men, and men of no family consideration;—never did any minister render the spirit of commerce and stock-jobbing more predominant in a nation, possessing institutions opposite to democracy; and if he had governed the country for fifty years, never should

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we have any sentiments from him similar to those contained in the following extract from a speech of Mr. Fox.—"It is supposed that a numerous "description of persons are very ardent in their "wishes for the re-commencement of hostilities; "that this wish animates the principal commercial men in all the principal trading towns, but "more particularly those of the capital. I deny "it.—The hearts of English merchants glow with "too much generosity, too much patriotism, to "permit them to sacrifice the happiness of their "country to miserable speculations of sordid "interest, founded upon government contracts, "or any other means of enriching themselves by "the opportunities of a war. But, if this my "opinion of them were unfounded, I should feel "disposed to wish for the return of those heroic "follies which distinguished the heroes of ancient "times. If we are doomed to perish in order to "gratify the passions of the human heart, I "would rather their blood should flow to satiate "the romantic ambition of an Alexander, than to "swell the coffers of merchants, and of cold, unfeeling calculators."—Nothing is more unfounded than the supposition that Mr. Fox is desirous to return into office. The above sentiments fully prove the contrary. They will be looked upon as blasphemous in a country which Mr. Pitt has bowed down under a spirit of commerce. The preference which Mr. Fox gives to the follies of an Alexander may be justified by the following observation of Mr. Bolland, viz.—"Every nation "begins and revives under the tent; even those "who close their existence in the anti-chamber "and at the toilette. The same cannot safely be "said of those who end in attending the compter: "for history does not record one that has arisen "anew from such pursuits. It is nevertheless "under the controul of a commercial spirit that "economists would reduce the powers of Europe."—We have observed that Mr. Pitt did not possess an exclusive interest over the administration which bore his name. In order to understand the cause of the disagreements between him and Mr. Windham, it must be recollected that Mr. Windham is as extravagant in his ideas of glory, as Mr. Pitt is in his ideas of commerce; every thing that is stamped with a romantic character delights the former and disgusts the latter; one is seduced by the splendor of projects, the other by the speciousness of calculations. From the following passage in Mr. Windham's speech, may be collected his opinion of Mr. Pitt's financial system. —"Commerce and capital; these are the magic "words which enchant and re-assure our ministers and the greater part of the nation; but "France mean time prosecutes her views without "looking at any thing that merely resembles commerce, credit, &c. &c., and since the conclusion of the preliminaries, she has fitted out 18 "ships of the line," [Mr. Windham said 13 ships of war, 6 of the line, and 7 frigates,] "more than "10,000 tons of hemp have been imported from "the Baltic into her ports by English vessels. "Never, perhaps, was so great an expedition as "that to St. Domingo, fitted out in so short a "space of time; and, if public rumours may be "credited, a new expedition is preparing in the "ports of Holland, and all this is carried on with "exhausted means; and what is more deplorable, "it is British capital that supports all these expenses. It is supposed that France is willing "to permit us to run our commercial career, but "may not this grand edifice of public prosperity "be overturned by a breath of wind."—It appears, that the commercial and financial system has not turned Mr. Windham's head. He could rather see his country in possession of more glory, and of fewer bank notes. With such sentiments which do so much honour to the human heart, Mr. Windham has nevertheless proved a dangerous minister to his country; because he is violent in his pursuits, and not overguarded in his expressions. While drawing the picture of Europe, he has again offered insults to Russia, whom he should love; for in that empire there are no funded debts, and great things are atchieved without being instigated by a vote for public credit.—On this point he spoke as follows:—"Russia in her "extreme dominions bordering upon Asia, pre"sents nothing but a mass of rude, uncivilised "barbarism, unworthy to be compared with the "inhabitants of the French territory."—The Russians will not think themselves highly flattered by this compliment, and Mr. Windham must get into disgrace with all our philosophers who have proved, during the last century, that light broke in upon us from the north.—

When Sir F. Burdett called upon the House of Commons to explain what a Jacobin was, a member might have got up and answered, that a Jacobin was a hot-headed politician, who from the tribune insults these nations who will not submit to a foreign influence. Mr. Windham has moreover confessed, that the most enlightened men who have lately visited France, agree in saying, that not a thought is there now bestowed upon the *Rights of Man*. These speeches have further added, that the *destruction* of England, and the means of succeeding in that design, are now the only object of every thought. So far they have deceived Mr. Windham; and this is incontrovertibly proved by the conduct of the French government, who since the conclusion of peace have not uttered a single word hostile to that union which ought to prevail between the two nations. The same most assuredly cannot be said of England.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Alexandria, Oct. 18.—On the 16th, the Cornelle, a French ship of 44 guns, and a brig, arrived in the harbour of Alexandria. M. Sebastiani, a French envoy, is come in the ship. His arrival here has given rise to various conjectures. The common opinion is, that he has come for the purpose of establishing a consul here; but I should rather suspect that the French govt. wants to know what we are doing in this country, and what are our views in stopping in it so long.

Hague, Dec. 21.—The French Ambassador received, by two successive couriers last night, dispatches communicating the intentions of the French gov. in regard to Gen. Montrichard, lately appointed to the command of the French troops in this Republic. The purport of those dispatches bears, that Gen. Montrichard shall not place any garrison, nor take his head-quarters in the Hague; but shall fix his head-quarters at Breda only.—Cit. Victor, Capt.-Gen. of Louisiana, arrived here yesterday, with several officers who are there to serve under him. Cit. Semonville has been in conference with him for three hours together. Within about six weeks the Capt.-Gen. will proceed on his voyage with two demi-brigades of the French troops in the pay of this Republic. He is to sail with these forces from Helvoetsluys

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on board the two frigates La Furieuse and La Libre, with a corvette, and about ten transport ships. The Batavian gov. to which is confided the care of equipping these ships, and supplying them with the necessary stores, shews no great alacrity in the service. It will, however, be obliged to redouble its diligence: since the commander of the expedition has brought strict orders to this effect; and Cit. Victor is not a man to be trifled with in a matter of this sort. The Batavian gov. is now, in fact, more dependant than ever; and all its endeavours to procure the departure of the French troops, in the course of the current month, have proved ineffectual.

Vienna, Dec. 8.—The birth of the infant Archduke has been notified to the First Consul: the letter transmitted to him on this occasion, has the following address: "*Præclarissimo ac strenuissimo viro* "*Napoleoni Bonaparte, supremo Reipublicæ Gallorum* "*Consuli; amico nostro honoratissimo.*"—*Dec.* 20.—The last news received at Paris from Vienna expressly contradict the report that the supplementary indemnities to the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been finally agreed upon. The court of Vienna has not adopted the plan of the mediating powers. It has, on the contrary, proposed a different plan, which is now the subject of discussion, and will probably be, to a certain length, adopted. It appears certain, that Austria connects the negotiations upon this head with those for her claims on the Dutchy of Parma.

Stutgard, Dec. 12.—The celebrated Mr. Moore presented himself at the court of the Duke of Wurtemberg, who received him very ill, and caused him to be informed, that he (the Duke) was disposed to unite himself with France to maintain the peace of the continent, and to support the operations of the Diet at Ratisbon.—Mr. Moore, therefore, has not been more successful here than he was at Vienna, where the court, would not receive him. It is not probable that he will obtain more credit at Munich, at Carlsruhe or with the Elector of Hesse. The particular protection afforded at London, to a number of pamphlets which are published there against the King of Prussia, makes it probable that Mr. Moore would not meet with a very favourable reception at Berlin. It is even doubtful, whether he would be received at Hanover. He is thus reduced to drink Constance wine, which is certainly not so good as that of the Cape, until a new cargo of allies comes from the Indies, which will afford the means of making a small coalition.

Constance, Dec. 15.—Mr. Moore is here, and has frequent conferences with Gen. Baehmann. Some troops have been enrolled, which have been put on half-pay. Mr. Moore has sent a man of the name of Rochat to London. The Landvogt Wagner is at Constance, and has frequent conferences with Mr. Moore. The latter lives very retired. Capt. Verdmeiller is enlisting men for England. Some difficulties have arisen between him and those who recruit for Austria. Mr. Moore is president of the committee at Constance; it is composed of Gen. Bachmann, Capt. Wagner, of Berne, Capt. Verdmeiller, of Zurich, Lieut. Bravor, Gen. Rauresan, and two Englishmen, besides some Emigrants of the army of Condé, who reside near Constance. Madame Diesbach, the wife of Diesbach who was sent away from Paris, also belongs to the committee. It meets at Mr. Fingerlin's. Mr. Moore, wishing to repair to Vienna with a special commission from the Govt. that court signified to him, that it did not intend to re-engage in a contest which would embroil the whole world, and would be attended with the most momentous consequences; and that it was therefore useless in Mr. Moore to wish to repair thither. He is in consequence gone to Constance, where he awaits fresh orders from his Government.

Paris, Dec. 23.—Two English travellers lately presented themselves before the Mayor of Orleans. One of them was in liquor, and conducted himself in a most indecent manner, and was guilty of such excesses, that the Lieut. of the Gendarmerie was under the necessity of arresting him. The person arrested immediately complained to Lord Whitworth, who, concerned at the misconduct of the Englishman, and struck with the moderate proceedings of the prefect, wrote to that magistrate a most polite letter, in which he requests him (notwithstanding the dissatisfaction he might feel upon this occasion) to continue to treat his countrymen with that politeness which is peculiar to him. The conduct of the ambassador is certainly very different from that of the member of parliament who wished to have the prefect of the police at Paris brought to the bar of the House of Commons, because he arrested Capt. D'Auvergne. The inquiry which it was proposed to make upon this subject, is only worthy of the little theatres on the Boulevards.

DOMESTIC.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 15.—LORDS.—The order of the day was moved for the House to go into a committee on the Malt Bill. Earl Spencer in a speech of considerable length, opposed its commitment; his lordship was followed by Lord Suffolk, the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Carlisle and Darnley, Lord Carysfort, the Duke of Norfolk, Lords Grenville, Pelham, Minto, and Thurlow. [*A correct report of this important debate will be found in our Supplement.*]—The order of the day was afterwards read, and the bill passed through a committee.

COMMONS.—Report of the committee appointed to examine the produce of the land revenues of the Crown brought up—Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Irish Militia Act of last session.—Mutiny Bill read a second time.—Mr. Burdon presented a petition from South Shields, against the Tonnage Act.—Irish Militia Bill read a second time.—On the motion of Lord Yarmouth, the papers presented to the House, Nov. 29, from the London Dock Company, were ordered to be printed.—Navy Bills Bill read a third time and passed.—Report of the committee on the Irish Malt Prohibition Bill brought up.—Report of the committee respecting the Drawbacks on Sugar agreed to, and bill ordered to be brought up.—Woollen Manufacture Bill read a second time.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 16.—LORDS.—The bills before the House were forwarded in their respective stages, and some private business was disposed of.

COMMONS.—A petition from the Malsters of Henley was presented against the Wetting Bill.—The Militia Exemption Amendment Bill read a first time.—Report of the committee on the Expiring Laws, containing a *resolution for continuing the laws respecting the trade and geographical situation of Malta*, brought up, and a bill for continuing those laws relating to Malta, read a first time.—Mr. Sheridan moved "that there be laid before the "House copies of all the correspondence since the

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"26th March 1800 between the Governor General "and the Governor and Council of Madras, relative to the deposition of the Nabob of Oude, "the minutes of the proceedings of Council on "the same, the instructions from the Ministers at "home respecting that event; a copy of the will "of the late Nabob's father, faithfully translated "from the Persian records; the correspondence "between the late Nabob and the English Government, &c. &c." Agreed to.—Dublin Bakers' Bill read a third time and passed.—Irish Militia Pay, and Irish Sugar Drawback Bill, read a first time.—In a committee of the House on the Bill for correcting Abuses in the Navy, the names of the intended commissioners were read, and are as follow: Vice-Admiral Sir C. Pole, Hugh Leicester, Esq. Evan Law, Esq. John Ford, Esq. and Henry Hunter, Esq.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 17.—LORDS.—Royal Assent given to the Malt Tax, the Exchequer Bills, the Annual Indemnity, the Place and Pension Duty, the Irish Militia, and the Small Notes Bills, and also two private bills.—Counsel heard on the Scotch Appeal, Irving *v.* Rollo.

COMMONS.—Petitions were presented from the Chemists of Exeter against the Medicine Act, and from the Malsters of Abingdon against the Malt Duty Bill.—Report of Woollen Trade and Corn Importation Bill brought up and agreed to.—Report of the committee on the trade to Malta brought up, and the blank filled up with the words "the 1st Jan. 1804."—Mr. Tierney presented a petition from a Mr. Martin, an American Loyalist, praying for relief.—A petition from the Ship-owners of North Shields, against the Tonnage Duty, was also presented.—Felons Transportation Bill read a third time.—Report of Navy Abuse Bill brought up and read.—English Sugar Bill passed though a committee.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 18.—COMMONS.—English Militia Amendment Bill read a first time, and Woollen Manufacture obsolete Law read a third time and passed.—Capt. Markham moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for "appointing Commissioners to enquire into abuses of the Navy." After several alterations it was passed, and Capt. Markham was ordered to carry it to the Lords.—The Malta Bill was read a third time and passed.

MONDAY.—*Dec.* 20.—LORDS.—The Decree of the Court of Sessions in the Scotch Appeal, Graham *v.* Henderson, was ordered to be confirmed.—Navy Abuse Bill, and five other Bills read a first time.

COMMONS.—An account of all the flax and flaxen yarn imported into G. Britain for 10 years ending 1st Jan. 1802, distinguishing the quantities of each year, and the several countries from whence imported, was ordered to be laid upon the table.—The English Militia Amendment Bill and Sugar Bounty Bill were read a third time, and passed.—Sir Francis Burdett complained of a breach of the privileges of the House. The complaint stated that, in the *True Briton*, a publication, in the shape of a letter, had appeared from Wm. Mainwaring, Esq. calling for support in the prosecution of a petition presented in his behalf against the return of Sir Francis for Middlesex; Sir Francis concluded his complaint with moving several resolutions, which, together with the debate that ensued, will be found at length in the *Supplement*. The House passed to the order of the day.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, which was brought up and agreed to.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 21.—LORDS.—Godmanchester Inclosure Bill and Navy Abuse Bill read a second time.

COMMONS.—The Attorney General presented a petition from the Agents of Mr. Willmins (who had presented a petition, complaining of an undue election for Tregony) praying that the time for entering into the recognizance be enlarged. A similar petition was also presented from Mr. Concannon, who had not entered into a recognizance for prosecuting his petition respecting an undue election for Seaford. Both the motions were negatived.—Mr. Corry moved for an account of the Ordinary Revenues and Extraordinary Resources of Ireland, from March 25, 1799, to March 25, 1800, and also an account of the same from March 25, 1800, to Jan. 1, 1801, the day of the commencement of the Union; and from the 1st Jan. 1801 to the 5th Jan. 1802.—Irish Sugar Bounty Bill read a third time and passed.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 22.—LORDS.—The order of the day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a committee, upon the Navy Abuse Bill, after a short discussion, and receiving some amendments, the clauses and provisions of the bill were agreed to.—A few private orders were disposed of, and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 23.—LORDS.—The report of the Navy Abuse Bill was received, and the amendments made in the committee were confirmed.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 24.—LORDS.—Navy Abuse Bill read a third time and passed, and the various bills before the House forwarded in their respective stages.

MONDAY, *Dec.* 27.—LORDS.—The Act "to suspend until the 1st of July 1803, proceedings under certain Acts relating to the Woollen Manufacture" was read a second time.—The Lord Chancellor submitted the proposition relative to the judgment of the House on the Scotch Appeal, Kinnaird *v.* Matthewson, the effect of which was, to affirm in part the decision of the Court below, and to remit the remainder for further consideration. Ordered.—The Remembrancer of the City of London, presented at the bar, several accounts directed to be laid before Parliament, relative to the Wet Docks and other works carrying on in the Isle of Dogs.

COMMONS.—New writs ordered for Harwich, in the room of J. Robinson, Esq. deceased, and for Gatton, in the room of J. Dashwood, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. The House proceeded to take into consideration the amendments made by the Lords in the bill for the appointment of commissioners to enquire into the abuses in the Navy, and the business of Prize-agency. Amendments agreed to, and bill ordered to be carried to the Lords.—Land Commissioners Bill was read a second time, and the Knights of the Shire directed to give in lists of the proper persons to act as commissioners.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 29.—LORDS.—His Majesty's Commission having duly read, the Lord Chancellor informed both Houses, that in obedience to His Majesty's commands, that they, the Lords Commissioners, declared His Majesty's Royal Assent to the several public and private Acts mentioned in the said commission. The Royal Assent was also notified to eighteen public and private Bills. Among the former were the Navy Abuses, the Transport Bills; the Sugar Duties Drawback, the Militia Regulation, the British and Irish Militia

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bills, the Felons Transportation, and the Dublin Baking Trade Bills.—The House then adjourned untill the 3d of Feb.

COMMONS.—Mr. Sargent moved, that a new writ be issued for Bosscany in Cornwall, in the room of J. H. Addington, Esq. who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the House should adjourn to the 3d of Feb. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham were of opinion, that at a period when the country was admitted on all hands to be in a state of unexampled danger, an adjournment for so long a time was highly improper. Mr. Addington replied, the motion was agreed to, and the House adjourned to the 3d of Feb.—[*The Speeches of Messrs. Elliot, Windham, and Addington will be found in our Supplement.*]

From the London Gazette.—Whitehall, Dec. 25.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Reverend John Wingfield, Doctor in Divinity, the Place and Dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of his Majesty's Cathedral Church of Worcester, void by the resignation of the Reverend Charles Talbot, late one of the Prebendaries thereof.—*Stockholm, Dec. 3.*—The Queen of Sweden was last night safely delivered of a Son. Her Majesty is as well as can be expected, and the young Prince is in perfect health.—*Vienna, Dec. 7.*—This afternoon her Imperial Majesty was safely delivered of a Son.

Bankrupts.—Pearson, J. Selby, grocer.—Severey, J. Scarborough, vintner.—Lane, B. Birchin-lane, ensurer.—Hill, G. Oxford-street, linen draper.—Rishman, J. C. Bridge-street, mercer.—Sturrock, J. Abingdon-street, master mariner.—Nash, T. Warwick-street, plumber and glazier.—Fisher, J. Briestfield, white clothier.—Hughes, R. Noble-street, warehouseman.—Forth, N. Kirby Moorside, druggist.—Lowe, J. Liverpool, tanner.—Smalley, J. Ellison, Wm. and R. Walmesley, Blackburn, cotton-manufacturers.

Births.—On Sunday last, at Broomfield House, Clapham Common, the Lady of W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. of a son.—*Deaths.*—On Monday, at her house in Argyle-street, Viscountess Bateman.—Lately, Rear-Admiral Samuel Graves.—On the 23d inst. at his seat near Harwich, J. Robinson, Esq. M. P. for that Borough.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.
Bank Stock	187	—	—	—	187	—
3 pr. C. R. An.	71⅛	—	—	—	71⅛	71⅛
3 per C. Con.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 pr. C. Con.	85⅛	—	—	—	86⅛	86
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	20 5/16	—	—	—	20⅜	20 5/16
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	4¼	—
5 per Ct. 1797	101¼	—	—	—	101¼	101¼
Omnium	4½ dis	—	—	—	3½ dis	4½ dis

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	42s. to 58s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 278s
Rye	35 .. 39	Hay per load	80 .. 150
Barley	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt	40 .. 46	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s 6d.
Oats	16 .. 24	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 4d.
Pease (white)	40 .. 43	Pork	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack	40 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cwt	33⅓s.
Seconds	40 .. 44	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10d.
Coals per chal.	43 .. 49	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The moment the disgraceful terms of the Preliminaries of Peace were known, and the more disgraceful principle which yielded to those terms was considered, that very moment, or, to speak with a literal adherence to the fact, in thirteen days afterwards, we asserted, that, "in future, Europe would become to this country as "much a *terra incognita* as the ideal conti-"nent in the South Seas." When we wrote this, it was impossible for us to foresee, it was, indeed, impossible for us to imagine, that the ministers, the very same ministers who then made a merit of abandoning the Continent, and whose pharisaical mob-courting partizans represented them as "too honest" to have any connections therewith, we could not conceive it possible that these ministers, contradictory as their measures had been, would, in less than twelve months from that time, send a sort of itinerant envoy to solicit connexions with the courts of the Continent, with the people of that *terra incognita*. Mr. Moore, whose happy return to England we announced in our last (p. 849) has, it seems, been on a voyage of discovery, and has been treated with much about the same hospitality that Captain Cook met with, at last, in the *Friendly* Islands.

The Moniteur, who is extremely jocular upon this subject, seems to have dogged poor Mr. Moore from place to place, till it saw him fairly off the Continent. If we are to believe the Moniteur (and, in this instance, we are afraid its statements are but too correct) the courts of Vienna, Stutgard, Munich, Carlesruhe, and Cassel, all turned with contempt from the English envoy; and, indeed, had that envoy been the representative of the Hawkesburies and Addingtons only, we should say that those courts did well; but we cannot but lament, that our sovereign and our country should be thus exposed to insult and reproach; that England, whose friendship has heretofore been courted, whose name was wont to inspire such confidence, should now be so loathed and despised.—The account which the Moniteur gives of the peregrination of Mr. Moore *may* be false; but, until the object of his mission be known, until some sort of explanation be given by our ministers, who can contradict the Moniteur? The French government knows well that they *dare* not give that explanation; and, in the mean time, it is turning their silence to excellent profit. In fact, this mission of Mr. Moore seems to be the finishing stroke to

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their character: it has discovered to the world, that they retain a desire, after having abandoned the right, to interfere in the affairs of the Continent; that they wish to effect, by intrigue, designs which they have not the firmness to attempt openly, nor even to avow. *Intrigue*, indeed! They are finely calculated for circumventing Buonaparté! We have no very great opinion of their courage, but infinitely less of their diplomatic address, which, we dare say, is very far surpassed by that of the door-keepers of Talleyrand's office.*

Agreeably to our promise, we insert p. 875, the Article from the Moniteur, on which we bestowed some comments in our last Summary (p. 859.) The description of parties, with which this article begins, is almost entirely false; and, we are sorry we cannot say as much with respect to some other passages, levelled against the conduct of this country. The king's speech certainly hints, that England ought to have continential connexions, and upon this the Moniteur very justly points out the inconsistency of such a notion on the part of those who, "in concluding the peace, laid it down as a principle that all continental connexions were burthensome." It next observes, that "none of the English orators have explained, why England pretended to insulate herself from the Continent, in making peace, and why she *now* wishes to re-establish her influence there;" this, therefore, the Moniteur kindly undertakes to do for the convenience and use of the powers of Europe. "England," it says, "inveigles other powers to join her in war; she makes conquests during that war; she refuses to treat with her allies; but, at last, makes a separate peace, with all the advantages of a power that has made conquests, while she sacrifices the powers, who, at her instigation, had taken up arms." Such is the substance of the charge against this country; and, though it is in part unfounded, we are afraid, that, when the nations of Europe look at the situation of the Stadtholder, of the King of Sardinia, and of Portugal, reflecting, at the same time, that our "too honest" ministers boast of having acquired by the war Ceylon and Trinidad, the verdict, the universal verdict, will be against us.—"England," says our master, "is out of the Continent:—there let her remain:—Such is at present, and will continue to be, the first principle of European policy." This is truth. We may talk about *looking* at the Continent, *keeping our eye* upon the Continent: we may look till our eyes ache; set a foot on it, or enjoy any influence in its cabinets, we fear we never shall again, till after some dreadful shock has renovated the vigour of this nation. The gross misrepresentation which this article of the Moniteur contains, respecting some part of a speech of Mr. Windham, was noticed in our last (p. 860). It further observes, that Mr. Windham is greatly *deceived* in believing, that the destruction of England is the object of France; in proof of which it states, that "the French government *has* "*not uttered a word of hostility against England* "*since the peace!!!*" But, perhaps, it does not conceive, that calling our king *a rewarder of assassins* ought to be regarded as *hostile to England?* Indeed, if the conduct and language of our ministers are the criterion of our feelings, nothing short of absolute blows can be looked upon as hostile. Returning to Mr. Windham:—it is curious enough to hear the Moniteur, that is to say, Buonaparté and his associates, it is curious to hear *them* expressing their fears that Mr. Windham should come into power, lest it should prove *injurious to England*. How good they are! How kindly anxious for our welfare! As the wolves said to the sheep: "Send away that suspicious growling dog "that we may live together in harmony and "love;" a proposition which seems, indeed, to have been heartily approved of by that sheep-like senator, whom the public papers represent as having said, "that he "wished to see *no change of ministry*; because, "as the present ministers were known to "be of a *pacific disposition*, if they were changed, such change might furnish a neighbouring power with a *pretext for going to war* "*with us*." And thus the nation *moutonière* are to be led to the slaughter; nor have we any scruple to assert, that a people, amongst whom a sentiment so base as this can prevail, is formed to bend, and bend it must, beneath a foreign yoke. In speaking of the project of Mr. Fox (p. 344) for forcing himself into the ministry, we said: "only let "the people (in their present degraded temper) be thoroughly convinced, that your "exaltation is absolutely *necessary to the preservation of peace*, and the Hawkesburies "will be summoned to surrender their places, upon precisely the same principle as "that on which they surrendered Malta "and the Cape." Speaking, on another occasion, of the commendations which Buonaparté had bestowed on "the present *pre-*

* See the Article about Mr. Moore, p. 886.

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ir ministers," and on the change of tone hich those commendations produced, we served (p. 575) "This is *now* the altered tone of the *prudent* ministers; the *safe* politicians; the men with an *hereditary disposition to office*. They have long been aware of a design to supplant them: they know, that there is another set of statesmen working day and night to prevail on Mr. Pitt to cut off the thread of their existence; but, *with Buonaparté at their back*, they might bid defiance to the fatal sisters themselves." his opinion is now fully verified: Buonaparte, in several articles of the Moniteur, has care to give us to understand, that approves of our present Ministers, and disapproves of those who may be looked upon as likely, in case of change, to succeed them: "WE have *too good an opinion* of the *present* ministry, to believe that they would continue to follow that *abominable* system which was pursued with so much activity by *Lord Grenville* and his colleagues." By not Mr. *Pitt* and his colleagues? It remarkable, that Messrs *Pitt* and *Dundas* not loaded with the hatred of Buonaparté, the whole honour of which is believed in Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, who may well say to him, in the language of St. Bruno to the fiend, "thy curses are a blessing." The ministers, indeed, do not think them so: they like, they seek, his applause: they feel the want of his "good opinion:" they know that it would, even in spite of Mr. Pitt, keep them in their places: they think with pride that they have no dangerous rival but Mr. Fox; and, we desire our readers to observe, with what eagerness and anxiety they are endeavouring to show, that Mr. Fox has no feeling with respect to Buonaparté which they do not amply participate. In short, we may yet affect to call ourselves independent, we may yet affect to *triumph* in the comparison between our situation and that of Holland and Spain; but, he who looks well into that situation, will find no cause for triumph. We some time ago warned our countrymen not to laugh at the poor Swiss being ordered to repair to Paris, in order to know the pleasure of Buonaparte with respect to their constitution: "Laugh them not," (said we, p. 729) neither laugh them not, nor their Consulta; for, be you well assured, that, unless a great and speedy change takes place in the policy and conduct of this government, there will be a *British* Consulta at Paris before this day two years." Little did we then imagine, that the Citizen General Ney was, at that moment, saying nearly the same thing in Switzerland. "Il y a," said he to the Swiss, at Berne, "des gens parmi "vous, qui veulent établir l'ancien regime: "cela ne convient pas au Premier Consul. "Des puissances étrangères s'y melent; mais "cela lui est indifferent: ses grandes victoires "le mettent au dessus d'elles; et s'il le trouve "apropos, *elles viendront à Paris recevoir ses* "*ordres!*" * England alone had attempted to interfere; and, therefore, to England alone this insolent intimation applies. Such is the answer to the ministerial *remonstrance* "in behalf of the injured Swiss:" such is the reply to the ministerial declaration, that they "would *not suffer* Buonaparte to de-"stroy the independence of Switzerland!"

We have heard, that the ministers are about to grve up Malta; and the pretext is, we are told, that Russia has, at last, accepted of the *guarantee*, which word, in the general change that has been made in the political dictionary, signifies no more than a mere recognition or acknowledgment. There are, however, it seems, two or three exceptions made by Russia, in the present instance. Amongst these, perhaps, is the quality of paramount sovereignty, which has, for ages, belonged to Naples. Then, it is said, that the garrison is to consist of Neapolitan troops, but that these troops are to be *paid* by France and Britain; that is to say, of course, Britain alone *is to pay a garrison which will, in fact, be under the command of France!*—Oh, the "*prudent* ministers!" Oh, the "*safe* politicians!"

Since the notice, which was given by Dr. Laurence, of a motion to be made, after the recess, relative to the ill-treatment of Capt. D'Auvergne, the ministers have caused the following paragraphs to be inserted in their demi-official paper, the True Briton: "We have been *delicate* about stating any "thing respecting the affair of Capt. D'Auvergne, Duke of Bouillon, as a notice has "been given respecting it in the House of "Commons. Thus much, however, we "believe we may say, that *a proper representation* has been made to the French government respecting it, and we have no "doubt but that every *reasonable* satisfaction "will be obtained." (*True Briton*, 18 *Dec.*

* "There are some among you who wish to es-"tablish the antient government. This does not "suit the First Consul. Foreign powers interfere "in your concerns; this is indifferent to him. "His great victories have made him their supe-"rior; and if it hereafter suits his convenience, "*they will repair to Paris to receive his orders.*"

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"As this subject" [that of the treatment of Capt. D'Auvergne] "is *now* before the go-"vernment, we abstain from making any "further remarks upon it at present."—To say nothing of the insult to Capt. D'Auvergne and to the House of Commons, what a shameful attempt is here made to impose upon the public. A "*proper* representation" has *now* been made:—the subject "is *now* "in the hands of government!" Why *now?* Why *now!* It was in the hands of government long *before* Dr. Lawrence gave his notice. Mr. Merry dispatched an express to London to inform the ministers of it. They were, more than two months ago put in possession of the subject in the most regular and authentic way; and, now, behold, when they are called upon by a member of Parliament to account for the neglect of their duty, for the scandalous prostration of the honour of the country, the moment they are put upon that responsibility, which belongs to their situation, which attaches to all their words and actions, they begin to anticipate, through the means of their hireling news-papers, that discussion, which they well know they are not able fairly to meet.

The close of the parliamentary proceedings, previous to the adjournment, which has now taken place, have sufficiently demonstrated, the wavering councils, the opposite factions, the imbecility and want of union, which form the leading features of the present "*prudent* and *safe* administra-"tion." Two bills have been brought forward by the ministers themselves, which have both been defeated by their own awkward intrigues and inconsistency. To make this clear, we will endeavour just to shew the object of these two bills, and the fatal consequences, which are likely to arise to the nation at large from such drivelling folly.—The first, in its outward appearance, bore every mark of a wise and laudable measure: it proposed to rectify all the abuses in the Naval Department, and to place the future distribution of prizes on a better footing: it came into the world with honesty written on its front, and, therefore, notwithstanding its progenitor, every honest man was its friend. We ourselves were amongst its advocates, and we expressed our wish, that the same sort of vigilance might be extended to the General Post-Office. But, when we came to examine the measure more closely, and to make those enquiries, which, on such a subject, it was our duty to make, we found but too much reason to fear, that what we had mistaken for almost an excess of disinterestedness and patriotism, was, in reality, the last effort of vexation, arising from disappointed endeavours to remove a most deserving officer from the head of the navy board, in order to put one of the first lord's own creatures in his stead. This bill, however, was framed with so little knowledge of the fundamental laws of the country, and with so little communication with the law-officers of the crown; it was so secretly formed, and so studiously kept from the knowledge of the other members of the cabinet, that, when it made its appearance in Parliament, not only every lawyer in the lower House gave his opinion against it, but even the Attorney and Solicitor-General differed most widely in their construction of its clauses; and the most eminent professional men, friends to the minister, and pensioned by the crown, withdrew their support, upon the ground of the measure being too strong. Under these discordant opinions the bill was pared down; the most exceptionable clauses were struck out, and various amendments were made. It passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords. Here a most curious scene took place. Two of the Cabinet ministers, one of which was the Chancellor himself, declared it (and with great truth) to be the most arbitrary and unconstitutional attempt, that ever had been made. They struck out several parts, including even some of the *amendments* made by the Commons, erased the whole of the compulsory clause, substituted in its stead another, which reduced the bill to a nullity, and, in this shape, they sent it back to the lower House.—That the bill, in its present state, cannot answer the intention, or, at least, the professed intention, of the first Lord of the Admiralty, is pretty clear, because the commissioners possess no power to extort confession from supposed delinquents; and, therefore, as to any purpose of *public* utility, it might as well never have passed. But, it answers another sort of purpose full as well as it could possibly have done, had it never passed through the hands of the Chancellor, and had been adopted, in all its parts:—it provides for five friends of the immaculate Chancellor of the Exchequer, which five friends will, in all human probability, receive a handsome remuneration for travelling to the different ports, for holding committees, and for doing, in those committees, nothing at all. Nor is this the only evil that the public will feel on this account: clerks, stationary, lodgings, messengers, and the whole endless train of concomitant ex-

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penses, are to be defrayed, and the nation will thus have to pay about £12,000, or, perhaps, £14,000 a year for feasting Mr. Addington's friends, without even the possibility of reaping a single six-pence worth of benefit from their exertions. To suspect Mr. Addington of a *job* after his public prosecution of the foolish tinman of Plymouth for offering him a bribe, would be too presumptuous: after such a striking proof, not only of his purity, but also of his magnanimity, no one could suspect it. If it is not a job, however, it is so much like a job, that an uninformed person might possibly take it for one, and the very selection of the commissioners might, probably, be assigned as a reason for this mistake. In the first place, it is no very great compliment to the naval service to skip over *seventy* senior admirals to come at SIR C. POLE (who is to be chairman of this commission), eight of which admirals are members of parliament, and each individual of them is, in every particular, full as well qualified for the post as Admiral Pole. But, SIR C. POLE is the *intimate friend of the Richmond-Park Minister*.—The second is a Welsh judge and a barrister of considerable practice. It cannot, therefore, be supposed, that he can so far neglect his own avocations and emoluments in Westminster Hall (to say nothing of the time spent in his judicial circuit), as to attend this board continually, as its legal mentor:—but he is "a friend of THE *Fa-*" *mily*." The third, MR. LAW, is a brother-in-law of one of the Lords of the Admiralty (while another of those Lords is a brother-in-law of Mr. Addington), whose feelings must be hurt, if his relation should be examined before this tribunal, and, therefore, he is very improperly placed there. If, however, no such feelings exist, the word job does not seem very inapplicable to the appointment. The fourth is a MR. FORD; and here we should have been totally at a loss to know what to say, had we not, after many baffled inquiries, at last, fortunately succeeded in discovering, that this gentleman has the all-compensating recommendation of being "a friend of THE "*Family*;" and, lest that general term should not be understood by those of our readers who live at a distance from the town of Reading, in the county of Berks, be it known, that "THE *Family*" means the illustrious family of the Addingtons, and that this Mr. Ford is the younger son of Mr. Ford, the celebrated Accoucheur! If this does not savour of a job, at least it smells very strongly of *the shop*.—The fifth is CAPTAIN NICHOLLS, a most worthy officer, whose name appears to have been inserted through mere shame, and fear of reproach; for, as the bill originally stood, only one sea-officer was nominated, a circumstance, which was noticed by Lord Temple, and, therefore, amended by the insertion of Captain Nicholls's name.—So much for that purity and economy, that desire to correct and reform, which have been held forth as the qualities and motives of the measure in question.—It has been said (and with no small degree of confidence) that this can be no job, because *no fixed salary* is attached to the commission: as if the commissioners would be more independent and upright, because they are to depend for a remuneration upon the breath of those, who have appointed them, and who may, without any great violence to the laws of probability, be supposed very likely to proportion the reward to the degree of submission which the commissioners may show to their will.*—Before we quit this subject we must just notice two facts, which have come to our knowledge, and which will enable our readers to form some judgment of the much-boasted *public spirit* and *economy* of the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Builder of Plymouth might be guilty of crimes: the necessity for dismissing him might be evident enough; but the necessity of replacing him (contrary to all the long-established rules of the dock-yards) by a man who had never been in the King's service, does not appear quite so evident, until we find his successor to be Mr. Tucker, brother to Lord St. Vincent's late confidential secretary, who is now a Commissioner of the Navy.—So much for *public spirit!*—This Mr. Tucker, the new Builder, was attending the Lords of the Admiralty in their late examination at Plymouth, when Lord St. Vincent desired him, with a view *to save expense*, to send out the ship Mars without repairing her. Mr. Tucker readily complied, though against the advice and remonstrances of all the persons of experience in the yard. The ship was forced out, and her *back broken*; to repair which will cost not less than *four thousand pounds*:—So much for *economy!*

The second bill, which has again discovered the rent in that wretched piece of patch-work, the present "*prudent* ministry," is of

* It is worthy of remark, that Lord St. Vincent, though quite well enough to do business at the Admiralty, never came to Parliament to defend his own bill.

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far greater magnitude, as the blunders, delays, and want of concert, which have occurred in its progress, will not only be attended with a most heavy and unnecessary expence to a considerable portion of the manufacturers of the kingdom; but, may, eventually, contribute towards putting a stop to our greatest article of trade, and transfer that trade, in part, at least, to the hands of the French republic. Indeed, so flagrant has been the mismanagement in this instance, that persons unaware of the incapacity of the ministers even in the most ordinary concerns, would really believe, that the sacrifice of our woollen trade was to be one of the many humiliating concessions, which are yet to be made to the First Consul, in order to insure to us the blessings of that peace, which, "under Divine Providence," Mr. Addington was (as he told the jigging misses and negus-swigging fidlers of Reading) "the "humble instrument of obtaining for his "country."—But to the point:—The object of the bill, of which we are now speaking, was, to suspend the operation of certain obsolete, or, at least, ancient, acts of parliament, passed in the infancy of our clothing trade, when the manufacture itself, as well as the commerce in it, were totally different from those of the present day; and, therefore, those acts are not only inapplicable, at present, but they actually subject the manufacturer to the forfeiture of many of the sorts of cloths now made, if he attempt (as he daily does) to export them. There are several other regulations, in these old acts, relative to apprentices, &c. which it is impossible to enforce, without utter ruin to the cloth manufactory. Yet, these laws, as in the case of the non-residence of the clergy, have furnished a handle for informers to an amazing extent. The consequence of this is not only a stagnation of work, but an absolute suspense of a considerable portion of the export of our great staple manufacture. The weavers, who are subject to penalties and harassing prosecutions in this country, must and will seek for employment elsewhere; and, though the evil may not become extensive in a short space of time, there is no doubt but *Louviers, Abeville*, and all the First Consul's clothing towns, will be ready to receive them with open arms *. To prevent this, the treasury themselves brou in a temporary bill of suspension, whi was passed, without a single objecti through the House of Commons. But, as it were doomed, that no one act of t miserable ministry should pass without blunder; as if Providence, in order to p nish them for their vanity and presumptio had resolved to make themselves alone t instruments of their downfall, no co sultation, no intercourse, no commu cation upon the subject had taken pl amongst them; and when this necessa this important, this urgent bill, was c ried to the Lord's by the secretary of t Treasury, the Chancellor and one of t Secretaries of State appeared its ostensi and determined opponents! We are f from imputing any blame to these two m honourable men, whom we have alw lamented to see in such company. A suspending ten or a dozen laws was no pass a Chancellor before he had had time consider of its provisions.—Another insta of this sort was observable in the ans which Lord Pelham gave, relative to C D'Auvergne, as noticed in p. 797. It was dent to every one, that his lordship had *been made acquainted* with the real state that case.—Such, then, are some amon the more recent proofs of the weakness incapacity of the Richmond-Park mini "A house divided against itself ca "stand;" and that this sort of one may must, we think, be the sincere praye every man in the world, except Boonap and the "friends of THE *family*."

Mr. J. H. Addington has accepted of Chiltern Hundreds, and we most sincer wish that *hundreds* may be all he has in v We sometime ago jokingly proposed, Mr. Hely should be put to school, to pr him for the Bishoprick of Durham, w is universally allowed to be the best in England; and we are really half a that "the family" has taken the hint.

* The Spaniards have been, as we long ago foretold they would be, forbidden, to sell their wool to the English.—We shall give a detailed account of this in our next.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. COBBETT's long-promised letter to WILBERFORCE was ready for insertion, but obliged once more to give way to the Ionian Standard.—Several Correspondents shall be tended to in our next.—This Number clos SECOND VOLUME, the Supplement and Ind which will be published on the 15th of Janu

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SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. II.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Summary of the Abstract of the Answers and Returns, made pursuant to an Act, passed in the 41st Year of his Majesty King George III. entitled, "An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and the Increase or Diminution thereof."

SUMMARY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

COUNTIES.	HOUSES.			PERSONS.		OCCUPATIONS.			TOTAL OF PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufacture, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the Two preceding Classes.	
Bedford	11,888	13,980	185	30,523	32,870	18,766	13,816	28,789	63,393
Berks	20,573	23,416	622	52,821	56,394	38,155	16,921	51,463	109,215
Buckingham	20,443	23,384	543	52,094	55,350	25,083	20,138	54,959	107,444
Cambridge	16,139	19,262	312	44,081	45,265	28,054	11,988	46,369	89,346
Chester	34,482	37,613	1,439	92,759	98,992	38,823	67,447	83,031	191,751
Cornwall	32,906	39,040	1,472	89,868	98,401	42,687	24,870	111,276	188,269
Cumberland	21,573	25,893	872	54,377	62,853	21,062	18,387	75,978	117,230
Derby	31,822	33,660	1,369	79,401	81,741	31,743	39,516	88,768	161,142
Devon	57,955	72,559	3,235	157,240	185,761	96,208	60,844	185,835	343,001
Dorset	21,437	24,142	825	53,667	61,652	28,204	22,259	63,422	115,319
Durham	27,195	38,109	1,171	74,770	85,591	18,217	25,208	104,146	160,361
Essex	38,371	46,784	1,027	111,356	115,081	65,174	25,283	132,993	226,437
Gloucester	46,457	55,133	1,715	117,180	133,629	49,420	49,645	143,437	250,869
Hereford	17,003	18,822	941	43,955	45,236	31,261	8,588	48,857	89,191
Hertford	17,681	20,092	491	48,063	49,514	20,611	12,861	62,888	97,577
Huntingdon	6,841	8,150	135	18,521	19,047	9,536	4,484	20,565	37,568
Kent	51,585	65,967	1,413	151,374	156,250	54,124	43,265	198,616	307,624
Lancaster	114,270	132,147	3,394	322,350	350,375	52,018	269,259	318,712	672,731
Leicester	25,992	27,967	742	63,943	66,138	23,823	42,036	55,334	130,081
Lincoln	41,395	42,629	1,094	102,445	106,112	60,584	24,20[illegible]	119,266	208,557
Middlesex	112,912	199,854	5,171	373,665	444,474	13,417	162,260	620,009	818,129
Monmouth	8,948	9,903	417	22,173	23,409	12,871	5,540	25,217	45,582
Norfolk	47,617	57,930	1,523	129,842	143,529	61,791	38,181	160,313	273,371
Northampton	26,665	29,361	736	63,417	68,344	29,303	31,426	60,563	131,757
Northumberland	26,518	35,503	1,534	73,357	83,744	23,190	25,738	100,285	157,101
Nottingham	25,611	30,081	542	68,558	71,702	23,904	35,513	74,585	140,350
Oxford	20,599	23,750	594	53,786	55,834	33,109	16,346	57,650	109,629
Rutland	3,274	3,563	87	7,978	8,378	3,995	1,923	10,438	16,356
Salop	31,182	34,501	939	82,56	85,076	45,046	35,535	70,504	167,639
Somerset	48,040	57,013	2,1[illegible]	126,927	146,823	61,434	54,[illegible]53	164,032	273,750
Southampton	38,345	45,331	912	105,667	113,989	50,696	30,3[illegible]	112,599	219,656
Stafford	45,198	48,185	1,995	118,[illegible]96	12[illegible],455	43,930	72,465	105,177	239,153
Suffolk	32,253	43,481	552	101,091	109,340	55,744	34,064	113,692	210,431
Surrey	46,072	63,673	1,514	127,138	141,905	2,746	42,865	190,685	269,043
Sussex	25,272	30,755	721	78,797	80,514	38,925	19,608	86,339	159,311
Warwick	40,847	44,028	2,936	99,942	108,248	34,756	91,922	74,069	208,190
Westmorland	7,897	9,026	315	20,175	21,442	12,141	8,673	19,63[illegible]	41,617
Wilts	29,462	30,527	1,127	87,380	97,727	53,517	39,422	62,366	185,107
Worcester	26,711	29,741	1,109	67,631	71,702	38,865	30,230	54,537	139,333
York, East Riding	25,781	31,544	681	67,457	71,976	31,538	22,003	58,311	139,433
—, N. Riding	31,512	34,542	1,014	74,904	80,602	44,061	26,207	82,732	155,506
—, W. Riding	111,146	117,379	4,723	276,005	287,94[illegible]	55,695	164,188	338,196	661,953
	1,467,870	1,778,426	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	1,524,227	1,789,631	4,606,[illegible]76	31,434

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Summary of the Counties of Wales.

NAMES OF COUNTIES.	HOUSES.			PERSONS.		OCCUPATIONS.			TOTAL OF PERSONS.
	Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the Two preceding Classes.	
County of Angleſey	6,679	7,058	127	15,775	18,031	9,766	2,614	19,228	33,806
Breeon	6,315	6,800	479	15,393	16,240	14,346	4,204	11,864	31,633
Cardigan	8,819	9,435	221	20,408	22,548	16,511	2,896	23,497	42,956
Carmarthen	13,449	14,876	371	31,439	35,878	32,862	4,343	29,672	67,317
Carnarvon	8,304	8,796	129	19,586	21,935	12,808	4,234	17,342	41,521
Denbigh	12,621	13,765	427	29,247	31,105	21,104	6,960	25,747	60,352
Flint	7,585	8,216	194	19,577	20,045	10,332	6,989	20,536	39,622
Glamorgan	14,225	16,596	537	34,190	37,335	18,515	6,903	39,964	71,525
Merioneth	5,787	6,576	193	13,896	15,610	10,308	2,711	16,398	29,506
Montgomery	8,725	9,750	223	22,914	25,064	13,802	6,233	25,561	47,978
Pembroke	11,869	12,448	398	25,405	30,874	20,088	4,846	30,075	56,280
Radnor	3,675	3,987	212	9,347	9,703	8,620	889	6,689	19,050
	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	189,062	53,822	266,573	541,546

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Summary of the Population of the Cities of London and Westminster.

Within the Bills of Mortality. London within the Walls -	10,224	16,229	325	37,020	38,151	14	23,659	50,837	75,171
Within the Bills of Mortality. London without the Walls -	20,680	36,178	682	69,827	77,402	167	36,337	97,015	147,229
Within the Bills of Mortality. Out Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey - - - - - - -	56,207	93,886	2,244	163,899	200,627	5,011	69,632	287,941	364,526
Within the Bills of Mortality. City and Liberties of Westminster - - - - - -	18,231	40,833	784	71,301	86,909	278	35,031	122,891	158,210
Within the Bills of Mortality. Inns of Court, extra-parochial	1,230	816	62	1,293	614	—	46	1,682	1,907
Parishes not within the Bills of Mortality	14,657	28,131	1,088	50,029	67,773	756	14,150	102,896	117,802
TOTAL - - -	121,229	216,073	5,185	393,369	471,476	6,226	178,855	663,262	864,845

General Totals of England and Wales.

England - - - - - - - - - -	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	1,524,227	1,789,531	4,606,530	8,331,434
Wales - - - - - - - - - -	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	189,062	53,822	266,573	541,546
Army, Navy, &c. - - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - -	469,188	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	469,188
Convicts on board the Hulks - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - -	1,410	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	1,410
	1,575,923	1,896,723	57,476	4,715,711	4,627,867	1,713,289	1,843,353	4,873,103	9,343,578

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Summary of the Population of the principal Cities and Towns of Great Britain.

CITIES AND TOWNS.	HOUSES.			PERSONS.		OCCUPATIONS.			TOTAL OF Persons.
	Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, &c.	All other Persons not comprised in the 2 preceding Classes.	
Bath	4,289	6,510	174	12,441	19,759	483	6,103	25,624	32,100
Bedford	783	975	17	1,712	2,236	84	2,221	1,643	3,948
Berwick	930	1,791	35	3,009	4,178	104	974	6,109	7,187
Birmingham	14,528	15,303	1,675	34,716	38,954	1,743	62,702	8,814	73,670
Bridport	287	526	1	1,360	1,757	—	3,006	111	3,117
Brighthelmstone	1,282	1,380	142	3,274	4,065	94	3,950	4,195	7,339
Bristol	19,403	14,413	493	26,943	36,702	658	10,190	52,917	63,645
Bury St. Edmunds	1,360	1,648	37	3,399	4,256	94	4,198	3,363	7,655
Cambridge	1,691	2,078	42	4,964	5,123	92	1,368	7,344	10,087
Canterbury	1,741	2,276	58	3,805	5,195	400	1,325	7,275	9,000
Carlisle	1,314	2,303	24	4,479	5,742	304	2,503	7,414	10,221
Chester	3,109	3,427	85	6,492	8,560	402	2,140	12,002	15,052
Cirencester	837	1,050	48	1,836	2,294	228	940	2,962	4,130
Colchester	1,959	2,829	38	5,012	6,508	741	2,154	7,717	11,520
Coventry	2,937	3,548	204	7,672	8,362	304	7,002	8,728	16,034
Derby	2,144	2,441	26	4,982	5,850	125	4,204	6,499	10,832
Devizes	1,552	1,728	41	3,624	4,285	1,813	1,405	4,691	7,909
Dover	3,339	3,834	231	7,187	7,658	1,129	2,271	11,545	14,845
Durham	1,024	1,930	30	3,319	4,211	252	1,143	6,075	7,530
Ely	5,996	6,999	141	16,059	16,540	11,361	6,694	14,844	32,599
Exeter	2,892	3,947	144	7,314	10,084	183	4,513	12,205	17,398
Falmouth	465	947	3	1,466	2,218	25	626	3,033	3,684
Gloucester	1,325	1,732	43	3,428	4,151	93	2,317	4,619	7,579
Hereford	1,392	1,715	68	3,023	3,805	99	1,315	5,414	6,828
Hertford	529	625	12	1,297	1,741	101	575	2,362	3,038
Hull	4,649	7,449	118	13,051	16,465	492	5,247	23,707	29,516
Ipswich	2,170	2,738	51	4,784	6,293	448	1,810	8,733	11,277
Lancaster	1,598	1,998	13	3,999	5,031	133	1,822	45	9,030
Leeds	11,258	11,790	341	25,504	27,658	666	20,367	32,129	53,162
Leicester	3,205	3,768	85	7,921	9,032	499	11,330	3,096	16,953
Lincoln	1,516	1,619	58	3,474	3,924	718	1,698	4,982	7,398
Litchfield	873	980	43	2,045	2,467	293	1,566	2,003	4,512
Liverpool	11,446	16,289	338	34,367	43,286	174	11,369	66,210	77,653
London	121,229	216,073	5,185	393,369	471,476	6,226	178,855	663,262	864,845
Manchester	12,547	18,560	279	39,110	44,910	129	44,590	39,931	84,020
Monmouth	638	743	39	1,512	1,833	380	639	2,326	3,345
Newcastle	3,162	6,845	134	12,369	15,997	72	5,705	15,562	28,366
Northampton	1,322	1,652	49	3,244	3,776	24	2,406	3,501	7,020
Norwich	8,016	9,093	747	15,810	21,044	408	12,267	24,137	36,854
Nottingham	4,977	6,707	100	13,729	15,132	267	11,698	16,896	28,861
Oxford	1,827	2,233	82	5,920	5,774	146	1,647	9,901	11,694
Plymouth	4,440	10,708	89	18,016	25,178	863	7,308	35,023	43,194
Poole	949	1,460	110	2,091	2,670	—	608	3,946	4,761
Portsmouth	5,310	6,903	30	14,309	17,857	368	4,309	27,489	32,166
Reading	1,751	2,135	32	4,642	5,100	441	2,469	6,805	9,742
Rochester	1,136	1,550	14	3,071	3,746	80	928	5,809	6,817
Saint Albans	515	625	12	1,297	1,741	101	575	2,362	3,038
Sheffield	6,518	6,754	643	15,483	15,831	307	9,643	21,364	31,314
Shrewsbury	2,773	3,300	88	6,647	8,092	1,372	6,692	1,921	14,739
Southampton	1,509	1,876	73	3,390	4,523	235	1,882	3,727	7,913
Stafford	710	802	13	1,921	1,977	641	2,944	313	3,898
Sunderland	2,369	3,372	14	4,902	7,510	25	1,431	100	12,412
Swansea	1,182	1,504	21	2,529	3,570	39	1,196	4,864	6,099
Tewksbury	859	1,146	28	1,932	2,267	39	1,334	2,826	4,199
Warwick	1,055	1,142	29	2,709	3,066	287	872	3,531	5,775
Weymouth	659	837	55	1,460	2,157	7	601	3,009	3,617
Whitehaven	1,776	2,403	47	3,348	5,394	4	1,050	7,688	8,742
Winchester	791	902	19	2,767	3,059	377	855	2,452	5,826
Worcester	2,239	2,627	133	4,909	6,443	208	2,923	6,496	11,352
Yarmouth	3,081	3,541	78	6,463	8,382	15	1,399	13,431	14,845
York	2,047	3,841	72	7,018	9,127	190	5,478	10,477	16,145

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ount of the Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding on the 5th of January 1802; under ads of Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, Navy, Civil List Advances, &c.

Acts raised.	On what Funds charged.	Amount outstanding.	£.	£. s. d.
	EXCHEQUER BILLS:			
d. 39 Geo. III. Cap. 2.	Malt Duties - Anno 1800	- -	433,000	
9 III. - Cap. 7.	- - D° - - - - - 1801	- -	750,000	
9 III. - Cap.	- - D° - - - - - 1802	- -	750,000	
9 III. - Cap. 8.	Pensions, Offices, Personal Estates, & certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, & Snuff, Anno 1800	- (a)	90,000	
9 III. - Cap. 2.	- - D° - - - - - 1802	- -	2,000,000	
40 Geo. III. Cap. 102.	Supply - - - - - 1800	- (a)	47,700	
9 III. - Cap. 82.	- D° - - - - - - 1801	- (a)	88,900	
40 Geo. III. Cap. 33.	Aids - - - - - - 1800	- -	1,650,200	
9 III. - Cap. 4.	- D° - - - - - - 1801	- -	6,849,400	
9 - Cap. 83.	Supply - - - - - 1801	(Bank)	3,000,000	
40 Geo. III. Cap. 104.	Further Sum - - - 1800	- (a)	38,600	
9 III. - Cap. 81.	Vote of Credit - - 1801	- (a)	3,300	
9 III. - Cap. 9.	Loan - - - - - 1802	- -	1,887,000	
40 Geo. III. Cap. 28.	Aids - - - - - - 1806, for Extension of Bank Charter		3,000,000	
				20,588,100 — —
	TREASURY:			
	Miscellaneous Services - - - - -	£.	245,387 11 —½	
	Warrants for Army Services - - -		577,037 11 7	
	Treasury Bills accepted previous to, and on the 5th of January 1802, due subsequent to that day - - - - -		372,779 18 6	
				1,195,205 1 1½
	ARMY:			
	Ordinary Services - - - - - -	£.	874,669 17 5	
	Extraordinaries - - - - - - -		Nil.	
				874,669 17 5
	BARRACKS - - - - - - - - - - - -			98,131 — —
	ORDNANCE - - - - - - - - - - - -			503,716 6 2
	NAVY - - - - - - - - - - - - -			7,110,880 1 7½
	CIVIL LIST ADVANCES - - - - - - - - - -			2,268 8 —
				£. 30,372,970 14 4

(a) Paid-off since the 5th January 1802.—The remaining sums to be discharged by the funds on which they are respectively charged.

ll, Treasury Chambers,
th May 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

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An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, to the 1st Day of February 1802: distinguishing the Capitals of the several Funds existing prior to the 5th of January 1793, from the Permanent Debts created since that Period; specifying how much of each has been redeemed by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt since the 1st of August 1786, the total Sums paid, the average Price of Stocks, and the Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of each Debt respectively; likewise what further Annuities will fall in; shewing also the Capital of the Debt created before 1793, that has been transferred to the said Commissioners on account of Land Tax redeemed; and the Amount of the Capital created by Debts charged upon the Duties on Income, together with the Capitals that will be created by the Loan raised Anno 1802.

Funds.	Capitals.	Debt created prior to 5th January 1793. Redeemed by the Old Sinking Fund, between 1st August 1786 and 1st February 1802.	Total Sums paid.	Average Price of Stocks.
	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.	
Consolidated 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities	107,399,696 5 1½	18,513,365	20,903,161 17 2½	63⅛
Reduced - D°	41,540,073 16 4	14,337,543		
Old South Sea Annuities	24,065,084 13 11½	5,234,400	3,826,148 10 6	73⅞
New - D°				
3*l.* per Cent. Annuities 1751	1,919,600 — —	608,000	456,467 7 6	75⅛
		38,693,308	25,185,777 15 2½	84⅞
Consolidated 4*l.* per Cent. Annuities	32,750,090 — —	1,192,000	1,001,111 5 —	
D° - 5*l.* per Cent. - D°	17,869,993 9 10			
3*l.* per Cent. Annuities, A° 1726	1,000,000 — —			
D° - Bank Annuities	11,686,800 — —			
Old Permanent Debt £.	238,231,248 5 2½	39,885,308	26,196,889 — 2½	

Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of the Public Debt, created before 5th January 1793.	£. s. d.
Annual Charge	1,000,000 — —
Usual Grant	200,000 — —
Annuities for 99 and 96 Years expired	54,880 14 6
Life Annuities expired or unclaimed	45,827 2 6
Short Annuities 1777	25,000 — —
Dividend on 38,693,308*l.* 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities	1,160,799 4 9
Dividend on 1,192,000*l.* 4*l.* per Cent. Annuities	47,680 — —
Old Sinking Fund £.	2,534,187 1 9

Old Permanent Debt, as above	£. 238,231,248 5 2½		
Transferred to the Commissioners, by reason of Land Tax redeemed at 1st February 1802	18,001,148 5 5	£. s. d.	
Old Debt existing at 1st February 1802		220,230,099 19 9½	
Permanent Debts created between 5th January 1793 and 5th January 1802		241,981,355 1 3	
Total Debt at 1st February 1802		462,211,455 1 —½	
Redeemed by the Commissioners at 1st February 1802		59,588,904 — —	
Total Permanent Debt unredeemed at 1st February 1802		402,622,551 1 —½	
Debts created between 5th January 1798 and 5th January 1801, charged on the Duties upon Income		56,445,000 — —	
	£.	459,067,551 1 —½	
Since 1st February 1802 the following Capitals have been created by 23,000,000*l.* raised, viz.			
In 3*l.* per Cent. Reduced Annuities	£. 23,800,000	30,351,375 — —	

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Continuation (from preceding Page) of an Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, to the 1st Day of February 1802.

Debts created since 5th January 1793.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the New Sinking Fund.	Total Sums paid.	Average Price of Stocks.
	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.	
Consolidated 3*l.* per Cent. Annuities	155,445,486 19 4	9,589,180	11,437,473 5 5½	58⅛
Reduced - D° - - -	37,252,737 10 —	10,114,416		
Consolidated 4*l.* per Cent. Annuities	16,675,084 17 2			
D° - 5*l.* per Cent. D° -	10,255,589 9 9			
5*l.* per Cent. Annuities, created Annis 1797 and 1802 -	22,352,456 5 —			
New Permanent Debt - - £.	241,981,355 1 3			
Redeemed by the New Sinking Fund - - - -		19,703,596		
D° - Old Sinking Fund - - - -		39,885,308		
Total Redeemed - - £.		59,588,904		

Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of Public Debt, created since 5th January 1793.

		£. s. d.
1*l.* per Cent. on Capitals created Annis	1793	62,500 — —
	1794	166,445 5 —
	1795	268,933 19 6
	1796	313,558 14 10
	D°	110,863 5 —
	1797	417,376 13 7
	D°	258,807 11 8
	1798	142,240 — —
	1799	56,242 10 —
	D°	26,250 — —
	1800	78,500 — —
	1801	448,162 10 —
	1802	112,222 12 6
		2,462,103 2 1
Dividend on 19,703,596*l.* 3*l.* per Cent Annuities -		591,107 17 7
New Sinking Fund - - - -		3,053,210 19 8
Old - D° - - - - -		2,534,187 1 9
Total Sinking Fund - £.		5,587,398 1 5

Annuities that will hereafter fall in.

	£. s. d.
Exchequer Annuities, 2, 3, 4 Ann, expire A° 1805 -	53,654 11 6
D° 5 Ann, expire A° 1806 -	7,776 10 —
D° 6 Ann, expire A° 1807 -	14,891 10 —
Bank Long Annuities, expire A° 1860 -	1,015,410 18 8½
Bank Short Annuities, Annis 1778, 1779, and 1789, expire A° 1808 - -	418,333 — 1

Exchequer, the 5th day of May 1802.

JAMES FISHER.

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An Account of the total actual Expenditure of Great Britain, for the Year ending the 5th January 1802, distinguishing the total ***Amount of the Sums applied to the following Heads*** *of Service; 1st, The Interest of the Public Funded Debt; 2dly, The Interest on Exchequer Bills; 3dly,* ***The Civil List;*** *4thly, The other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, specifying the Amount of those incurred for Courts of Justice, Mint, Pensions, Salaries* ***and Allowances, and Bounties;*** *5thly,* ***The Civil*** *Government of Scotland; 6thly, The other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipt; specifying* ***the Amount of those incurred for Pensions, Bounties,*** *and Militia, and Deserters Warrants; 7thly, The Navy; 8thly, The Ordnance; 9thly, The Army;* ***10thly, Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other*** *Countries;* ***11thly,*** *Miscellaneous Services; specifying the Amount of Monies paid for Services at Home and Abroad.*

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.			SUMS.		
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
I. For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Funded Debt of Great Britain, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years	15,905,359 4 9½				
For Charges of Management thereon	- - -		190,996 7 —		
For Interest on that Part of the Funded Debt which is to be redeemed by the Duties on Income	1,868,043 1 2½				
For Charge of Management thereon	- - -		31,818 — —		
For Interest, &c. on Loans raised for the Service of Ireland	557,179 3 4				
For Charges of Management thereon	- - -		8,091 5 —		
For Interest, &c. on Imperial Loans	455,079 — —				
For Charges of Management thereon	- - -		5,867 3 8		
	18,785,660 9 3½		236,772 15 8		
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt — — — £.1,000,000 — —					
The usual Annual Grant — — — — — — — — 200,000 — —					
Expired Annuities — — — — — — £.54,880 14 6 / 25,000 — — }	79,880 14 6				
Annuities on Lives expired or unclaimed for Three Years — — — —	45,827 2 6				
Annuity of 1*l.* per Cent. for Reduction of Permanent Debts, created since the 5th of Jan. 1793	2,338,863 7 11				
	3,664,571 4 11				
	22,450,231 14 2½				
Whereof was applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt	5,310,511 9 9				
Total on account of Interest	- - -		17,139,720 4 5½		
Ditto for Charges of Management	- - -		236,772 15 8		
Ditto on account of Reduction of National Debt	- - -		5,310,511 9 9		
				22,687,004 9 10½	
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills	- - -		- - -	1,121,890 10 7	
III. The Civil List	- - -		898,500 — —		
IV. The other Charges on the consolidated Fund — Courts of Justice	- - -		46,205 1 8½		
Mint	- - -		14,093 4 7		
Allowances to the Royal Family, Pensions	- - -		188,524 14 5½		
Salaries and Allowances	- - -		67,592 17 11		
			6,218 15 —		

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Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue		1,717,542 6 6¾	
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.		27,000 — —	
		41,209 14 8¼	1,795,752 2 3¾
VII. The Navy, viz. Salaries to the Admiralty, Navy, and Navy Pay Offices	76,000 — —		
For Wages, Bounty, Flag Pay, Half Pay, and Pensions	2,329,670 15 —		
For Dock Yards, Building of Ships, Stores, Pilotage, Contingencies, &c.	7,133,008 2 5¼		
For Marine Service on Shore	327,000 — —	9,865,678 17 5½	
The Victualling Department	- - - - - -	5,577,500 2 9½	
The Sick and Wounded ditto	- - - - - -	515,000 — —	
The Transport ditto, for Transports	1,209,192 — 11		
for Prisoners of War in Health	76,000 — —		
Miscellaneous Services	60,000 — —	1,345,192 — 11	17,303,371 1 2
VIII. The Ordnance	- - - - - -	- - - - - -	2,165,911 10 5¾
IX. The Army.—Ordinary Services, viz.			
For Regulars, Fencibles, Militia, Invalids, and Volunteer Corps	7,632,846 15 3		
Barracks	651,840 — —		
Staff Officers, and Officers of Garrisons	100,658 7 6		
Half Pay	194,900 — —		
Widows' Pensions	23,500 — —		
Chelsea Hospital	132,970 9 8		
Exchequer Fees	66,631 19 8		
Pay of Public Offices	34,860 8 8	8,838,208 — 9	
Extraordinary Services	- - - - - -	5,347,174 — —	14,185,382 — 9
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries:			
Portugal	- - - - - -	200,113 15 4	
Ireland	- - - - - -	2,500,000 — —	2,700,113 15 4
XI. Miscellaneous Services			
At Home	- - - - - -	2,139,891 7 —¼	
Abroad	- - - - - -	165,535 14 9½	2,305,427 1 9¾
			65,554,978 13 11¼
Deduct Loan for Ireland —			2,500,000 — —
		* £.	63,054,978 13 11¼

* This includes the sum of 460,946*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* for Interest paid on Imperial Loans.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 5th May 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

An Account of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, as the same stood on the 1st February 1802: raised or Bills funded: distinguishing also the different Funds in which it is invested; the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt.

	By what Acts created.	Sums raised, or Bills funded.	Capitals at 3*l.* per Cent. per Annum. £. s. d.	Capitals at 3*l.* per Cent. Consolidated Annuities. £. s. d.
PERMANENT DEBT.	BANK OF ENGLAND:			
	3, 8 G. I. 2, 19 & 19, & 23 G. II.	— — — —	11,686,800 — —	—
	SOUTH SEA COMPANY:			
	9 G. I.	— — — —	24,065,084 13 11½	—
	CHIEF CASHIER OF THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY:			
	26 G. II.	— — — —	1,919,600 — —	—
	CHIEF CASHIER OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND:			
	12 Geo. I.	— — — —	1,000,000 — —	—
	By sundry Acts prior to 33 G. III.	— — —	—	97,156,985 8 5½
			38,671,484 13 11½	97,156,985 8 5½
	33 G. III. 1793	4,500,000*l.* raised — —	—	6,250,000 — —
	34 G. III. 1794	11,000,000*l.* raised — —	—	11,000,000 — —
		— — — Navy Bills funded —	—	—
	35 G. III. 1795	18,000,000*l.* raised — —	—	18,000,000 — —
		— — — Navy Bills funded —	—	—
	36 G. III. 1796	18,000,000*l.* and 7,500,000*l.* raised —	—	30,530,000 — —
		— — — Navy Bills funded —	—	—
	37 G. III. 1797	18,000,000*l.* raised — —	—	—
		13,000,000*l.* part of 14,500,000*l.* raised	—	16,250,000 — —
		— — — Navy Bills funded —	—	16,438,175 5 —
		— — — Exchequer Bills funded	—	1,999,693 4 4
	38 G. III. 1798	7,000,000*l.* proportion of 9,000,000*l.* part of 17,000,000*l.* raised —	—	10,500,000 — —
	39 G. III. 1799	3,000,000*l.* raised, & 1,500,000*l.* propor. of 4,500,000*l.* part of 15,500,000*l.* raised	—	4,875,000 — —
	40 G. III. 1800	5,000,000*l.* proportion of 7,000,000*l.* part of 20,500,000*l.* raised —	—	5,500,000 — —
	41 G. III. 1801	25,500,000*l.* propor. of 28,000,000*l.* raised	—	32,875,000 — —
	42 G. III. 1802	— — — Exchequer Bills funded —	—	2,227,612 10 —
				252,602,472 7 9½
Debts charged on Income Duty.	38 G III. 1798	8,000,000*l.* Part of 17,000,000*l.* raised	—	12,000,000 — —
	39 — 1799	11,000,000*l.* Part of 15,500,000*l.* D°	—	13,750,000 — —
	40 — 1800	13,500,000*l.* Part of 20,500,000*l.* D°	—	14,850,000 — —
			38,671,484 13 11½	293,202,472 7 9½

Note.—The capital stock of 3*l.* per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, created prior to the year 1793, was originally 107,399,696*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.* but is reduced as above, by reason of 10,242,710*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* transferred to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, on account of land-tax redeemed before 1st February 1802; and the capital of the 3*l.* per Cent. Reduced Annuities was 41,540,073*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* but is now reduced as above by 7,758,437*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* transferred as aforesaid; on which capitals so transferred, the interest and management ceases to be paid.

Exchequer, the 5th Day of May 1802.

JAMES FISHER.

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distinguishing by what Acts of Parliament the same is created, and in respect of what Sums capital Stock of each Fund; and also the Proportion of foregoing Capitals, purchased by

Capitals at									Proportion of foregoing Capitals, purchased by Commiss. for Reduc. of National Debt.
3*l.* per Cent. Reduced Annuities.			4*l.* per Cent. Consolidated Annuities.			5*l.* per Cent. Consolidated Annuities.			5*l.* per Cent. Annuities, Annis 1797 & 1802.			
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.
—			—			—			—			—
—			—			—			—			5,134,400
—			—			—			—			608,000
—			—			—			—			—
33,781,636	7	7	32,750,000	—	—	17,869,993	9	10	—			34,042,908
33,781,636	7	7	32,750,000	—	—	17,869,993	9	10	—			39,885,308
—			—			—			—			1,092,656
—			2,750,000	—	—	—			—			2,541,734
—			—			1,926,525	12	5	—			
—			6,000,000	—	—	—			—			3,533,533
—			—			1,809,897	17	1	—			
6,359,625	—	—	—			—			—			4,788,750
—			—			4,414,074	4	6	—			
—			—			—			20,124,843	15	—	—
6,500,000	—	—	2,600,000	—	—	—			—			
—			765,427	11	6	2,034,889	11	1	—			6,027,915
—			104,432	5	8	270,202	4	8	—			
3,500,000	—	—	—			—			—			816,835
3,374,250	—	—	—			—			—			362,022
2,350,000	—	—	—			—			—			194,699
12,941,250	—	—	—			—			—			346,052
2,227,612	10	—	4,455,225	—	—	—			2,227,612	10	—	—
71,034,373	17	7	—			—			—			—
4,000,000	—	—	—			—			—			—
5,500,000	—	—	—			—			—			—
6,345,000	—	—	—			—			—			—
86,879,373	17	7	49,425,084	17	2	28,125,582	19	7	22,352,456	5	—	59,588,904

		28,125,582 19 7
		49,425,084 17 2
		6,879,373 17 7
		293,202,472 7 9½
		38,671,484 13 11½
	£.	518,656,455 1 —¾
Redeemed by the Commiss. at 1st Feb. 1802 -	—	59,588,904 — —
		459,067,551 1 —¾
Since 1st Feb. 1802, the following capitals have been created by 23,000,000*l.* raised, viz.		
In 3*l.* per Cent. Reduced Annuities - -	13,800,000	
D° - Consolidated - D° - - -	14,950,000	30,351,375 — —
D° - - D° - - - D° the interest upon which is not to commence till 5th Jan. 1808 - - - - -	1,601,375	
	£.	489,418,926 1 —¾

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An Account of the Ordinary Revenues and Extraordinary Resources consti

Heads of Revenue.	Balances. Balance in the Hands of Collectors on the 5th January 1801.	Balances. Balance in the Hands of Receivers General on the 5th January 1801.	Gross Receipt. Gross Receipt within the Year.	Gross Receipt. Total Rec to be accounted
ORDINARY REVENUES.				
Permanent Taxes.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£.
Customs - - England	18,961 12 2¾	—	9,239,622 17 3¾	9,359,879
——— - - Scotland	21,842 12 8	49,477 15 8¾	608,922 11 7	694,343
——— - - Great Britain	40,804 4 10½	49,477 15 8¾	9,848,545 8 10½	10,053,223
Excise (includ[g] Malt, ann[l]) Eng[d]	—	4,231 11 11	12,507,857 14 5	12,512,089
——— - - Scotland	—	61,816 14 2½	1,054,428 13 7	1,116,245
——— - Great Britain	—	66,048 6 1½	13,562,286 8 0	13,628,334
Stamps - - England	128,664 19 8¼	12 14 6	2,943,900 11 10¾	3,076,930
——— - - Scotland	—	20,220 13 9½	170,322 13 2½	190,543
——— - Great Britain	128,664 19 8¼	20,233 8 3¼	3,114,232 5 1¼	3,267,473
Land & Assessed Taxes, Eng[d]	—	358,331 1 11¼	4,311,390 4 7½	4,669,721
——— - - Scotland	—	92,843 18 8	130,890 18 0	223,734
——— - - Great Britain	—	451,175 0 7¼	4,442,281 2 7½	4,893,456
Post Office - - England	93,032 2 2½	1,141 10 3	1,094,423 3 7	1,196,218
——— - - Scotland	19,792 2 8	—	107,128 15 2	140,594
——— - - Great Britain	112,823 4 10½	1,141 10 3	1,201,551 18 9	1,336,812
1*s.* in the £. on Pensions and Salaries } Eng[d]	—	1,970 16 11½	32,089 7 10½	34,060
} Scot[d]	—	8,440 6 3	3,819 4 5½	12,259
——— - Great Britain	—	10,411 3 2½	35,908 12 3½	46,319
6*d.* in the £. on Pensions and Salaries } Eng[d]	—	24 17 9¾	41,584 11 6½	41,609
} Scot[d]	—	—	2,669 0 10½	2,669
——— - Great Britain	—	24 17 9¾	44,253 12 4¾	44,278
Hackney Coaches - -	—	599 0 3½	25,493 15 11	26,092
Hawkers and Pedlars - -	—	381 16 3	8,548 10 0	8,930
Total Ordinary Revenues -	282,292 9 5½	559,492 18 6¾	32,283,101 13 11¼	33,304,922

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the Public Income of Great Britain, for the Year ending the 5th January 1802.

Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue.				Net Produce applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.
Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties; Difference of Exchange between Edinburgh and London; Allowances to the two Universities on Account of Almanacks, and for Paper and Parchment to stamp on.	Packet Establishment, with 4,000*l.* allowed to Ireland, also Irish Postage received in Great Britain, and placed to the Debit of this Kingdom.	Charges of Management.	Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.	
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1,659,908 17 3	—	465,508 17 9½	2,125,417 15 0½	7,234,461 11 8½
113,618 15 7½	—	58,079 6 8½	171,698 2 3½	521,645 12 1½
1,773,527 12 10½	—	523,588 4 6	2,297,115 17 4½	7,756,107 3 9½
1,352,914 6 10½	—	589,198 3 4½	1,942,112 10 3½	10,969,970 16 0½
96,061 19 11	—	94,719 15 6½	190,781 15 5½	925,463 12 3½
1,448,976 6 9½	—	683,917 18 11½	2,132,894 5 9	11,495,440 8 4½
107,017 8 8½	—	108,001 10 8	215,018 19 4½	2,861,911 8 7½
2,915 13 8	—	12,682 4 10	15,597 18 6	174,945 8 6
109,933 2 4½	—	120,683 15 6	230,616 17 10½	3,036,856 17 1½
—	—	169,761 8 11½	169,761 8 11½	4,490,959 17 7½
—	—	8,301 9 5	8,301 9 5	215,433 7 3
—	—	178,062 18 4½	178,062 18 4½	4,715,393 4 10½
—	17,237 11 5	317,775 8 6	335,012 19 11	861,205 11 4½
—	—	18,949 2 8½	18,949 2 8½	121,645 4 10½
—	17,237 11 5	336,724 11 2½	353,962 2 7½	982,850 16 3
—	—	227 10 5	227 10 5	33,332 14 4½
—	—	276 9 3	276 9 3	11,983 1 5½
—	—	503 19 8	503 19 8	45,815 15 10½
—	—	917 9 2	917 9 2	40,692 0 2½
—	—	63 14 6	63 14 6	2,605 6 4½
—	—	981 3 8	981 3 8	43,297 6 6½
—	—	2,388 0 11½	2,388 0 11½	23,704 15 2½
—	—	3,003 17 5½	3,003 17 5½	5,926 8 9½
3,222,437 2 0½	17,237 11 5	1,849,854 10 3½	5,199,529 3 9½	28,105,191 16 0½

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An Account of the Ordinary Revenues and Extraordinary Resources constituting the Public

Heads of Revenue.	Balances. Balance in the Hands of Collectors on the 5th January 1801.	Balances. Balance in the Hands of Receivers General on the 5th January 1801.	Gross Receipt. Gross Receipt within the Year.	Gross Receipt. Total Receipt to be accounted for.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Brought over - -	282,292 9 5½	599,492 18 6½	32,283,101 13 11½	33,304,922 0 6½
SMALL BRANCHES OF THE HEREDITARY REVENUE.				
Alienation Fines - -	—	6,061 4 0	5,835 3 4	11,896 7 4
Post Fines - - -	—	2,043 0 9½	492 9 9½	2,535 10 6½
Seizures - - - -	—	—	72,064 5 2½	72,064 5 2½
Compositions - - -	—	—	0 10 0	0 10 0
Proffers - - - -	—	—	617 0 4	617 0 4
Crown Lands - - -	—	19,738 10 0	25,880 19 0½	45,619 9 0½
EXTRAORD. RESOURCES.				
Monies paid on account of Interest of Loans raised for the Service of Ireland -	—	—	803,799 16 7	803,799 16 7
On account of the Commissioners appointed by Act 35 Geo. III. for issuing Exchequer Bills - -	—	—	62,100 0 0	62,100 0 0
Fees of Regulated Exchequer Offices - - -	—	—	34,766 17 11	34,766 17 11
For Corn sold on account of Government - -	—	—	32,000 0 0	32,000 0 0
Other Monies paid to the Public	—	—	4,272 7 3½	4,272 7 3½
Imprest Money repaid by sundry public Accountants -	—	—	66,007 18 10½	66,007 18 10½
Lottery net Profit - -	—	—	201,250 0 0	201,250 0 0
Lottery Licenses - -	—	2,319 17 2	6,502 14 8	8,822 11 10
Aid and Contributions -	—	—	40,302 3 5	40,302 3 5
Arrears of Taxes collected under Aid and Contribution Act - -	—	—	87,635 8 2½	87,635 8 2½
Income Duty - England	—	—	5,628,903 4 4½	5,628,903 4 4½
——— - Scotland	—	65,037 4 1	317,687 8 3	382,724 12 4
——— Great Britain	—	65,037 4 1	5,946,590 12 7½	6,011,627 16 8½
Total { Independent of Loans }	282,292 9 5½	694,692 14 6½	39,673,220 1 2½	40,790,240 3 10½
Loans paid into the Exchequer	—	—	27,611,410 17 8	27,611,410 17 8
Grand Total - £.	282,292 9 5½	694,692 14 6½	67,284,630 18 10½	68,401,651 1 6½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
11th June 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

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Income of Great Britain, for the Year ending the 5th of January 1802.—Continued.

Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue.						
Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties; Difference of Exchange between Edinburgh and London; Allowances to the two Universities on Account of Almanacks, and for Paper and Parchment to stamp on.	Packet Establishment, with 4,000*l.* allowed to Ireland; also Irish Postage received in Great Britain, and placed to the Debit of this Kingdom.	Charges of Management.	Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.	Net Produce applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.		
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
3,332,437 2 0½	17,237 11 5	1,849,854 10 3½	5,199,529 3 9½	28,105,392 16 9½		
—	—	1,067 8 0	1,067 8 0	10,828 19 4		
—	—	—	—	2,535 10 6½		
—	—	—	—	72,064 5 2½		
—	—	—	—	0 10 0		
—	—	—	—	617 0 4		
—	—	4,659 11 1	4,659 11 1	40,959 17 11½		
—	—	—	—	803,799 16 7		
—	—	—	—	62,100 0 0		
—	—	—	—	34,766 17 11		
—	—	—	—	32,000 0 0		
—	—	—	—	4,272 7 3½		
—	—	—	—	66,007 18 10½		
—	—	14,020 13 11	14,020 13 11	187,229 6 1		
—	—	3,031 2 10	3,031 2 10	5,791 9 0		
—	—	—	—	40,302 3 5		
—	—	—	—	87,635 8 2½		
—	—	148,429 9 11	148,429 9 11	5,480,473 14 5½		
—	—	4,406 5 0	4,406 5 0	378,318 7 4		
—	—	152,835 14 11	152,835 14 11	5,858,792 1 9½		
3,332,437 2 0½	17,237 11 5	2,025,469 1 0½	5,375,143 14 6½	35,415,096 9 3½		
—	—	—	—	27,611,410 17 8		
3,332,437 2 0½	17,237 11 5	2,025,469 1 0½	5,375,143 14 6½	63,026,507 6 11½		

Note.—The appropriated balance in the Exchequer, on the 5th January 1801, amounted to £. 7,619,246 6 1½
- - - - - - - and on the 5th January 1802 - - to 8,899,278 14 10½

There was no unappropriated balance in the Exchequer at either of the above-mentioned periods.

The amount of Exchequer Bills, Navy Bills, and Transport Bills, issued for the public service between the 5th January 1801, and the 5th January 1802, and not redeemed within that period, was

In Exchequer Bills -	15,013,900 0 0
— Navy and Victualling Bills -	2,077,392 18 2
— Transport Bills	£. 287,948 2 11

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An Account of the Net Amount of the Permanent Taxes of Great Britain, for the Year ending 5th of April 1802.

	£.	s.
Consolidated Customs, after deducting 116,676*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* by act 37 Geo. III. cap. 15. to be carried to account of duties pro anno 1796, being the computed annual saving to the public on account of the reduction in the Drawbacks on the Exportation of Sugar	1,109,299	3
Quarantine Duty	3,605	4
4½*l.* per Cent.	9,954	2
Consolidated Excise Duties	5,732,635	17
Reserved — By act 34 Geo. III. cap. 20. out of Excise Duty on Paper anno 1794, in lieu of Duties then repealed, at 75,000*l.* per annum	75,000	—
Reserved — By ditto cap. 33. out of ditto on Spirit Licenses anno 1794, in lieu of ditto, at 36,000*l.* per annum	500	—
Consolidated Stamp Duties	1,052,846	4
Composition for Stamps per Bank	12,000	—
Reserved — By act 33 Geo. III. cap. 28. out of Stamp Duty on Bills and Receipts, anno 1793, in lieu of duties then repealed; at 128,600*l.* per annum	128,600	—
Reserved — By act 36 - - - - cap. 125. out of ditto on Hats anno 1796; at 9,479*l.* 11*s.* per annum	9,479	11
Reserved — By ditto - - - - cap. 52. out of ditto on Legacies anno 1796; at 41,079*l.* per annum	41,079	—
Reserved — By ditto 37 - - - cap. 19. out of ditto on Deeds, anno 1797; at 156,605*l.* per annum	156,605	—
	8,331,604	3

Incidents:

Reserved by act 37 Geo. III. cap. 18. out of Consolidated Letter-money, being the computed annual produce of that duty prior to the year 1795	410,556	—
Ditto out of Consolidated Duty on Salt, in lieu of duties then repealed; at 374,220*l.* per annum, by act 39 Geo. III. cap. 65	374,220	—
Reserved by acts 38 G. III. cap. 40. and 41. out of — Houses and Windows, 1798; at 327,900*l.* per annum	327,900	—
Ditto on account of Commutation Duty; at 515,000*l.* per annum	515,000	—
Inhabited Houses, 1798; at 148,600*l.* per annum	148,600	—
Male Servants, - 1798; at 93,000*l.* per annum	93,000	—
Riding Horses, - 1798; at 106,000*l.* per annum	106,000	—
Four and two-wheeled Carriages, 1798; at 200,000*l.* per annum (and to complete arrears)	220,853	10
Seizures	64,961	12
Proffers	612	3
Alum Mines	960	—
Compositions	1	6
Alienation Duty	3,119	18
6*d.* per lib. on Pensions	51,297	—
1*s.* ditto on Salaries	33,106	5
Hawkers and Pedlars	4,474	—
Hackney Coaches and Chairs, 1711 and 1784	26,029	14
Rent of a Lighthouse		
Lottery Licenses	260	7
First Fruits of the Clergy	2,626	1
Tenths on ditto	9,865	15
Arrears of Waggons	1	—
——— Female Servants	1	11
	2,393,447	—

Duties pro Anno 1793:

British Spirits 1791	54,025	—
Game Duty	23,174	9
Bills and Receipts, after reserving the average produce as aforesaid	107,365	—
Reserved out of duties consolidated anno 1798, in lieu of 10*l.* per cent. 1793, then repealed	90,790	—
	275,354	10

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	£.	s.	d.
Duties pro Anno 1794:			
Foreign Spirits 1791	221,744	—	—
British ditto 1794	55,002	—	—
Foreign ditto	214,420	—	—
Glass	50,312	—	—
Bricks and Tiles (Customs)	19	17	3½
Ditto - - - (Excise)	65,290	—	—
Paper (Customs)	653	12	1½
Ditto (Excise), after reserving the average produce as aforesaid	107,141	—	—
Bricks and Stones	15,766	16	1½
Sundries Articles	22,246	19	11
	752,596	5	5½
Duties pro Anno 1795:			
Malt	570,457	—	—
Hops	8,615	—	—
British Spirits	48,167	—	—
Foreign ditto	216,451	—	—
Tea	225,963	17	3½
Wine, &c.	25,099	—	—
Coffee, &c.	67,551	17	8½
Cocoa, &c.	15,956	9	—½
Hair Powder Certificates	72,854	12	11
Stamps	35,785	12	9
Receipts	9,281	4	1
Hawkers Licenses	1,000	—	—
Stamp Policies	149,478	13	—
Produced out of Consolidated Letter Money, the computed annual increase of Revenue by reason of the restriction in franking, by act 35 Geo. III.	40,000	—	—
	1,486,661	6	9½
Duties pro Anno 1796:			
Tobacco, &c.	167,474	—	—
Retail Dealers Licenses	698	10	—
Soap (Excise)	750	—	—
Ditto (Customs)	561,082	9	10½
Starch	8,900	—	—
Hackney Coaches, after reserving the average produce as aforesaid	68,941	15	4
Ditto - ditto - ditto	26,048	9	3
Granted by act 38 Geo. III. cap. 40. in lieu of Consolidated Duties anno 1796, then repealed; out of	Riding horses at 106,000*l.* per annum	108,645	10	9
	Husbandry horses, at 95,000*l.* per annum	95,000	—	—
	Dogs, at 70,000*l.* per annum	73,477	10	7
	Duties consolidated anno 1798, on account of 10*l.* per cent. 1796, at 80,190*l.* per annum — and to complete arrears	82,701	17	—½
Computed annual saving, by reducing the allowance for waste on salt	32,000	—	—
Benefit from Consolidated Customs, 116,676*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* the computed annual loss to the public, on account of the reduction in the drawbacks on the exportation of sugar	116,676	5	8
	1,342,396	8	6
Duties pro Anno 1797:			
Silver	86,790	3	5½
Flint Glass	1	7	8½
British Spirits	54,983	—	—
Foreign ditto	216,000	6	8
Tallow	77,624	—	—
Hackney, after reserving the average produce as aforesaid	587,508	15	3
Tea	6,484	1	3
Bricks, &c. (arrears)	128	4	11½
Hackney Coaches	55,117	16	9
Paper	67,008	15	5
Starch	35,681	—	—
Hair	270,278	16	—½
Hackney Licenses (cap. 17.)	2,500	—	—
Ditto — (cap. 102.)	500	—	—
Ten per cent. on assessed taxes	5,486	2	7½
Borne forward	1,466,052	10	1½

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	£. s.
Reserved out of Consolidated Letter Money, by act 41 Geo. III. cap. 7. at 198,408*l.* per annum	198,408 —
Surplus of Consolidated Duties on Four and Two-wheeled Carriages, after reserving as directed by act 38 Geo. III. cap. 41.	8,139 11
Ditto — — on Horses for Riding ditto	90,857 1
Ditto — — on ditto for Husbandry ditto	171,593 15
Ditto — — on Male Servants ditto	69,174 10
Ditto — — on Dogs — ditto	1,712 2
Ditto — — on Houses and Windows ditto, cap. 40.	492,471 12
Ditto — — on Inhabited Houses ditto	45,199 10
Ditto of Letter Money, after ditto, by acts 35 and 37 Geo. III. cap. 18.	
	2,543,648 14
Duties pro Anno 1798:	
Surplus of Consolidated Duties on Salt, after reserving as directed by 38 Geo. III. cap. 89.	389,269 18
Armorial Bearings	3,385 19
Tea	133,492 18
Spirit Licenses	7,000 —
	533,148 15
Duties pro Anno 1799:	
Coffee and Sugar	129,135 4
Duty on Small Notes	13,183 15
Composition for Stamps on ditto	12,000 —
Canal and Dock Duty	11,575 16
	165,884 16
Duties pro Anno 1800:	
British Spirits	70,346 —
Foreign ditto	216,427 13
Tea	136,293 18
Spirit Licenses	33,750 —
	456,817 11
Duties pro Anno 1801:	
Stamps, &c.	365,849 —
Paper (Customs)	427 11
Ditto (Excise)	89,287 —
Timber, &c.	241,478 15
Tea	281,917 15
Riding Horses	26,800 —
Husbandry Horses	38,050 —
Surplus of Consolidated Letter Money, after reserving as directed by acts 35. 37. cap. 18. and 41 cap. 7.	195,036 —
	1,238,846 11
Totals:	
Total of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Incidents, prior to the year 1793	10,725,051 —
Add proportionate part of Sugar, now annually granted	1,652,806 —
Additional Duty on Malt ditto	351,409 —
Duty on Tobacco — ditto	379,188 —
	13,108,454 11
Total Duties pro Anno 1793	275,354 11
Ditto — 1794	752,596 —
Add proportionate part of Sugar, now annually granted	357,360 —
Total Duties pro Anno 1795	1,486,661 —
Ditto — 1796	1,342,396 —
Ditto — 1797	2,543,648 14
Add proportionate part of Sugar, now annually granted	335,027 —
Total Duties pro Anno 1798	533,148 15
Ditto — 1799	165,884 16
Ditto — 1800	456,817 11
Ditto — 1801	1,238,846 11
Grand Total	23,596,198 —

Memorandum:

In order to shew the real amount of the taxes imposed before and since the war—The duce of the duties on sugar, tobacco, and malt, now annually granted, is added to old and to the new ones of which they are respectively a part, while perpetual.

Exchequer, the 28th of May 1802. JAMES FISHER.

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An Account, shewing how the Monies, given for the Service of the Year 1801, have been disposed of; distinguished under their several Heads, as far as relates to that Part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Great Britain.

SERVICES.	£. s. d.	Sum Voted or granted. £. s. d.	Sum paid. £. s. d.	Remains to be paid. £. s. d.
NAVY.				
For wages of 120,000 men, including 22,696 marines, for three lunar months, commencing the 1st day of Jan. 1801, at the rate of 1*l.* 17*s.* per man per month — — — —	666,000 — —			
For victuals for the said 120,000 men, for the same time, at the rate of 1*l.* 18*s.* per man per month — — — —	684,000 — —			
For wear and tear of ships, for the same, at 3*l.* per man per month —	1,080,000 — —			
For the ordinary establishment of the navy, for the same time —	205,000 — —			
For the extraordinary establishment of do. for the same time —	200,000 — —			
For the maintenance of sick prisoners of war, for the same time —	35,000 — —			
For the expense of the transport service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health, same time — — —	475,000 — —			
H h 2 For wages of 135,000 men, including 30,000 marines, for ten lunar months, commencing the 26th of March 1801, at the rate of 1*l.* 17*s.* per man per month — — — — —	2,497,500 — —			
For victuals for the said 135,000 men, for the same time, at the rate of 1*l.* 18*s.* per man per month — — — —	2,565,000 — —			
For wear and tear of ships, in which the said 135,000 men are to serve, for the same time, at the rate of 3*l.* per man per month —	4,050,000 — —			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers, for the same time — — — — —	637,418 5 8			
Towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships in his Majesty's and the merchants' yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done under the heads of wear and tear and ordinary, for the same time — — — —	733,900 — —			
For the expense of the transport service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health, for the same time — —	1,445,718 14 6			
For the care and maintenance of sick prisoners of war, for the same time	155,000 — —			
Borne forward		15,429,537 — 2	15,429,537 — 2	
ORDNANCE.				
I For ordnance for sea service on board the ships in which the said 120,000 men are to serve, for three lunar months, commencing the 1st day of Jan. 1801, at the rate of 5*s.* per man per month — —	90,000 — —			

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SERVICES—*continued.*

	£.	s.	d.	Sum Voted or granted. £.	s.	d.	Sum paid. £.	s.	d.	Remains to be paid. £.	s.	d.
Brought forward	90,000	—	—	15,429,537	—	2	15,429,537	—	2			
ORDNANCE—*continued.*												
For the charge of ordnance for land service, for the months of Jan. Feb. and March 1801 — — — — —	457,000	—	—									
For ordnance for sea service on board the ships in which the said 135,000 men are to serve, for ten lunar months, commencing the 26th day of March 1801, at the rate of 5*s.* per man per month — —	337,500	—	—									
For the charge of the Office of Ordnance for land service for nine months, from 1st day of April to 31st Dec. 1801 — — —	1,083,375	17	7									
For defraying the expenses for services performed by the Office of Ordnance for land service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1799 —	39,972	15	—									
For defraying do. and not provided for by do. 1800 — —	58,706	14	—									
				2,066,555	6	7	934,500	—	—	1,132,055	6	7
FORCES.												
For defraying the charge of 58,528 effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney, from the 25th day of Dec. 1800 to the 24th of March 1801, both inclusive, being 90 days — — — —	562,035	—	—									
For maintaining his Majesty's forces in the plantations, including those serving in Portugal, at Gibraltar, and in the Mediterranean, those stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, and a corps of foot in New South Wales, from the 25th day of Dec. 1800 to the 24th day of March 1801, both inclusive, being 90 days — — — —	501,486	—	—									
For defraying the charge of the embodied militia in Great Britain, of the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and of several corps of fencible infantry, for the same time — — —	374,350	—	—									
For defraying the charge of the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers, and the charge of an allowance to be made to the non-commissioned officers and private men of his Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, in lieu of small beer, for the same time — — — — —	110,000	—	—									
For defraying the charge of recruiting and contingencies for his Majesty's land forces, of forage for the cavalry in barracks in Great Britain, and of extra feed for those in quarters, from the 25th day of Dec. 1800 to the 24th day of March 1801, both inclusive, being 90 days —	127,500	—	—									
For defraying the charge of volunteer corps [illegible]												

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For defraying the charge of foreign corps in the service of Great Britain, for the same time — — — — —	150,000	—	—									
For defraying the charge of 58,387 effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces, in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Great Britain, and in Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney; including the charge of the pay of the commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and private men, with the additional allowance to subalterns, &c.; the charge of clothing non-commissioned officers and private men; the charge of agency; and the charge of allowances to be made to captains and riding-masters, from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days — — — — —	1,653,878	6	5									
For maintaining his Majesty's forces in the plantations, including those serving at Gibraltar, at Minorca, and other stations in the Mediterranean, and at the Cape of Good Hope, and a regiment of foot in New South Wales; including the charge of the pay of the commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and private men, with the additional allowance to subalterns, &c. the charge of clothing the non-commissioned officers and private men, the charge of agency, and the charge of allowances to be made to captains and riding-masters, for the same time	1,724,377	—	4									
For defraying the charge of four troops of dragoons and seventeen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for the purpose of recruiting the regiments serving in East India, from the 25th of Dec. 1800 to the 24th Dec. 1801, both inclusive, being 365 days — —	38,003	9	2									
For defraying the charge of recruiting, and for contingencies, of his Majesty's land forces, and for the charge of extra forage for the cavalry, as well in barracks as in quarters, in Great Britain, from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th day of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days — — — — — —	352,500	—	—									
For defraying the charge of general and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals serving with the forces in Great Britain, and in Guernsey and Jersey, from the 25th day of Dec. 1800 to the 24th day of Dec. 1801, both inclusive, being 365 days — — —	86,522	6	8									
For defraying the charge of the embodied militia and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th day of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days —	973,231	8	9									
Borne forward	6,970,303	11	4	17,496,092	6	9	16,364,037	—	2	1,132,055	6	7

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SERVICES—*continued.*	£.	s.	d.	Sum Voted or granted. £.	s.	d.	Sum paid. £.	s.	d.	Remains to be paid. £.	s.	d.
Brought forward	6,970,303	11	4	17,496,092	6	9	16,364,037	—	2	1,132,055	6	7
FORCES—*continued.*												
For defraying the charge of contingencies for the embodied militia and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, for the year 1801 —	50,000	—	—									
For defraying the charge of clothing for the embodied militia of Great Britain, for the year 1801 — — — —	122,667	1	3									
For defraying the charge of full pay to supernumerary officers of his Majesty's forces, from the 25th day of Dec. 1800 to the 24th day of Dec. 1801, both inclusive, being 365 days — — —	25,662	8	2									
For defraying the charge of the allowances to the principal officers of the several departments under mentioned, their deputies, clerks, and contingent expenses, in Great Britain, viz. to the paymaster general, to the commissary general of the musters, to the judge advocate general, and to the comptrollers of the accounts of the army, and of the amount of Exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaster general, for the year 1801	116,088	14	5									
For defraying the charge of the increased rates of subsistence, to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers; and the charge of an allowance to be made to the non-commissioned officers and private men of his Majesty's land forces, in Great Britain, for small beer, from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th day of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days — — — —	255,000	—	—									
Upon account of the reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces and marines in Great Britain, for the year 1801 — —	138,979	7	1									
For defraying the charge of allowances to one private gentleman of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to one superannuated gentleman of the four troops of horse guards, for the year 1801 —	20	12	11									
On account of several officers late in the service of the States General, for the year 1801 — — — — —	1,000	—	—									
Upon account of the reduced officers of his Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1801 — — — —	52,500	—	—									
For defraying the charge of allowances to several reduced officers of his Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1801 —	7,500											
For defraying the charge of the in and out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, and of the expenses of the said hospital, for the year 1801 —	148,382	—	6									
For defraying the charge of pensions to be paid to the widows of officers												

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For defraying the charge of the barrack department in Great Britain, from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days — — — — —	455,000	—	—								
For defraying the charge of foreign corps in the service of Great Britain, from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th day of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days — — — —	293,929	—	—								
For defraying the charge of an augmentation of his Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, consisting in the whole of 10,321 effective (1,257 invalids included), from the 25th day of March 1801 to the 24th day of Dec. following, both inclusive, being 275 days — —	303,391	4	5								
To defray the extraordinary services of the army in Great Britain, for the year 1801 — — — — —	656,388	8	6								
	2,500,000	—	—	12,117,039	18	7	12,117,039	18	7		
To enable his Majesty to afford such assistance to the Queen of Portugal, as may enable her Majesty to take such measures for the defence of her dominions against her enemies, as the exigencies of affairs may appear to require — — — —				300,000	—	—	200,113	15	4	99,886	4 8
To pay off and discharge Exchequer bills made out on the credit of the duties on income, granted by an act of the 39th year of the reign of his present Majesty — —				1,100,000	—	—	1,100,000	—	—		
To pay off and discharge the Exchequer bills made out on the credit of the duties on goods imported and exported, granted by an act made in the 38th year of the reign of his present Majesty, 250,000*l.* granted, but satisfied with — — — —				235,795	2	10½	235,795	2	10½		
For paying off and discharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act passed in the 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present Majesty, on the credit of the aids or supplies granted for the service of 1800 — — —				4,000,000	—	—	4,000,000	—	—		
To make good the like sum, which has been issued by his Majesty's orders pursuant to addresses of the House of Commons, and which has not been made good by Parliament — — — —	*£.*	*s.*	*d.*								
	21,808	6	3								
To make good the like sum, which has been issued pursuant to do. do.	10,891	11	10								
				32,699	18	1	32,699	18	1		
To make good the under-mentioned sums, which have been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer out of his Majesty's Civil List revenues; that is to say:											
To Bernard Cobbe, Esq. for additional allowances to clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts — — — —	*£.* 2,482	*s.* 16	*d.* —								
Borne forward	2,482	16	—	35,281,627	6	3½	34,049,685	15	—½	1,231,941	18 3

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SERVICES—*continued.*	£.	s.	d.	Sum Voted or granted. £.	s.	d.	Sum paid. £.	s.	d.	Remains to be paid. £.	s.	d.
Brought forward	2,482	16	—	35,281,627	6	3½	34,049,685	15	—½	1,231,941	11	3
To Matthew Martin, Esq. towards carrying into effect a plan for inquiring into the mendicity of the metropolis — — —	500	—	—									
To Edward Ogle, Esq. for expenses incurred upon a plan for the improvement of the port of London — — — —	253	12	7									
To Thomas Brodie, Esq. for continuing the index to the Journals of the House of Lords — — — — —	116	16	—									
To Bernard Cobbe, Esq. to discharge fees on passing public accounts —	3,500	—	—									
To George Rose, Esq. for expenses at the Parliament Office in session 1800 — — — — — —	374	4	8									
To Wm. Chinnery, Esq. to pay bills drawn on account of New South Wales, due in the year 1800, over and above the sum granted by Parliament for that purpose — — — —	6,756	10	5									
To do. to pay bills drawn on account of do. which became due in 1801	7,901	10	4									
To James Wyatt, Esq. to pay artificers employed in various works about the Houses of Parliament — — — —	2,000	—	—									
To Wm. Pollock, Esq. to pay fees on passing a commission appointing commissioners to inquire into the state of the Cold Bath Fields prison	175	3	2									
To Wm. Chinnery, Esq. for medicines sent to New South Wales —	895	16	—									
To the Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords —	2,701	9										
For additional allowances to clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts — — — — —	827	12	—									
To Joseph White, Esq. to enable him to complete the purchase of several old houses for carrying on the works at the new Marshalsea —	528	9	—									
To Arthur Young, Esq. secretary to the Board of Agriculture, for premiums to be paid for essays on breaking up of grass lands —	800	—	—									
				29,813	19	2	29,813	19	2			
For defraying the charge of the civil establishments under mentioned, viz.												
Of the province of Upper Canada in America, from 1st January to 31st December 1801				7,950	—	—	7,950	—	—			
Do. — of Nova Scotia in America, from do. to do. — —				5,915	—	—	5,915	—	—			
Do. — of New Brunswick in America, from 24th June to do. —				2,420	10	10	2,420	10	10			
Of the island of Saint John in America, now called Prince Edward Island, from 1st January to do. — — — —				1,900	—	—	1,900	—	—			
Do. — of Cape Breton in America, from 24th June to do. —				957	16	—½	957	16	—½			
Do. — of Newfoundland [illegible] from 1st April to do. —				1,641	8	5	1,641	8	5			

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For New South Wales; from 10th October 1800 to do.	7,146 — —	7,146 — —	600 — —
Sierra Leone, for one year to do.	4,000 — —	4,000 — —	
To be employed in repairing, maintaining, and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	20,000 — —	20,000 — —	
To be advanced to the Governor and Company of the Merchants of England trading into the Levant Seas, to be applied in assisting the said Company in carrying on their trade	5,000 — —	- - - - -	5,000 — —
For defraying the charge of the superintendence of aliens, for the year 1801	7,620 — —	7,620 — —	
For defraying the extraordinary expenses incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin of this kingdom, in the year 1800	2,270 18 2	2,270 18 2	
For defraying the expenses likely to be incurred for confining and maintaining convicts at home, for the year 1801	45,317 6 5	25,195 4 3	20,122 2 2
For defraying the expenses likely to be incurred for printing the Journals of the House of Commons, for printing and delivering the Votes, and for printing Bills, Reports, and other papers, by order of the House of Commons, for one year, to 31st December 1801	10,000 — —	7,631 16 10	2,368 3 2
To discharge the probable amount of bills expected during the course of the present year 1801, from or on account of New South Wales, for the expenditures of that colony and Norfolk Island, exclusive of the estimate of their civil establishment	25,000 — —	25,000 — —	
For defraying the expenses of the Commission under the seventh article of the American treaty, including the salaries of the British Commissioners, for the year 1801	3,550 — —	1,756 — —	1,794 — —
For the relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese and Corsican emigrants, certain Saint Domingo sufferers, and American loyalists, for the year 1801	268,772 — —	233,772 — —	35,000 — —
For his Majesty's foreign and other secret services, for the year 1801	50,000 — —	37,440 2 6	12,559 17 6
To make good the like sum, which has been paid for interest of Exchequer bills made out pursuant to an act of the 39th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for raising the Sum of Three Millions, by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year 1799"	151,643 16 8	151,643 16 8	
For paying interest on sundry Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of several acts of the 39th and 39th and 40th years of his present Majesty	305,484 7 2	305,484 7 2	
To make good the sums paid for discount on prompt payments to the loan and lottery, granted for the service of the year 1800	177,330 18 10	177,330 18 10	
To make good the money paid to the Bank of England, for receiving contributions to the loan and lottery, for the service of the year 1800	17,518 14 7	17,518 14 7	
To make good the money paid to John Farhill, Esq. secretary to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, for salaries to the officers, and incidental expenses of the said Commission	902 14 6	902 14 6	
To make good the money paid to the officers of the Exchequer, for extra trouble in making out Exchequer bills	1,000 — —	1,000 — —	
Borne forward	36,439,784 15 5	35,130,097 2 11¼	1,309,687 12 5¾

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SERVICES—*continued.*

	Sum Voted or granted. £. s. d.	Sum paid. £. s. d.	Remains to be paid. £. s. d.
Brought forward	36,439,784 15 5	35,130,097 2 11¾	1,309,687 12 5¼
To make good the like sum paid to John Wilmot, Esq. for a clerk employed on various businesses and references relative to American claims — — —	132 3 6	132 3 6	
For the Board of Agriculture, for the service of the year 1801 — — —	3,000 — —	3,000 — —	
To be applied in support of an institution called the Veterinary College, for the year 1801	1,500 — —	1,500 — —	
To be applied for the purchase of land and the construction of buildings for a royal military college, being the sum that will probably be required for the said service in the year 1801	30,000 — —	13,400 — —	16,600 — —
For defraying the expenses incurred, and expected to be incurred, on account of certain premises at Chelsea, intended for a royal military asylum for the reception of the children of soldiers — — — — — — — —	8,400 — —	- - - - -	8,400 — —
To be issued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt —	200,000 — —	200,000 — —	
Towards enabling the Trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by Parliament — — — — —	3,000 — —	3,000 — —	
For defraying the charge of the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain, for the year 1801 — — — — — —	5,000 — —	5,000 — —	
To be applied, under such regulations as his Majesty shall think fit, for the purpose of laying in stores of herrings and other fish at convenient places, and of distributing them for the use of the different parts of the kingdom — — — — —	50,000 — —	10,000 — —	40,000 — —
To enable his Majesty to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require —	2,000,000 — —	2,000,000 — —	
To make good the deficiency of the malt duty granted for the service of the year 1799, at Lady Day 1801 — — — — — —	522,777 8 —	522,777 8 —	
For payment of American and East Florida orders, made out pursuant to acts 28th and 30th Geo. III. — — — — — — —	859 5 —	859 5 —	
£.	39,264,453 11 11	37,889,765 19 5¼	1,374,687 12 5¼

Payments for other Services, not being Part of the Supplies granted for the Year.

For interest on Exchequer bills — — — — — — — — — — — —	—	—	505,520 1 1
For salaries of the officers, and incidental expenses of the office of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt —	—	—	2,865 15 —
For the purchase of one-third part of the annuity of 19,000*l.* payable to the Duke of Richmond, pursuant to act 39 & 40 Geo. III. cap. 43.	—	—	144,611 8 —
To the officers of the Exchequer, for extra trouble in making out Exchequer bills	—	—	500 — —
To the Bank of England, for prompt payments to loan 28,000,600*l.* — — —	—	£. 457,893 14 8	458,514 8 7
Do. - - - - - to lottery 1801 — —	—	620 13 11	
To the Bank of England, for receiving and paying contributions to loan 28,000,000*l.*	—	22,562 3 4	23,562 3 4
Do. - - - - - subscriptions to lottery 1801 — —	—	1,000 — —	1,000 — —

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	£.	s.	d.
£. per lib. on pensions, offices, &c. —	2,000,000	—	—
Duty on malt continued 1801 — —	750,000	—	—
Monies reserved in the Exchequer for particular services, since 10th May 1787 — —	4,080	11	6½
Do. remaining in do. of contributions to lotteries granted prior to the year 1799 — —	8,280	16	11½
Surplus of grants 1800, voted for 1801 —	65,837	19	7½
Do. - grants to Elector of Bavaria —	65,671	4	—
Do. - do. to the Emperor of Germany —	433,333	6	8
Exchequer bills, per act 41 Geo. III. cap. 81. (Vote of credit) — — —	2,000,000	—	—
Lottery — — —	201,250	—	—
Loan, part of 28,000,000*l.* — —	25,500,000	—	—
Duties on goods imported and exported —	1,200,000	—	—
Income duties — — —	4,000,000	—	—
Interest on land-tax redeemed — —	50,000	—	—
Surplus consolidated fund — —	3,100,000	—	—
£.	39,378,453	18	10
Amount of sums voted £.	39,264,453	11	11
Surplus £.	114,000	6	11

	£.	s.	d.
In contributions to loan — —	86,793	3	7½
Duties on income — —	3,598,280	1	8½
Duties on goods imported and exported —	484,878	1	7½
Contributions to lottery — —	171,256	11	2
Interest on land-tax redeemed —	24,706	3	9
Surplus consolidated fund — —	3,100,000	—	—
	7,465,914	1	4½
By the amount of payments for services, not being part of the supplies granted for the year, if the same shall be made good by Parliament —	1,137,073	18	—
	8,602,987	19	4½
Deduct the amount of Exchequer bills outstanding, charged on the above funds £.	6,614,300	—	—
Deduct also the sum to be reserved for payment of the prizes of lottery 1801	500,000	—	—
	7,114,300	—	—
	1,488,687	19	4½
Amount of sums remaining to be paid £.	1,374,687	12	5½
Surplus £.	114,000	6	11

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 5th February 1802.

JOSEPH ALCOCK.

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An Account shewing how the Monies granted for the Service of the Year 1801, for that Part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, has been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads.

Heads of Grants and Expenditure.	Sums granted. Irish Money. £. s. d.	Sums paid. Irish Money. £. s. d.	Remains of Grant. Irish Money. £. s. d.
Army, including invalids, and 75,000*l.* transferred from the grant for recruiting and contingencies for the land forces, also 30,000*l.* transferred from grant for small beer	713,424 6 —	713,007 17 7½	416 8 4½
Additional pay for Dublin duty	9,808 4 5	9,769 8 3	38 16 2
General and staff officers and officers of the hospitals	52,213 14 1	45,684 8 11½	6,529 5 1½
Extra forage for the cavalry	254,963 2 6	175,970 14 5	78,992 8 1
Garrisons with fire and candle, &c.	5,787 16 7	5,597 14 9½	190 1 9½
Chaplains to the garrison of Dublin, and to the forces stationed at sundry other places	622 15 —	272 — 2½	350 14 9½
Mustermaster-general and other principal officers of several departments, their deputies, clerks, and contingent expenses	6,950 13 9½	6,001 11 9	949 2 —½
Recruiting and contingencies for the land forces, deducting 75,000*l.* transferred to the head of army	16,431 5 4	3,325 6 5½	13,105 18 10½
Half-pay for regimental and warrant officers of his Majesty's land forces	12,380 9 1½	15,946 2 4½	146 18 6½
Allowance to retired chaplains	3,712 11 10		
Allowance to widows of officers of the land forces	5,462 7 10½	5,198 4 9½	264 3 —½
Ordnance for land service	324,899 15 2	324,899 15 2	
Barrack department	368,017 14 5	329,220 10 11	38,797 3 6
Military hospitals for medicines, bedding, and contingencies	20,758 2 8½	19,983 15 —½	774 7 8½
Royal Military Infirmary	2,395 18 8	2,395 18 8	
In and out pensioners of the Royal Hospital near Kilmainham, and the expenses of said Hospital	38,916 12 8½	32,999 16 8½	5,916 16 —
Militia and corps of fencibles, including 12,097*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* for additional field officers to the several corps of militia, 37,322*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* for contingencies for militia and fencibles, and 60,000*l.* transferred from the grant for an allowance to the forces for small beer	1,605,522 7 6	1,572,572 18 —	32,949 9 6
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men of his Majesty's forces, when on a march	35,000 — —	3,270 4 11	31,729 15 1
Volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry	460,567 6 8	288,265 8 1½	172,301 18 6½
Extraordinary services of the army	650,000 — —	353,293 1 1½	296,706 18 10½
Public officers for several services	2,060 — —	2,060 — —	
Miscellaneous services	101,846 17 2	97,798 12 4	4,048 4 10
Public boards	53,100 — —	53,100 — —	
Public hospitals and schools	73,084 — —	72,981 5 5½	102 14 6½
Vote of credit	325,000 — —	334,368 14 10	
	5,142,926 1 6½	4,467,983 10 11½	684,311 5 4½
Being in British sterling £.	4,747,316 6 —	4,124,292 10 1½	631,671 18 10

N. B. There appears to be an excess of 9,368*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* Irish, being 8,648*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* British sterling, in the vote of credit, which arises from some items being included under that head, which ought to have been stated as army extraordinaries.

GEORGE CAVENDISH.

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An Account of the Extraordinary Expenses of the Army, incurred and paid by the Right Honourable the Paymaster-general of his Majesty's Forces, in the Year 1801, and not provided for by Parliament.

	£.
To bills of exchange, drawn by Henry Motz, Esq. commissary-general in the Mediterranean, for public services — — — —	371,428
To do. drawn by Alexander Fernandez, assistant commissary-general in do. for do.	220,970
To do. drawn by George Burgman, deputy commissary-general in do. for do. —	256,452
To do. drawn by John Wood, deputy commissary-general on the continent, for do. — — — — — — — —	260,000
To do. drawn by Lord Minto, minister at Vienna, for do. — —	200,162
To do. drawn by the Earl of Elgin, ambassador extraordinary to the Sublime Porte, for do. — — — — — — — —	117,792
To do. drawn by John Glasford, acting commissary-general in the Windward and Leeward Islands, for do. — — — — —	420,370
£.	1,847,174

Pay Office, Horse Guards, 2d February 1802.

P. GEORGE CRAUFURD, Accountant-general.

An Account of the total Produce of the Duties of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Incidents, respectively, for one Year, ended the 5th Day of January 1802; *distinguishing, as far as possible, in each Branch, the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the four Quarters of the Year: viz.*

	Duties applicable to the Consolidated Fund.			Temporary Duties.			Total.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The total produce of the duties of customs for one year, ended the 5th day of January 1802, as per account	2,499,972	3	8½	3,371,228	13	7½	5,871,200	17	4½
Do. of the duties of excise for do. as per account	10,164,888	—	—	1,095,222	—	—	11,260,110	—	—
Do. of the duties of stamps for do. as per account	2,852,726	8	11	——			2,852,726	8	11
Do. of incidents at the receipt of the Exchequer for do. as per account	4,705,176	10	8	——			4,705,176	10	8
£.	20,222,763	3	3½	4,466,450	13	7½	24,689,213	16	11½

Memorandum.

The above sum of 4,705,176*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* stated in the account of incidents at the Exchequer, includes 935,870*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* being the amount of imprests and other monies paid within the above period, of which 802,188*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* was paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, on account of loans for the service of Ireland.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 14th June 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

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An Account of the gross Assessment and net Produce of the Income Duty in Great Britain, for the Year ending 5th April 1801; distinguishing the Charges of Collection and Deductions, and distinguishing the Returns made to Commercial Commissioners.

Amount of Gross Assessments.																							
By Commissioners for General Purposes.			By Commercial Commissioners.						Total.			Charges of Collection.			Amount of Deductions on Account of Children.			Net Produce.					
			On Income from Trade.			On Income from other Sources.																	
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
4,658,491	15	9½	1,175,836	16	1	410,109	18	11	6,244,438	10	9½	162,825	—	—	371,040	17	3½	5,710,572	13	6			

The charges of collection cannot be accurately ascertained until the duties be paid into the Exchequer, and the accounts of the Receivers General and the Commercial Commissioners passed there. The above is taken from the account of the expenses actually incurred, and the best estimate that can be formed of what may reasonably be incurred for charges not yet settled; to which has been added, an estimate of the expenses to be incurred in the collection of arrears subsequent to the 5th of April 1802, and which may be applicable to the duties of the year ending the 5th day of April 1801.

Office for Taxes,
30th March 1802.

WILLIAM LOWNDES.
BARNE BARNE.
HORACE HAYES.
G. T. GOODENOUGH.

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An Account shewing what Increase or Diminution has taken place in the Number and Amount of the Salaries, Emoluments, and Expenses of all the Public Offices in Great Britain, for the Year 1801.

	Increase.			Diminution.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Treasury	2,491	5	6½	—		
Secretary of State, Home Department	2,358	3	2	—		
Do. - - Foreign do.	3,908	16	4	—		
Do. - - War do.	687	4	6	—		
Alien Office	615	—	—	—		
War Office	4,982	18	10	—		
Ordnance Office	12,647	18	4	—		
Admiralty	2,513	8	2	—		
Navy	—			749	13	8
Victualling	419	19	—	—		
Sick and Hurt	333	19	6	—		
Transport Office	—			518	13	9
Tax Office	3,692	19	9½	—		
Stamp Office	—			1,205	6	8
Post Office	—			4,158	7	3
Customs	22,050	5	—	—		
Excise	82,147	5	2	—		
Exchequer Bill Office	65	16	4	—		
Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts	2,333	14	7½	—		
Mustermaster-general's Office	—			27	9	2
Lottery Office	—			93	—	—
Stationary Office	340	4	—	—		
Customs, Scotland	1,073	11	1½	—		
Excise, do.	11,902	19	4½	—		
Comptrollers Army Accounts	50	—	—	—		
Auditors Land Revenue	13	7	—	—		
Barrack Office	—			424	—	—
Signet Office	52	10	—	—		
Office for the Reduction of the National Debt	75	—	—	—		
Hackney Coach Office	—			—		
Mint	—			—		
Surveyor Crown Lands	—			—		
Paymaster General	—			—		
Auditor Receipt of the Exchequer	—			—		
Surveyor General of Woods	—			—		
Solicitor of the Treasury	Nil.			Nil.		
Receiver of the 1s. and 6d. Duties on Pensions, &c.	—			—		
Remembrancer of First Fruits	—			—		
Receiver of do.	—			—		
Receiver of Tenths	—			—		
Privy Seal Office	—			—		
Hawkers and Pedlars	—			—		
£.	154,756	5	9½	7,176	10	6
	7,176	10	6			
£.	147,579	15	3½			

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 15th June 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

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Amount of the Annual Charge of the Public Debt, created in the Years under-mentioned; an Produce of the several Duties granted for defraying the same, in the Year ended 5th Ja 1802.

Years.	Charge.			Produce.			Surplus.			Deficiency.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.		
1793 -	252,812	10	—	280,517	4	11	27,704	14	11			
1794 -	773,324	—	9½	1,105,827	7	9½	332,503	7	—½			
1795 -	1,227,415	3	11	1,476,190	9	6½	248,775	5	7½			
1796 -	1,850,373	3	3	1,277,220	15	11	- - - - - -			573,152	7	
1797 -	3,241,348	1	1	2,897,610	15	2	- - - - - -			343,737	5	
1798 -	585,941	18	6½	593,354	4	8	7,412	6	1½			
1799 -	333,682	3	3	152,612	7	8	- - - - - -			181,069	15	
1800 -	317,532	10	—	456,056	13	4	138,524	3	4			
1801 -	1,812,817	6	3	929,681	2	—	- - - - - -			883,136	4	
£.	10,395,246	17	1	9,169,071	1	—¼	754,919	17	—¼	1,981,095	12	
										754,919	17	
Deficiency on the whole of the duties in the year ended 5 Jan. 1802 £.										1,226,175	15	

N. B. The charges created by funding 8,910,450*l.* in Exchequer bills, &c. pursu act 42 Geo. III. cap. 8. are not included in the above account; the payments there having been completed previous to 5 January 1802; and no provision having yet been m Parliament for defraying the same.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, the 18th day of March 1802.

N. VANSITTA

An Account of the Sums received in the Exchequer upon the Duty of 4½ per Cent. from t January 1785 to the 5th of January 1801, distinguishing each Year.

	£.
Total receipt in the year ended the 5th January 1786 - - - -	20,590
1787 - - - -	22,478
1788 - - - -	32,315
1789 - - - -	25,594
1790 - - - -	23,048
1791 - - - -	17,260
1792 - - - -	25,211
1793 - - - -	39,150
1794 - - - -	31,772
1795 - - - -	43,82
1796 - - - -	34,65
1797 - - - -	37,35
1798 - - - -	55,69
1799 - - - -	28,89
1800 - - - -	32,12
1801 - - - -	21,53
	£. 491,56

Exchequer, 29th March 1802.

JAMES FI

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Account of the Net Revenue of the Post Office paid into the Exchequer, exclusive of Parliamentary Grants, from the 5th April 1761 to 5th April 1802, distinguishing each Year; together with an Account of annual Remittances from Scotland for the same Period.

Years (ending 5th April).	Exchequer Payments. £. s. d.	Edinburgh Remittances. £. s. d.
1761	36,400 — —	7,345 5 11
1762	36,400 — —	8,602 12 11
1763	36,400 — —	6,000 — —
1764	46,400 — —	6,200 — —
1765	88,100 — —	7,600 — —
1766	101,400 — —	11,300 — —
1767	105,400 — —	11,900 — —
1768	109,400 — —	12,100 — —
1769	110,400 — —	12,500 — —
1770	105,400 — —	11,800 — —
1771	100,100 — —	12,000 — —
1772	118,400 — —	12,000 — —
1773	149,400 — —	12,000 — —
1774	147,400 — —	12,000 — —
1775	153,400 — —	12,000 — —
1776	165,100 — —	12,300 — —
1777	141,400 — —	12,600 — —
1778	118,400 — —	16,383 12 4
1779	121,400 — —	16,964 12 4
1780	121,400 — —	18,250 — —
1781	142,400 — —	20,000 — —
1782	103,100 — —	20,000 — —
1783	148,400 — —	20,000 — —
1784	177,400 — —	20,000 — —
1785	225,100 — —	26,500 — —
1786	264,000 — —	29,000 — —
1787	254,000 — —	28,000 — —
1788	274,000 — —	28,018 7 6
1789	300,000 — —	34,635 3 8
1790	361,000 — —	32,900 — —
1791	325,000 — —	33,900 — —
1792	340,484 3 9½	33,130 11 3
1793	384,000 — —	50,225 12 11
1794	392,000 — —	44,332 — —
1795	421,000 — —	34,664 19 5
1796	442,000 — —	43,811 15 10
1797	500,000 — —	57,204 15 9
1798	632,000 — —	68,390 18 5
1799	683,000 — —	64,959 10 3
1800	699,000 — —	84,481 18 8
1801	743,000 — —	78,336 9 9
1802	858,000 — —	85,791 11 3

Examined, per

May 1802. THOS. CHURCH, Deputy Accountant General.

Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 1,000,000l. being Part of the Sum of 2,000,000l. granted to his Majesty, to take such Measures as the Exigencey of Affairs may require.—Paid by the Right Honourable the Paymaster-general of his Majesty's Forces.

	£.
Mr. Watson, Esq. commissary-general of stores and provisions, to enable him to provide the several articles for the use of the forces that are to be supplied from the department	389,000
The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on account of pay, subsidy, &c. for his troops employed in the service of Great Britain, under treaty, in the years 1793, 1794, 1795	40,000
Count de Front, envoy extraordinary from the King of Sardinia, in part payment of 3 months subsidy, to the 25th April 1796	40,000
The representatives of Cornwall Smalley, Esq. for the payment of bills passed by Messrs. Thornton and Power, by Mr. Wickham	150,000
To be applied on account of subsidiary corps on the continent	200,000
Bills of exchange drawn by John Wood, deputy commissary-general on the Continent	130,000
	£.1,000,000

Office, Horse Guards, 8 February 1802.

P. GEORGE CRAUFURD, Accountant General.

Account, shewing how the Million, granted by Parliament in Aid of the Naval Supplies for the Service of the Year 1801, has been applied.

	£. s. d.
Applied to the navy, for wear and tear	444,444 8 10
wages	274,074 1 7
victualling	281,481 9 7
Total	£.1,000,000 — —

A. S. HAMMOND. S. GAMBIER. F. J. HARTWELL.

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An Account of all Pensions granted since the 1st of January 1797; with the Names of the Persons to whom granted, and the Amount of each. Ordered to be printed May 14, 1801.

Date of Grants.	Names.	Amount £
1797.		
29th March.	Edgcombe, Peggy	—
11th July.	Erskine, Mary Henrietta	—
19th.	Hyde, Rev. George Hooten, continuation of a grant from K. Will. and Q. Mary to his family, for services	—
2d September.	Mordaunt, Lady Mary	—
	Bulkeley, Lady Frances	—
17th November.	Ross, James Tyrrell	—
1798.		
13th January.	Mudge, Thomas	—
7th February.	M'Laine, Harriet Anne	—
2d May.	Davis, Mary	—
	Lewhellin, Ann	—
20th March.	Brooks, Lydia, widow of the late Samuel Brooks, one of his Majesty's messengers in ordinary	—
22d August.	Woodford, Sir Ralph	—
16th October.	Cathcart, Elizabeth, Baroness	—
24th.	Lempriere, John, and Eliz. Badinell his wife, severally and successively	—
2d November.	Roberts, David	—
21st December.	Wilson, Dr. James	—
1799.		
6th March.	Cranston, Henry, in trust for James Lord Cranston	—
3d April.	Goddard, Ch. Esq. to be wholly or proportionably suspended agreeable to the amount of any office he may hold	—
17th.	Sutton, T. Manners, G. Downing, and M. Beachcroft, in trust for Mary Anne Herries	—
	Do. - do. - do. - in trust for Isabella Maria Herries	
	Do. - do. - do. - in trust for Catharine Herries	—
	Do. - do. - do. - in trust for Julia Mary Herries	—
10th June.	Howell, Ann	—
24th July.	Lloyd, Joyce, widow	—
26th.	Jardine, Joanna	—
14th August.	Leslie, Lord	—
2d October.	Byron, Catharine Gordon	—
	Nott, Charlotte Georgiana Augusta	—
	Nott, Augusta	—
1800.		
9th May.	Bearcroft, Clare St. George	—
21st.	Gower, Earl, and Archibald M'Donald, in trust for Gertrude Phillipine Kutzleben	—
29th.	Hereford, Viscount and Viscountess, and the survivor of them; and after their decease, 150*l.* per ann. to each of their six children	—
11th June.	M'Laine, Charles Anthony	—
7th October.	D'Ivernois, Sir Francis	—
	Jardine, Christine	—
	Livingston, Edmund	—
8th.	Montford, Thomas Lord	—
9th.	Mallet du Pan, Frances	—
14th.	Maurice, Thomas, clerk	—
16th.	Swinburne, Mary	—
20th.	Mundy, Rev. Robert	—
24th.	Mordaunt, Lady Mary, additional pension of	—
1801.		
19th January.	Mitchell, Rev. William	—
1st February.	Villiars, Rt. Hon. J. and Wm. Garthstone, in trust for Lady Louisa Paget	—
12th March.	Fitzgerald, Lord Robert	—
	Green, Elizabeth	—
	Miller, Ann	—
14th.	Hewgill, Elizabeth	—
	Pierson, Rev. Robert	—
	Spiegel, Van de, Digna Johanna, and after her death to be equally divided among her four sons and five daughters, or such of them as shall survive her	—

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1797.	*Contingent Pensions:*	
th September.	Wilmot, Sarah Ann, wife of J. Wilmot, Esq. to commence from the death of the said J. Wilmot — — —	£. 400
th November.	Hayter, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. J. Hayter, and to Sophia Hayter, their daughter, respectively and successively, to commence from the death of the said J. Hayter — —	131
1798.		
21th January.	Hammond, George, Esq. late minister plenipotentiary to America, to commence when he shall cease to hold his present office of under secretary of state, and not be in possession of any other office or place of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal sign manual — — —	1,200
8th August.	Mayor, Mary, to commence from the day of the death of her husband John Mayor — — — —	400
1799.		
3d April.	Fraser, Charlotte Mary Ann, William John Theodore, Charles Henry, and Jane Wilhelmina Agnes, children of Charles Henry Fraser, in equal proportions, and to the survivors or survivor of them; to commence and take effect from the day of the decease of the said Charles Henry Fraser — — —	400
	William Huskisson, Esq. 1,200*l.* per annum, during pleasure; to commence and take effect when he shall cease to hold the office of one of his Majesty's under secretaries of state, and not be in possession of any other office or place of equal value.——N. B. This pension was revoked, and another granted for life, to the like amount, on the 14th of March 1801. Vide *.	
1801.		
3d April.	Gilbert Baron Minto, during life; to commence from the time he shall cease to be his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Germany, but to be suspended when and so long as he shall be and continue in possession of any office, place, or employment, of the annual value of 2,000*l.* and to be continued, on the death of Lord Minto, to the Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas, and Sir George Cornwall, during the life, and in trust for such son of Lord Minto as shall succeed to the title of Baron Minto — — — —	1,200
1801.		
th March *.	William Huskisson, Esq. for life, to commence when he ceases to hold the office of under secretary of state, but to be suspended when and so long as he shall be and continue in possession of any office, place, or employment, of the annual value of 1,200*l.* or upwards — — — — —	1,200

hall, *Treasury Chambers*,
14th May 1801.

N. VANSITTART.

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ccount of all Pensions or annual Gratuities whatsoever (the ordinary Salaries of Public Offices epted), charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and the 4½ per Cent. Duties, since the January 1786.

New Charges, since January 1786, upon the Consolidated Fund.	Pensions per Annum.
and descendants of William Penn, Esq. — — — — —	£. 4,000 — —
St. Vincent — — — — — — —	2,000 — —
Viscount Duncan — — — — — — —	2,000 — —
n Nelson — — — — — — —	2,000 — —
Royal Highness the Duke of Kent — — — — — —	12,000 — —
Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland — — — — —	12,000 — —
ames Marriott — — — — — — —	2,000 — —
Rosslyn — — — — — — —	4,000 — —
e of Richmond (granted for 19,000*l.* per annum, but reduced by act of rliament to) — — — — —	12,666 13 4
William Henry Ashhurst — — — — —	2,000 — —
Richard Perryn — — — — — —	2,000 — —
John Skynner — — — — — —	500 — —
Sydney Smith — — — — — —	1,000 — —
oness Abercromby — — — — — —	2,000 — —
Royal Highness the Prince of Wales — — — —	65,000 — —
Exchequer,	
the 24th Day of May 1802. JAMES FISHER.	£. 125,166 13 4

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The Pensions and Allowances

	Estimated in 1786.	YEAR 5 Jan. 1787.	5 Jan. 1788.	5 Jan. 1789.	5 Jan. 1790.	5 Jan. 1791. £.	s.	d.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.		
His Majesty's privy purse -	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	—	—
The Queen - - -	58,000	56,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	—	—
The Prince of Wales - -	50,000	50,000	57,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	—	—
Duke of York, Prince William, and the other Princes - -	14,500	11,000						
Duke of Cumberland - -	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	6,239	13	9¾
Princess Amelia - -	12,000	9,000						
Duke of Clarence - -	—	3,500	3,500	3,500	9,875	12,000	—	—
Princes William, Edward, Ernest Augustus, and Adolphus -	—	—	8,500	6,000	6,000			
Duke of York - - -	—	—	6,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	—	—
The Princes Edward, Ernest Augustus, and Adolphus -	—	—	—	—	—	8,500	—	—
Duchess Dowager of Cumberland	—	—	—	—	—	1,226	16	0¾
The Prince of Wales, for support of the Princess Charlotte -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duke of Cambridge - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
£.	203,500	198,500	202,500	208,500	214,875	217,966	9	10½

An Account of all annual Payments charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and 4½ per Cent. Duties, and paid to any Branch of the Royal Family since the 4th January 1786.

Payments in the Year	To their Royal Highnesses: William Henry Duke of Gloucester.	Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland.	William Henry Duke of Clarence.	Frederick Duke of York.	Frederique Charlotte Duchess of York.	George Prince of Wales.	Edward Duke of Kent.	Ernest Augustus Duke of Cumberland.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1786	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1787	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1788	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1789	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1790	17,000	4,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1791	17,000	—	9,000	7,000	2,000	—	—	—
1792	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	—	—	—
1793	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	—	—	—
1794	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	—	—	—
1795	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	81,250	—	—
1796	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	—	—
1797	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	—	—
1798	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	—	—
1799	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	9,000	9,000
1800	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	12,000	12,000
1801	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	12,000	12,000
	272,000	36,000	129,000	147,000	42,000	471,250	33,000	33,000

Exchequer, the 24th Day of April 1802. JAMES FISHER.

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to the Royal Family.

ENDED

5 Jan. 1792.	5 Jan. 1793.	5 Jan. 1794.	5 Jan. 1795.	5 Jan. 1796.	5 Jan. 1797.	5 Jan. 1798.	5 Jan. 1799.	5 Jan. 1800.	5 Jan. 1801.	5 Jan. 1802.
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000
60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
3,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	625	2,500	2,500	2,500
12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	9,000	9,000	9,000	2,250		
4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
—	—	—	—	—	5,967	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,000
205,500	202,500	202,500	202,500	202,500	208,967	209,000	209,625	204,750	202,500	208,500

The Salaries of the Chancellor, the Speaker, and the Judges of England and Wales.

Years.	Estimate of 1786.			Charge.			Increase.			Decrease.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	32,955	—	—									
1787	—	—	—	32,361	2	—	—	—	—	593	18	—
1788	—	—	—	32,433	15	9½	—	—	—	521	4	2½
1789	—	—	—	32,813	5	7½	—	—	—	141	14	4½
1790	—	—	—	32,748	14	6	—	—	—	206	5	6
1791	—	—	—	32,125	—	—	—	—	—	830	—	—
1792	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
1793	—	—	—	32,960	—	—	5	—	—			
1794	—	—	—	32,897	2	6	—	—	—	57	17	6
1795	—	—	—	32,948	3	7½	—	—	—	6	16	4½
1796	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
1797	—	—	—	32,320	—	—	—	—	—	635	—	—
1798	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
1799	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
1800	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
1801	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
1802	—	—	—	32,955	—	—						
				524,292	4	—¼	5	—	—	2,992	15	11¼
										5	—	—
Total decrease below the estimate £.										2,987	15	11¼

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An Account of all Places for Life or Lives, whether held by Patent or otherwise: specifying the Dates of such Patents or other Instruments by which such Places are held; the Names of the Persons who hold the same; and the Salaries and Fees belonging thereto:—and also, a like Account of all Patents of such Places granted to any Person or Persons in Reversion. Ordered to be printed February 8, 1802.

Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries. £. s. d.	Fees. £. s. d.	To whom in Reversion.
CUSTOMS.—Collector Customs Inwards London	Patent for life	21 April 1784	Earl of Liverpool — —	736 13 4	1,094 16 6	
Surveyor General — — — London	Ditto	31 July 1773	Earl of Chichester —	500 — —	997 17 11	
Comptroller Inwards and Outwards — London	Ditto	26 August 1778	Earl of Guildford —	375 — —	927 13 4	
Surveyor of Subsidies and Petty Customs London	Ditto	16 December 1757	Lord Stawell — —	320 — —	905 7 —	
Comptroller of Cloth and Petty Customs Inwards and Outwards — — London	Ditto	29 June 1750	Lancelot Harrison —	200 — —		
Register General of all Trading Ships belonging to Great Britain — — —	Ditto	30 August 1749	Peter Shaw — —	500 — —	None.	
Register of Seizures — — — —	Ditto	14 October 1779	Bryan Broughton —	250 — —		
Collector Outwards — — — London	Treasury Warrant	13 September 1788	Ja. Meller, for his Grace the Duke of Manchester	276 13 4	1,694 4 6	
Comptroller General — — — —	Patent for life	10 March 1800	Thomas Taylor — —	1,000 — —	None.	Lord F. Montague, as per sect. 5. 38 Geo. III. c 86.
Inspector of Prosecutions in the Court of Exchequer	—	—	——	2,000 — —	—	J. Robinson and H. Nevill (now Earl of Abergavenny) and the survivor.
EXCISE.—Register — — — —	Ditto	25 February 1748	Thomas Ryder — —	296 5 —	None.	
Auditor — — — — —	Ditto	2 November 1772	Richard Stonehewer —	561 5 —	None.	
SECRETARY of STATE—HOME DEPARTMENT.—						
Secretary and Clerk of the Inrolments — — In the Island of Jamaica	Ditto	4 May 1763	Cha. Wm. Wyndham, Esq.			
Register in Chancery — — — —	Ditto	4 May 1763	Percy Cha. Wyndham, Esq.			
Receiver General — — — —	Ditto	24 August 1776	Ts. Walley Partington, Esq. and his heirs and assigns during the life of George Germaine, Esq.			
Clerk of the Navy Office — — —	Ditto	8 March 1796	John King — —		—	To John James King, 27 January 1798.
Provost Marshal — — — —	Ditto	4 May 1763	Lord Braybrooke —			
Clerk of the Markets — — — —	Ditto	16 January 1782	Geo. Sackville Sutherland, Esq.			
Secretary and Clerk of the Courts, Barbadoes —	Ditto	4 May 1763	Percy Cha. Wyndham, Esq.			
Provost Marshal — — — —	Ditto	5 July 1765	Lord Ducie — —		—	Thomas Carter, Esq. August 1801.
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown, Leeward Islands	Ditto	24 October 1757	Ja. Townshend Oswald, Esq.			
Provost Marshal — — — —	Ditto	4 May 1771	J. Lillingston Pownall, Esq. and for the life of his bro-			

N.B. The salaries or fees belonging to the above offices, are payable in the course to which they belong, and there is no account of them in this office.

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Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Date of Patent or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Keeper of State Papers — — —	Patent for life	29 July 1799	John Bruce, Esq. —	500 — —	None.	
Clerks of the Signet — — — —	Ditto	Dec. 1762	James Rivers, Esq. —	—	273 — —	W. H. E. Bentinck, Esq. on the decease of either of the four clerks.
		Oct. 1767	John Tirrel Morin, Esq. —	—	273 — —	
		Feb. 1782	William Frazer, Esq. —	—	273 — —	
		Jan. 1801	Brook Taylor, Esq. —	—	273 — —	
SECRETARY of STATE, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.						
Collector and Transmitter of State Papers —	Patent	31 Oct. 1795	Charles Goddard — —	500 — —	None.	
PRIVY SEAL OFFICE.—1st Clerk —	—	July 1758	Richard Grenville —	200 — —		
2d ditto — — — —	—	May 1776	Jacob Reynardson —	200 — —		
3d ditto — — — —	Patents for life —	Feb. 1787	James Macdonald —	200 — —		
4th ditto — — — —	—	April 1794	John Henry Carles —	200 — —		
LORD STEWARD'S DEPARTMENT.—Knt. Marshal	Patent	17 Nov. 1795	Sir Ja. Bland Burgess, Bart.	500 — —	—	Charles Montolieu Burgess.
MINT.—Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of the Irons	Patent for life	18 March 1791	Hon. Spencer Perceval —	119 — —		
FIRST FRUITS OFFICE.—Comptroller —	Patent	28 July 1768	Lord Walsingham —	150 — —		
Receiver — — — — —	Ditto	16 March 1782	John Bacon — —	120 — —		
One of the AUDITORS of Land Revenue —	Patent for lives	14 July 1777	Wm. Henry Cooper and Fred. Grey Cooper, jointly and severally	2,115 9 5	including fees.	To the survivor.
POST OFFICE.—Court Post — — —	Patent for life	24 March 1761	Henry Penton — —	1 0 0 per Day		
WAR OFFICE.—Paymaster of Widows' Pensions	Ditto	24 March 1761	Hon. Lieut. General Fox	—	1,067 — —	To J. Pownall, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for the life of the Hon. C. J. Fox, by patent dated 10 February 1771.
Auditor of the Plantations — — —	Ditto	Nov. 1751	Hon. Robert Cholmondeley	500 — —		
Treasurer's Remembrancer — — —	Ditto	17 July 1754	Sir Richard Heron —	66 15 5	141 8 4	
Register of his Majesty's Royal Courts of Delegates & Appeals in all Causes Ecclesiastical & Maritime	Ditto	2 July 1764	Lord Arden — —	—	1,043 6 1	
Register of the High Court of Admiralty of England	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto — — —	—	7,796 18 8	
Receiver General of the Issues, &c. of all the Honours, Castles, &c. in the Counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, &c. and in the Town and County of the Town of Haverfordwest, &c. — —	Ditto	11 Sept. 1764	Hon. Charles James Fox —	70 — — Yearly, and 20s. for the carriage of every 100l. of the money of his said receipt.		This office was granted to Lord Holland during the lives of his 2d and 3d sons, C. J. Fox, and H. E. Fox, and the survivor of them.

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ACCOUNT OF PLACES FOR LIFE OR LIVES.—*Continued.*

Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Constable and Keeper of Gloucester Castle —	Patent for life	18 March 1765	Nicholas Hyett, Esq.			
Clerk of the House of Commons — — —	Ditto	3 June 1768	John Hatsell — —	10 — —	8,000 — —	John Ley, by patent dated July 1797.
Writer and Compiler of the London Gazette —	Ditto	31 July 1770	Wm. Fraser, Esq. —	300 — —		
Reader of Medicine at Oxford — — —	Ditto	4 Nov. 1772	William Vivian — —	40 — —		
Recorder of the Borough of Leeds — —	Ditto	23 Aug. 1776	Samuel Buck, Esq.			
Clerk of the Parliaments — — — —	Ditto	Feb. 1783	George Rose, Esq. —	40 — —	3,300 — —	Geo. Henry Rose, by patent, in October 1795.
Receiver General of all and singular the Issues, &c. of all the Honours, Castles, &c. within the Counties of Essex, Hertford, Middlesex, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and City of London —	Ditto	5 June 1783	Walter King, Clerk —	—	570 — —	
Clerk of the Pells — — — —	Ditto	13 Jan. 1784	Isaac Barré — —	3,000 — —		
Tellers of the Exchequer — —	Ditto	2 May 1763	Marquis of Buckingham —	298 — 9½	—	One to W. F. E. Eden, by patent, dated 31 July 1790.
	Ditto	18 Aug. 1766	Earl Camden — —	296 7 5½	—	
	Ditto	5 Jan. 1784	Lord Thurlow — —	2,700 — —	—	
	Ditto	22 Aug. 1786	Earl Bathurst — —	2,700 — —	—	
Keeper of his Majesty's Palace at Westminster —	Ditto	12 April 1789	Margaret Quarme —	— — 6 per diem	94 8 —	
Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Oxford — — — — —	Ditto	20 June 1789	Tho. Francis Wenman, D. L.	40 — —		
Chief Justice in Eyre, North of Trent — —	Ditto	2 Nov. 1790	John Charles Villiers —	2,450 — —		
Governor of the Isle of Wight — — —	Ditto	21 May 1791	Lord Bolton — —	— 13 6 a day		
Sergeant Surgeon in Ordinary — — —	Ditto	7 March 1792	David Dundas, Esq. —	396 13 4		
Chamberlains of the Exchequer — —	Ditto	13 Sept. 1779	Frederick North — —	—	735 16 6	
	Ditto	17 July 1792	Montague Burgoyne —	—	735 16 6	
Constable of Dover Castle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports — — — —	Ditto	11 Oct. 1792	William Pitt — —	4,100 — —		
Professor of Botany at Cambridge — —	Ditto	13 Sept. 1793	Thomas Martyn — —	200 — —		
Keeper of the Little Park at Windsor — —	Ditto	27 Feb. 1794	Richard Grenville —	600 — —		
Auditor of the Exchequer — — —	Ditto	27 Feb. 1794	Lord Grenville — —	4,000 — —		
Reader of Physic at Cambridge — — —	Ditto	9 Dec. 1794	Isaac Pennington — —	40 — —		
Steward of Lordship and Manors of Bromfield and Yale — — — — —	Ditto	Feb. 1796	Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.	20 — —		
Reader of Civil Law at Cambridge — —	Ditto	2 July 1796	French Lawrence — —	40 — —		
Professor of Botany at Oxford — — —	Ditto	28 Feb. 1797	George Williams — —	200 — —		
Knight Harbinger — —						
Master of the Temple — —						

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Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Date of Patent or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
Master Keeper of Bolderwood Walk, in the New Forest, in the County of Southampton —	Patent for life	19 June 1798	His Highness Prince William Frederick, son of his R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.			
Principal or Head Keeper of Iron Hill Walk, in the New Forest, in the County of Southampton	Ditto	19 June 1798	Her Highness Princess Sophia Matilda, daughter of his R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.			
Ranger of the New Lodge Walk, in the Forest of Windsor, in the County of Berks —	Ditto	19 June 1798	Do. Do.			
Warden and Keeper of the New Forest, in the County of Southampton — —	Ditto	20 June 1798	Duke of Gloucester.			
Keeper and Lieutenant of Windsor Forest, in the County of Berks — — — —	Ditto	20 June 1798	Do. Do.			
Keeper of Bagshot Park — — — —	Ditto	9 Aug. 1798	His Highness Prince William Frederick, son of his R. H. said Duke of Gloucester	£. s. d. 5 6 8		
King's Remembrancer — — — —	Ditto	7 Nov. 1798	Thomas Steele — —	—	£. s. d. 870 13 1	
Bailiff of the Franchise and Liberty of Richmond, in the County of York — — —	Ditto	March 1799	Duke of Leeds — —	50 6 4		
Keeper of the original Seal for the Counties of Denbigh and Montgomery — — —	Ditto	25 April 1800	Thomas Meredith —	— 16 8		
Advocate General, Island of Jersey — —	Ditto	18 June 1800	Joshua Pyron, Esq.			
Chief Justice in Eyre, South of Trent — —	Ditto	13 Aug. 1800	Thomas Grenville —	3,466 13 4		
Procurator General of the Island of Jersey —	Ditto	20 Jan. 1801	John Dumaresq, Esq.			
Sealer to the Great Seal — — — —	Ditto	13 Feb. 1801	Robert Hand — —	83 6 8	293 6 4½	
Keeper of Salcey Forest — — — —	Ditto	Feb. 1801	Viscount Ipswich —	40 — —		
Keeper of the Lions in the Tower — — —	Ditto	23 May 1801	Joseph Bullock — —	— 12 6 per diem		
Professor of Physic in the University of Oxford —	Ditto	24 Aug. 1801	Sir Christopher Pegge, Knight	40 — —		
Master of the Hawks — — —	—	—	Duke of Saint Albans —	1,342 — —		
Warden of Waltham Forest — —	Perpetuities	—	Sir Ja. Tilney Long, Bart.	270 — —		
Chancellor of the Order of the Garter —	—	—	Bishop of Sarum — —	570 5 —		

Mem.—In addition to the offices mentioned in this Account, there are many others held for life or lives, by various tenures, under the courts of law at Westminster, and courts of great session for Wales, which are fully detailed in the twenty-seventh Report of the Finance Committee.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, February 2d, 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

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An Account, shewing the Amount of the Monies which have been applicable to the Expenses of his Majesty's Civil Government in England, if the Hereditary and Temporary Revenues of the Crown, enjoyed by his late Majesty, had been enjoyed by his present Majesty; from the 5th Jan. 1777, to the 5th Jan. 1802, so far as the same can be made up; distinguishing each Year, and the net Produce of each of the said Revenues, so far as the same can be ascertained: shewing, also, the Amount of the Annuity received by his Majesty during the same Period in lieu of those Revenues; and the Amount of the Monies granted by Parliament during the said Period, for the Discharge of the Civil List Debts; and the Difference to the Public upon the Balance of the said Account.

Years.	Customs: Temporary Revenue.			Excise: Hereditary and Temporary Revenues, by the 23d and 24th Charles II.			Annual Sum to be raised to Hereditary Revenue, pursuant to 9 Geo. III. in lieu of Duty on Low Wine, &c.			Sum brought to Account from the Duty on Wine Licenses, pursuant to Act 30th Geo. II.			Post Office: Hereditary Revenue.			£.120,000 per Ann. pursuant to an Act of the 1st Geo. II.			Sum brought to Account, pursuant to Act 4 Geo. II in lieu of the Flax Duty, repealed.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1777	328,542	4	9	271,119	14	11	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	101,594	6	4½	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1778	289,477	3	4	280,927	18	2½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	102,848	9	9	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1779	295,229	9	8	311,224	—	6½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	100,009	5	10	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1780	355,933	19	10	313,038	12	3½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	115,658	8	5 3/4	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1781	326,451	15	3	301,143	9	8¼	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	80,925	4	10¼	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1782	300,743	10	4	344,826	2	8	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	119,303	14	1	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1783	304,761	3	4	270,701	11	5	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	143,896	4	5	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1784	334,300	18	2	321,819	7	4	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	134,084	14	4	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1785	456,843	2	7	308,488	14	3	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	123,804	4	—	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1786	422,609	4	9	296,900	6	8¼	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	118,886	16	8¼	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1787	563,639	5	4	345,496	4	5½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	136,306	18	5	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1788	516,945	17	8	308,670	7	11	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	150,726	14	2	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1789	590,238	15	3	316,040	8	—½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	159,106	9	6¼	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1790	646,493	19	11	353,529	13	2½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	175,652	14	8 6/12	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1791	575,329	12	7	374,478	9	10	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	182,959	16	10	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1792	583,715	5	4	420,604	18	6	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	199,325	14	—½	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1793	529,759	12	1	412,745	12	6½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	225,427	18	3 1/12	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1794	513,117	5	6	424,079	17	9	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	211,318	2	3 9/12	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1795	522,706	1	11	377,203	14	2½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	257,978	1	7 9/12	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1796	489,463	10	—	489,396	12	6½	70,000	—	—	7,003	14	3	299,575	13	8¼	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1797	403,703	—	1	495,542	18	10	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	212,025	8	—	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1798	540,356	17	11	516,268	18	5	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	212,025	8	—	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1799	824,582	19	11	502,768	10	8	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	212,025	8	—	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1800	726,830	4	10	384,119	18	7½	70,000	—	—	7,002	14	3	212,025	8	—	120,000	—	—	2,125	15	2
1801	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
																2,880,000	—	—	51,018	4	—

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Customs duties by Act 12 G.II in lieu of a Duty on certain Yarn imported from Ireland.			Smaller Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.			Total of his Majesty's Temporary and Hereditary Revenues.				Annuity.	Fees from Suppressed Offices.			Grants to discharge Arrears of Civil List Debts.			Total.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
2,388	4	11	134,801	12	6	1,037,574	12	10½	1777	900,000	—	—	—	618,340	9	6½	1,518,340	9	6½
2,388	4	11	158,512	15	1	1,033,283	—	8½	1778	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	116,387	13	2	1,024,367	3	6½	1779	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	90,556	17	10½	1,076,704	12	9	1780	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	99,060	17	9½	1,009,098	1	11½	1781	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	64,542	15	1¾	1,030,932	16	6¼	1782	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	57,785	3	9	978,660	17	3	1783	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	55,161	3	5¾	1,046,802	17	7¾	1784	900,000	1,800	—	—	60,000	—	—	961,800	—	—
2,388	4	11	31,533	13	11½	1,122,186	9	1¼	1785	900,000	3,622	8	10	—	—	—	903,622	8	10
2,388	4	11	33,817	12	11½	1,073,730	15	5¼	1786	900,000	4,694	5	10½	210,000	—	—	1,114,694	5	10½
2,388	4	11	16,603	17	11	1,263,563	—	5¼	1787	900,000	600	—	—	—	—	—	900,600	—	—
2,388	4	11	25,135	8	1½	1,202,995	2	2½	1788	900,000	3,315	—	—	—	—	—	903,315	—	—
2,388	4	11	23,420	3	2	1,290,322	10	4	1789	900,000	2,764	12	3½	—	—	—	902,764	12	3½
2,388	4	11	18,332	8	2¾	1,395,525	10	4¾	1790	900,000	3,460	2	8¼	—	—	—	903,460	2	8¼
2,388	4	11	37,273	—	6	1,371,557	14	1	1791	900,000	1,400	—	—	—	—	—	901,400	—	—
2,388	4	11	26,509	6	10	1,431,671	19	—¼	1792	900,000	7,881	16	9¼	—	—	—	907,881	16	9¼
2,388	4	11	16,719	15	5	1,386,169	12	7½	1793	900,000	936	2	4½	—	—	—	900,936	2	4½
2,388	4	11	30,568	9	2¼	1,380,600	9	1½	1794	900,000	2,500	—	—	—	—	—	902,500	—	—
2,388	4	11	24,883	7	7¼	1,384,287	19	8½	1795	900,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	900,000	—	—
2,388	4	11	10,924	12	3	1,490,877	2	10	1796	900,000	30,109	17	2	—	—	—	930,109	17	2
2,388	4	11	27,628	2	1	1,340,416	3	4	1797	900,000	38,675	1	2	—	—	—	938,675	1	2
2,388	4	11	51,179	11	10	1,521,347	10	6	1798	900,000	16,990	11	—	—	—	—	916,990	11	—
2,388	4	11	39,284	10	—¼	1,780,178	2	11¼	1799	900,000	28,025	7	5	—	—	—	928,025	7	5
2,388	4	11	56,539	6	7	1,581,031	12	4½	1800	900,000	19,560	6	8	—	—	—	919,560	6	8
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1801	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
57,317	18	—	1,247,162	5	5¼	30,253,885	17	10		21,600,000	166,335	12	3½	888,340	9	6½	22,654,676	1	9½

* The sale accounts of importations from the East Indies, not having been received by the Inspector General of the Customs for the year 1801, the general account for that year cannot be completed.

N. B. Exclusive of the grants and payments stated in the above Account, in aid of the income of the civil list, sums have been transferred from the [illegible] per centum revenue to the civil list account, within this period, to the amount of 172,000*l.*

[illegible]hall, *Treasury Chambers*, 14*th May* 1802.

N. VANSITTART.

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Report of the Commissioners appointed for the Sale of the Land-tax.

To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.—"The Lords Commissioners for regulating, directing, approving, "and confirming all sales, and contracts for "sale, made by bodies politic or corporate, "or companies, for the purpose of redeeming "their land-tax," have received his Majesty's directions to lay before the House of Commons a statement of their proceedings, distinguishing the number and value of the sales, and contracts for sale, approved by the said Commissioners; the amount of land-tax redeemed, or to be redeemed, by virtue of such sales, and contracts for sale; the quantity of stock purchased by the produce of such sales; the gain to the public resulting from the proceedings under the said commission; the expense incurred, and the estimated value of the entire property of which the tenure has been, or will be changed, by the effect of such sales, or contracts for sale;

And the said Commissioners report accordingly:—I. By an act passed the 21st March 1799, "to amend and render more effectual "the preceding acts for the redemption and "purchase of the land-tax," it was made lawful for his Majesty to appoint seven persons of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, to be Commissioners for regulating, directing, approving, and confirming all sales, and contracts for sale, made by bodies politic or corporate, or companies, for the purposes of redeeming any land-tax charged on any of the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, belonging to such bodies politic or corporate, or companies.—And his Majesty, by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the March 1799, nominated and appointed the Right Hon. William Lord Auckland, the Right Hon. Henry Addington (then Speaker of the House of Commons), the Right Hon. William Pitt, the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls (now Lord Alvanley), the Right Hon. Sir William Wynne, Knight, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron, and the Right. Hon. Sylvester Douglas (now Lord Glenbervie), for the purposes of the said recited act, and with authority to any two or more of the said Commissioners to do any act, matter, or thing, which by the said commission the said Commissioners are authorized to do: and various legislative provisions have since been made, to facilitate and extend the operation and effect of the said commission.—II. The Lords Commissioners, on the 29th March 1799, severally took the oath prescribed by the act of Parliament, and afterwards entered upon the execution of their office. Their meetings have been continued from time to time by adjournments of more or less frequency, according to the nature and importance of the business to be transacted; and the Commissioners have acted with the advice of counsel, in such cases as have been thought to require professional assistance.—In adjusting and approving the terms and conditions of sale, it has been anxiously and invariably the objects of the Lords Commissioners to establish and maintain certain uniform principles calculated to prevent any improvident sales, and beneficial as well as safe to the property of the church, and of other corporate bodies, as far as might be compatible with the nature of the property to be disposed of, and with the different tenures to which that property might be subject.—Pursuing these principles, the Board have found it necessary to discuss many questions of intricacy and detail, with respect both to legal constructions and to modes of valuation.—Their minutes and decisions have been consequently very voluminous, and have been accurately and carefully entered and preserved.—The Lords Commissioners take this occasion to acknowledge the ready and efficient assistance and attention which they have experienced from time to time, from his Majesty's law officers, from the Directors of the Bank, the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and from the officers of the Bank of England.—The current business of the commission, as will appear in the two following sections of this Report, is gradually diminishing; still, however, it is considerable and important.—III. The number of sales, and contracts for sale, approved by the Commissioners, has been,

From the 29th March 1799 to 28th March 1800 - - - -	895 sales.
From the 29th March 1800 to 28th March 1801 - - - -	433 sales.
From the 29th March 1801 to 9th June 1802 - - - -	277 sales.
Total -	1,605

IV. The value of the sales, and contracts for sale, was,

In the first of the above periods	£. 364,678
In the second - - - - -	227,420
In the third - - - - -	161,736
	£. 753,834

And the said sum of 753,834*l.* was obtained in the following proportions, from sales made by the different descriptions of ecclesiastical and other corporate bodies:

	£.	s.	d.
Archbishop of Canterbury and sixteen of the bishops	189,493	16	3
Deans and chapters - -	286,982	12	4
Rectors and vicars - -	100,187	3	10
Colleges and prebends -	85,228	11	3
Lay corporations - -	91,942	11	1
	£. 753,834	14	9

V. The amount of land-tax redeemed, or to be redeemed, by virtue of such sales, and contracts for sale, cannot yet be stated with pre-

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cision, as, in several instances, the money arising from sales approved and confirmed by the Lords Commissioners, has not yet been paid into the Bank.—Besides which, the property sold by the corporate bodies, being required by law to be sold free and discharged from land-tax, the land-tax has, in very many cases, by agreement between the parties, been freed by the lessee or purchaser at his expense.—It is therefore difficult to ascertain what amount of land-tax may have been redeemed by this part of the operation.—On the whole, however, the amount of land-tax redeemed by virtue of the aforesaid sales, and contracts for sale, may be estimated at 35,000*l.* per annum.—VI. The quantity of stock purchased by the Bank from the produce of such sales, is 1,013,000*l.*; exclusive of the sums not paid into the Bank, and also of sums not yet brought to account, amounting together by estimate to 200,000*l.* stock.—VII. The gain resulting to the public from the proceedings under the commission, consists most immediately in the one eleventh required by the acts to be paid to the public, beyond the value of the land-tax redeemed, and such gain cannot be stated at less than 110,000*l.* stock; and this is exclusive of the land-tax redeemed by the lessees and purchasers of many considerable parcels of the property sold to them. A further gain resulting to the public from the proceedings under the commission, is to be found in the general operation of the redemption of the land-tax, particularly by creating a daily demand of a certain proportion of stock, which can never be brought back into the market.—The effect of that circumstance is evidently beneficial, and public credit has been materially assisted, by thus withdrawing from the market nearly twenty millions of stock, in little more than three years, for the redemption of land-tax.—VIII. There are also other descriptions of gain to the public, which are not inconsiderable, when collectively taken, by the accumulation of the one eleventh beyond the amount of the land-tax sold; by the saving of the allowances to the receivers general; by the stamps on renewal of leases, and on conveyances of settled leasehold estates.—And in a more indirect point of view, the sales made by the proceedings under the commission may be considered as beneficial to the public, by giving local accommodation to the purchasers, by multiplying the means of improvement, and by increasing the revenues of the corporate bodies, in some instances very considerably.—IX. The expense incurred has been restricted within the narrowest limits, to the salaries of a chief secretary, assistant, and clerks; the fees of counsel, the rent of the office, and certain small incidents; the whole amounting, on the average of three years, to about 1,550*l.* per annum.—X. The value of the entire property, of which the tenure has been changed by the effect of the sales, and contracts for sale, has been computed to be not less than three times the amount of the whole sum received. Assuming this computation to be well founded, the amount sold or contracted for being 753,834*l.* the value in fee of the whole property transferred from corporate bodies will be 2,261,502*l.*—The prices approved in sales, and contracts for sale, have varied from six to nine years purchase, for the reversion in fee of lands and tithes under leases for three lives; from eight to fourteen years purchase for the reversion in fee of leases for twenty-one years: five years purchase has been taken for houses let for thirty years, and three years for the reversion in fee of leases for forty years; reserved rents, and property not let on beneficial leases, have been sold from twenty-five to thirty years purchase.—XI. There cannot be a doubt that these sales are convenient to purchasers, advantageous to the sellers and their successors, and highly beneficial to the public in general; and therefore the Lords Commissioners would gladly have added to this Report, some estimate of the proportion of land-tax payable, and not yet redeemed by the bodies corporate.—It is, however, difficult to arrive at any certainty in this part of the inquiry. It is probable that the proportion of land-tax redeemed by the corporate bodies and their lessees, may exceed the proportion as yet redeemed by other descriptions of property chargeable with land-tax; still, however, it may be estimated that more than two thirds remain unredeemed.—XII. The general results may be stated to be: that the number of sales approved is 1,605; that the amount in money of such sales so approved, is 753,834*l.* sterling; that the value in fee simple of the property sold, is about 2,000,000*l.* sterling; that the stock purchased for the redemption of land-tax, under the proceedings of the Commissioners, is about 1,200,000*l.*; that the whole expense to the public has been 5,400*l.*; that the gain to the public, by the operation, has not been less than 110,000*l.* stock; exclusive of the other benefits explained and detailed in this Report.

By order of the Lords Commissioners,

10*th June* 1802. W. YOUNG, *Secretary.*

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An Account of the Expense attending the Army maintained by this Country, including Militia and all other Corps, for the Years 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796; distinguishing each Year, and Horse and Foot: so far as the same can be made up at the War Office.

	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Horse - - - -	608,139 2 6½	973,468 12 9½	1,214,327 18 7½	[illegible] 1 1
Foot, militia and other corps	4,972,075 9 7½	10,164,461 10 6	14,409,974 12 9	[illegible],669 9 1
Total for each year - -	5,580,214 12 2	11,137,930 3 3½	15,624,302 11 4½	14,479,380 10 2

An Account of the Expense of the Army, including Militia and all other Corps, for the Years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782; distinguishing each Year, and Horse and Foot: so far as the same can be made up at the War Office.

	1779.	1780.	1781.	1782.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Horse - - - -	360,189 16 4	392,318 17 6	393,291 17 7	387,981 6 3
Foot, militia and other corps	7,422,542 1 2	8,655,250 4 6	8,777,077 17 6½	7,953,818 19 5½
Total for each year - -	7,782,731 17 6	9,045,569 2 —	9,170,369 15 1½	8,341,800 5 8½

An Account of the Number of Troops maintained by this Country in the Years 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796; distinguishing each Year, and the Number of Horse and Foot: so far as the same can be made up at the War Office.

	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Horse - - - -	13,222	19,135	23,158	32,901
Foot - - - -	121,959	190,010	252,473	184,674
Total for each year - -	135,181	209,145	275,631	217,575

An Account of the Number of Troops maintained by this Country, including Militia and all other Corps, for the Years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782; distinguishing each Year, and Horse and Foot: so far as the same can be made up at the War Office.

	1779.	1780.	1781.	1782.
Horse - - - -	7,033	7,834	7,765	7,352
Foot, militia and other corps	165,768	173,967	174,732	177,022
Total for each year - -	172,801	181,801	182,497	184,374

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An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from Great Britain, for eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1802; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Imports from the East Indies and China, from the Value of all other Imports: and distinguishing the Value of British Produce and Manufacture exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the official Value, and the declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th January 1802.

Years.	Official Value of Imports from East Indies and China.			Official Value of Imports from All other Parts.			Official Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported.			Official Value of Foreign Merchandise exported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1784	2,996,652	2	11	12,276,224	18	—	11,255,057	—	6	3,846,434	8	1
1785	2,703,940	14	1	13,575,478	7	5	11,081,810	16	5	5,035,357	17	10
1786	3,156,687	—	7	12,629,385	6	10	11,830,372	18	11	4,475,493	9	3
1787	3,430,868	—	6	14,373,146	15	7	12,053,900	3	5	4,815,889	3	1
1788	3,453,897	3	5	14,573,272	17	10	12,724,719	17	9	4,747,518	10	6
1789	3,362,545	4	10	14,458,557	5	9	13,779,506	2	6	5,561,042	15	1
1790	3,149,870	14	4	15,981,015	10	11	14,921,084	9	7	5,199,037	7	7
1791	3,698,713	13	—	15,971,069	—	7	16,810,018	16	4	5,921,976	10	11
1792	2,701,547	9	4	16,957,810	17	3	18,336,851	6	11	6,568,348	16	6
1793	3,499,023	12	10	15,757,693	16	10	13,892,268	17	7	6,497,911	9	2
1794	4,458,475	1	5	17,830,418	19	—	16,725,402	16	2	10,022,680	12	8
1795	5,760,810	8	3	16,976,079	1	8	16,338,213	2	2	10,785,125	15	2
1796	3,372,689	—	6	19,814,630	17	11	19,102,220	3	11	11,416,693	11	10
1797	3,942,384	5	1	17,071,572	12	4	16,903,103	6	1	12,013,907	2	—
1798	7,626,930	6	9	20,230,959	1	11	19,672,503	—	9	13,919,274	13	11
1799	4,284,805	9	10	22,552,626	16	5	24,084,213	—	10	11,907,116	3	11
1800	4,942,275	10	9	25,628,329	15	7	24,304,283	13	6	18,847,735	12	—
1801	—			27,374,757	6	4	25,719,979	18	6	16,523,480	5	1

An Account of the Sums received in the Exchequer upon the Duty of 4½ per Cent. from the 5th of January 1785, to the 5th January 1801; distinguishing each Year.

		£.	s.	d.
Total receipt in the year ended 5th January	1786	20,599	11	1½
	1787	22,478	15	—
	1788	32,315	11	1
	1789	25,594	18	7½
	1790	23,048	19	3
	1791	17,260	2	10
	1792	25,211	12	11½
	1793	39,150	12	11½
Carried forward		£. 205,651	3	10

		£.	s.	d.
Brought forward		205,651	3	10
Total receipt in the year ended 5th January	1794	31,772	1	4
	1795	43,881	15	5½
	1796	34,656	3	11
	1797	37,352	8	2½
	1798	55,694	4	5
	1799	28,894	2	11½
	1800	32,128	—	3
	1801	21,539	—	8
		£. 491,569	1	—½

An Account of the real Value of Foreign Merchandise exported, and of all Imports into Great Britain, for two Years, ending the 5th January 1802; distinguishing each Year.

	Foreign Merchandise exported.			Foreign Merchandise imported. From East Indies and China.			Foreign Merchandise imported. All other Parts.			Foreign Merchandise imported. Total.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1800	16,359,640	13	—	10,032,204	17	3	45,573,138	5	—	55,605,343	2	3
1801	15,747,438	9	2	—	—	—	48,651,830	3	6			

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An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been annually built and registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, between the 5th January 1789 and the 5th January 1802.

Years.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1789	827	71,090
1790	725	68,695
1791	766	68,940
1792	821	78,120
1793	800	75,085
1794	714	66,021
1795	719	72,181
1796	823	94,972
1797	756	86,242
1798	833	89,319
1799	858	98,044
1800	1,041	134,188
1801	1,065	122,593

An Account of the Number of Ships and Vessels registered in the several Ports of Ireland, and existing on the 30th of September 1801; with the Amount of their Tonnage and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed therein.

Ships.	Tons.	Number of Men and Boys usually employed.
1,004	54,241	4,775

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from Ireland, for eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1802; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the official Value and the declared Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th January 1802.

Years ending 25th March	Official Value of Imports.			Official Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures.			Official Value of Foreign Merchandise exported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1785	3,056,394	14	11	3,737,068	—	7½	42,502	—	8
1786	3,430,628	3	2	3,956,736	11	1½	54,174	16	8½
1787	3,417,281	2	3½	4,238,333	14	2½	62,314	—	4½
1788	3,870,144	16	8½	4,361,664	1	6	45,346	13	7
1789	3,790,602	3	—	4,103,339	12	6½	41,663	9	9½
1790	3,829,914	2	1½	4,826,360	17	11½	28,939	—	3½
1791	4,071,794	4	2½	4,863,426	5	4	79,174	14	2½
1792	4,338,012	4	7	5,321,290	2	7½	66,470	3	2½
1793	4,085,149	17	9½	4,995,406	12	2	52,186	18	6½
1794	3,216,405	8	2½	4,639,301	1	2	25,861	17	6½
1795	4,143,296	12	2	4,704,732	16	3½	46,601	19	11
1796	4,656,608	5	3½	5,013,283	12	7½	51,049	10	11
1797	4,436,943	—	7½	4,533,695	1	7½	37,072	3	6½
1798	3,396,880	15	6½	4,316,592	11	6½	62,141	10	11
1799	4,393,015	1	3½	4,455,339	11	7½	138,575	16	9½
1800	6,183,457	—	5½	3,903,841	9	—	175,430	1	9½
1801	5,584,596	10	5	3,570,338	2	8	248,724	5	4½
1802									

Inspector General's Office of Imports and Exports, Dublin, February 28th, 1802.

ROBERT MARSHALL,
Inspector General of Imports and Exports of Ireland.

There is no declared value for Ireland; as the merchants exporters here are not obliged to declare the real value, as has been the practice in England, in consequence of the convoy act. The Inspector General has, however, made an account of the real value, by computing the quantity of each article exported, according to the price current in Ireland, on which rates the value of Irish produce and manufactures exported from Ireland to all parts, amounted in the year 1800, to 5,634,365*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* and in the year 1801, 5,001,370*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

The account of the value up to 5th January last, is preparing with as much dispatch as the nature of the statement will admit of.

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An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been annually built and registered in the several Ports of Ireland, between the 5th January 1789 and the 5th of January 1802.

Years ending the 5th Jan.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1790	73	3,163
1791	50	2,334
1792	51	2,464
1793	42	1,629
1794	35	1,659
1795	32	1,441
1796	33	1,654
1797	32	1,802
1798	19	797
1799	20	1,072
1800	18	1,105
1801	22	1,680
1802	21	1,383

28*th Feb.* 1802. FRA. MORGAN, Dep. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.

An Account of the Number of the Vessels, and the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of Ireland, on the 30th of September in each Year respectively during the Years 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, *and* 1801.

Years ending the 30th Sept.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1789	1,080	64,361	6,231
1790	1,134	68,236	6,720
1791	1,176	69,230	6,638
1792	1,193	69,567	6,730
1793	1,181	67,791	6,437
1794	1,166	65,164	6,274
1795	1,099	58,778	5,598
1796	1,078	56,575	5,402
1797	1,048	53,181	5,104
1798	1,025	49,987	4,919
1799	999	49,825	4,835
1800	1,003	54,262	5,057
1801	1,004	54,242	4,875

28*th Feb.* 1802. FRAS. L. MORGAN, Dep. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.

An Account of the Number of Vessels, and the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of the British Empire, on the 30th of September in each Year respectively, during the Years 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, *and* 1801: *distinguishing Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Plantations in America and the West Indies.*

	1.			2.			3.		
	On the 30th Sept. 1789:			On the 30th Sept. 1790:			On the 30th Sept. 1791:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	9,558	1,078,374	80,299	10,053	1,134,531	83,325	10,422	1,168,478	86,897
Jersey	80	5,814	575	84	5,948	590	81	6,144	649
Guernsey	77	5,862	437	84	6,525	480	93	6,629	482
Man	66	2,137	261	73	2,153	276	84	2,895	371
Plantations	1,511	87,351	8,116	1,517	90,599	8,106	1,685	96,545	8,260
Scotland	1,938	151,270	13,043	2,007	152,584	13,041	2,104	161,490	13,747
Ireland	1,080	64,364	6,231	1,136	68,483	6,738	1,176	69,230	6,638
Total	14,310	1,395,172	108,962	15,015	1,460,823	112,556	15,645	1,511,411	117,044

(continued)

	4.			5.			6.		
	On the 30th Sept. 1792:			On the 30th Sept. 1793:			On the 30th Sept. 1794:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	10,633	1,186,610	87,569	10,779	1,206,778	87,393	10,957	1,221,579	87,256
Jersey	91	6,851	728	92	6,787	1,080	96	5,970	710
Guernsey	97	7,050	513	89	7,142	661	91	7,223	599
Man	177	4,477	866	177	4,177	810	211	4,880	983
Plantations	1,745	103,316	8,589	1,889	111,204	9,491	2,216	133,479	11,204
Scotland	2,143	162,274	13,491	2,122	160,642	13,080	2,069	151,465	12,603
Ireland	1,193	69,567	6,730	1,181	67,790	6,437	1,166	65,162	6,274
Total	16,079	1,540,145	118,286	16,329	1,564,520	118,952	16,806	1,589,758	119,629

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(continued) 7. 8. 9.

	On the 30th Sept. 1795:			On the 30th Sept. 1796:			On the 30th Sept. 1797:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	10,827	1,207,898	84,950	10,961	1,141,085	88,625	11,045	1,248,046	91,551
Jersey -	73	5,126	496	79	5,200	648	62	4,309	515
Guernsey	86	6,139	853	101	7,350	586	84	6,370	542
Man -	219	5,046	1,023	214	4,864	1,025	216	4,895	1,034
Plantations	2,411	148,840	12,127	2,609	158,799	13,200	2,498	160,989	14,218
Scotland	2,013	142,624	11,690	2,025	145,421	11,473	1,950	137,206	11,430
Ireland	1,099	58,778	5,598	1,078	56,579	5,402	1,048	53,181	5,104
Total -	16,728	1,574,451	116,467	17,067	1,519,298	120,979	16,903	1,614,996	124,394

(continued) 10. 11. 12.

	On the 30th Sept. 1798:			On the 30th Sept. 1799:			On the 30th Sept. 1800:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	11,275	1,287,384	95,303	11,487	1,337,181	99,309	12,208	1,466,632	105,037
Jersey -	59	4,117	649	61	4,611	694	53	4,244	631
Guernsey	78	6,116	884	78	6,199	803	77	6,403	781
Man -	218	4,923	984	227	5,146	1,210	238	5,463	1,285
Plantations	2,664	172,481	14,872	2,996	201,743	15,982	2,161	157,364	12,047
Scotland	1,976	141,472	11,935	2,031	148,110	12,413	2,155	161,807	13,883
Ireland	1,025	49,988	4,919	999	49,825	4,835	1,003	54,262	5,057
Total -	17,295	1,666,481	129,546	17,879	1,752,815	135,237	17,895	1,856,175	138,721

(continued) 13.

	On the 30th Sept. 1801:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	12,702	1,539,810	107,282
Jersey -	31	2,544	714
Guernsey	105	8,712	933
Man -	253	5,094	1,338
Plantations	3,219	240,786	13,310
Scotland	2,458	186,130	15,535
Ireland	Not received.		
Total -			

The returns from many of the ports in the plantations being unreceived, and others which are received standing in need of correction, that part of this Account which relates to the year 1801, is from that cause unavoidably defective; but I conceive that the defect is not equal to the amount of shipping belonging to those ports, because it always happens, that when the returns from all the ports in the British empire are collected together and checked by each other, some alterations become necessary in most of them, owing to the circumstance of vessels being registered de novo at ports to which they did not formerly belong, without the knowledge of the officers at such former ports; I therefore do not presume to lay this Account before the House, as correct with respect to that year.

May 15th, 1802.

J. DALLEY,
Assist. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.

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and Exports to Countries out of Europe, and Tonnage, respectively: and distinguishing the Duties on Imports, on Exports to Europe permanent."

	Produce of the Duties on Exports:									Produce of the Duties on Imports:											
	On Goods.			On Tonnage of Shipping.			Total.			On Sugar.			On all other Articles.			On Tonnage of Shipping.			Total.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From the 5th July 1798 to the 5th Jan. 1799	135,048	7	7	28,980	—	9¾	164,028	8	4¾	199,548	1	4	226,040	1	7	39,416	11	—¼	465,004	13	11½
From the 5th Jan. 1799 to the 5th Jan. 1800	219,413	16	3	55,458	10	9	274,872	7	—	296,617	8	10	592,772	19	2½	67,432	19	1½	956,823	7	2
From the 5th Jan. 1800 to the 5th Jan. 1801	260,251	2	1¾	66,103	—	10¼	326,354	3	—	271,645	11	8	609,433	18	2¾	82,396	5	11¼	963,475	15	9½
From the 5th Jan. 1801 to the 1st Oct. following - -	208,241	3	7	55,425	6	5	263,666	10	—	43,458	7	10	578,706	17	4	71,932	10	1	694,097	15	3

Note.—No accounts having been kept of the convoy duty received on goods and shipping to or from each particular country, the Inspector General cannot comply with that part of the above-mentioned order which requires the "Amount of the duties on exports to Europe to be distinguished from the exports to countries other than Europe," without a considerable delay.

Inspector General's Office,
Custom House, London, 5th April 1802.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

An Account of the Number of Vessels, and their Tonnage, which have entered inwards at the several Ports of Great Britain from the United States of America, in the Years ending the 5th January 1800 *and* 1801: *also, for the three Years preceding the 5th Day of January* 1793: *distinguishing British from Foreign Vessels; and also distinguishing each Year.*

In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1800.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1801.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1791.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1792.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1793.			
British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
42	9,796	343	75,225	77	17,241	550	124,015	312	64,197	246	45,234	247	53,102	18	62,25	197	42,035	313	64,035

The account of ships employed in the foreign trade, being prepared from general returns, transmitted from the out-ports for each year ending the 5th January, the Register General could not make up the account in terms of the order, viz. to the 5th July in each year, without incurring a considerable delay, which the obtaining fresh returns from the out-ports of England and Scotland would unavoidably occasion.

25th Februa.y 1802.

J. DALLEY, per Register General of Shipping.

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An Account of Number of Vessels, and their Tonnage, which have cleared out from Great Britain to the United States of America, in the Years ending the 5th January 1800 and 1801; also, for the three Years preceding the 5th January 1793: distinguishing British from Foreign Vessels; and also distinguishing each Year.

In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1800.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1801.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1791.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1792.				In the Year ending 5th Jan. 1793.			
British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
57	14,267	354	78,683	62	14,381	507	112,596	245	50,977	218	39,441	253	55,328	291	55,806	223	50,963	285	59,414

The accounts of ships employed in the foreign trade, being prepared from general returns, transmitted from the out-ports for each separate year ending the 5th January, the Register General could not make up this Account in the terms of the order, viz. to the 5th July in each year, without incurring a considerable delay, which the obtaining of fresh returns from the out-ports of England and Scotland would unavoidably occasion.

25th February 1802.

J. DALLEY, per Register General of Shipping.

An Account of the Quantity and Value, official and real, of Cinnamon and Cassia Lignea imported into and exported from Great Britain, in the three Years ending the 5th Day of January 1801; *distinguishing each Year.*

Years.	Cinnamon.									Cassia Lignea.								
	Imported.				Exported.					Imported.				Exported.				
	Quantity.	Official Value.			Real Value.			Quantity.	Official Value.			Real Value.			Quantity.	Official Value.			Real Value.		
	lbs.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	lbs.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	lbs.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1798	408,706	81,741	4	—	133,255	3	7	280,634	70,158	11	3	100,560	10	4	113,207	8,501	—	5	19,221	12	—	32,153	3,215	6	6	5,995	3	10
1799	494,614	98,922	17	—	118,501	5	5	383,978	95,994	16	3	104,394	—	4	117,162	8,787	3	—	11,350	1	4	104,076	10,407	12	—	10,949	13	9
1800	404,164	80,832	16	—	93,462	18	6	576,330	144,082	10	—	146,483	17	6	258,573	19,392	19	6	36,900	10	5	245,249	24,524	18	—	38,320	3	1

Inspector General's Office, Custom House, London, February 22d, 1802.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

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paid thereon.

Names of the Colonies and Islands.	1799. Sugar. Quantity. Cwt. qr. lbs.	Sugar. Duty. £. s. d.	Rum. Quantity. Gallons.	Rum. Duty. £. s. d.	Coffee. Quantity. Cwt. qr. lbs.	Coffee. Duty. £. s. d.	Cotton. Quantity. lbs.	Cotton. Duty. £. s. d.
Surinam	1,000 0 0	—	—	—	4,800 0 0	—	245,809	—
Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	35,189 1 20	31,396 17 7	14,456	331 17 6	39,089 2 6	7,486 2 9	3,593,053	—
Martinico	287,172 0 18	259,955 4 1	3,916	90 16 9	34,906 2 0	6,724 9 11	725,602	—
Saint Lucia	2,993 3 19	2,588 0 6	—	—	—	—	55,331	—
Tobago	164,212 3 4	144,603 12 8	257,592	5,903 8 5	80 0 0	15 8 0	7,214	—
Trinidad	26,728 0 0	24,146 9 1	104	2 7 8	1,898 1 15	365 8 6	1,403,290	—
Saint Eustatia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	517,296 1 5	462,690 3 11	276,068	6,328 10 4	80,774 1 21	14,591 9 2	6,030,299	—
	1800.							
Surinam	35,258 0 20	26,528 0 10	220	5 0 10	63,579 2 26	11,957 12 0	1,067,910	—
Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	51,199 1 22	41,571 18 5	93,070	2,133 12 2	114,692 3 21	22,068 4 7	7,057,665	—
Martinico	192,249 1 20	168,978 14 2	5,392	123 14 1	45,405 2 17	8,733 6 4	1,468,112	—
Saint Lucia	12,164 1 22	11,073 9 6	114	2 12 3	3,945 2 13	759 10 3	275,549	—
Tobago	119,656 0 10	71,288 1 8	194,071	4,448 8 9	124 1 16	23 18 10	7,397	—
Trinidad	54,515 2 6	41,322 12 2	3,018	69 7 2	4,357 3 4	838 17 3	863,987	—
Saint Eustatia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	465,043 0 16	360,762 16 9	295,885	6,782 15 3	232,106 0 13	44,381 9 3	10,740,620	—
	1801.							
Surinam	204,774 2 16	165,939 14 11	100,177	2,297 0 5	162,131 2 24	31,208 15 6	1,803,262	—
Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	95,031 1 3	87,150 1 11	139,781	2,956 0 5	142,819 1 14	27,474 15 10	7,622,942	—
Martinico	285,817 1 5	283,989 4 8	17,410	401 7 9	47,927 0 7	9,226 17 11	796,727	—
Saint Lucia	18,903 1 0	18,809 19 1	—	—	3,513 1 7	679 8 0	422,119	—
Tobago	79,292 3 9	60,276 3 2	169,736	3,889 15 7	42 2 18	8 4 3	24,989	—
Trinidad	69,551 0 20	57,568 6 10	19,537	447 14 7	3,327 2 18	638 0 10	1,289,573	—
Saint Eustatia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	753,370 1 25	673,733 10 7	446,641	9,991 18 9	359,761 3 4	69,236 2 4	11,959,612	—

Inspector General's Office, Custom House, London, 13th April 1802.

WILLIAM IRVING, Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain

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An Account of the Imports from, and Exports to, the United States of America, and the British Continental Colonies, respectively, for the three Years ending the 5th January 1801, and also for the three Years ending 5th January 1793; distinguishing each Year, and the British Manufactures from the foreign Products: together with the Number and Tonnage of the British and foreign Vessels, which entered and cleared from and to those Countries, during the same Period: also, a like Account for the three Years ending 5th January 1775.

1798.

	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.			Shipping.							
					Inwards.				Outwards.			
					British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
		British Manufactures.	Foreign Merchandise.	Total.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.								
United States of America	1,782,720 2 10	5,313,068 17 3	267,301 5 11	5,580,370 3 2	31	6,268	321	73,179	37	7,917	320	74,168
British Continental Colonies	315,792 7 —	1,166,730 1 8	200,168 14 4	1,366,898 16 —	147	22,054	—	—	252	35,898	—	—

1799.

United States of America	1,818,941 13 8	6,696,221 8 9	360,337 9 6	7,056,558 18 3	42	9,796	343	75,225	57	14,267	354	78,683
British Continental Colonies	333,326 4 3	1,309,792 10 7	319,039 9 4	1,628,831 19 11	169	28,042	—	—	257	39,621	—	—

1800.

United States of America	2,357,923 10 9	6,689,467 19 9	196,040 3 —	6,885,508 2 9	77	17,244	550	124,014	62	14,381	507	112,596
British Continental Colonies	558,037 — 3	1,196,365 12 3	240,081 5 9	1,436,446 18 —	195	35,990	—	—	286	44,442	—	—

1790.

United States of America	1,191,072 1 9	3,178,594 19 9	253,183 17 10	3,431,778 17 7	312	64,197	246	45,234	245	50,977	218	39,441
British Continental Colonies	239,030 7 6	623,770 17 —	216,902 18 —	840,673 15 —	219	27,507	—	—	404	50,986	—	—

1791.

United States of America	1,194,232 16 3	3,929,771 12 8	295,676 18 4	4,225,448 11 —	247	53,102	318	62,253	253	55,328	291	55,806
British Continental Colonies	253,833 9 2	688,658 17 9	205,958 5 2	894,617 2 11	260	34,318	—	—	408	55,946	—	—

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1792.

United States of America	1,038,707	9	—	3,974,827	9	3	296,591	—	—	4,271,418	9	3	197	42,035	313	64,035	223	50,963	285	59,114
British Continental Colonies	255,798	2	6	908,105	—	9	211,886	7	11	1,119,991	8	8	226	33,889	—	—	387	54,240	—	—

1772.

United States of America	1,803,182	15	11	2,778,237	14	2	532,335	—	10	3,310,572	15	—	682	91,176	—	—	646	83,893	—	—
British Continental Colonies	139,567	13	7	305,612	17	2	54,153	17	—	359,766	14	2	132	11,134	—	—	197	18,608	—	—

1773.

United States of America	1,887,187	9	7	1,776,805	1	—	378,643	10	—	2,155,448	11	—	733	94,401	—	—	770	69,575	—	—
British Continental Colonies	126,183	7	2	443,300	2	10	90,453	17	3	533,754	—	1								

1774.

United States of America	1,846,918	14	4	2,336,511	3	4	506,961	11	1	2,843,472	14	5	698	94,463	—	—	807	101,377	—	—
British Continental Colonies	139,381	8	8	362,152	19	4	83,529	18	7	445,682	17	11								

N. B. In the books of the Customs for the years 1773 and 1774, the officers have omitted to distinguish the particular Colonies from whence the vessels arrived, or whither bound; and therefore the total only of North America can be given for those two years.

ABSTRACT.

Medium of the three years, ending 5 Jan. 1801	States	1,986,528	9	1	6,232,919	8	7	274,559	12	9	6,507,479	1	5	50	11,102	404	90,806	52	12,188	393	88,482
	Colonies	402,385	3	10	1,224,296	1	6	253,096	9	10	1,477,392	11	4	169	28,695	—	—	265	39,987		
Medium of the three years, ending 5 Jan. 1793	States	1,141,337	9	—	3,694,398	—	6	281,817	5	4	3,976,215	5	11	252	53,111	292	57,174	240	52,422	264	51,453
	Colonies	249,553	19	9	740,178	5	2	211,582	10	4	951,760	15	6	235	31,904	—	—	399	53,717		
Medium of the three years, ending 5 Jan. 1775	States	1,845,762	16	7	2,297,184	12	10	472,646	13	11	2,769,831	6	9	748	97,058	—	—	803	91,151		
	Colonies	135,044	3	1	370,355	6	5	76,045	17	7	446,401	3	9								

Inspector General's Office, Custom House, London, 8th March 1802.

WILLIAM IRVING, Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

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An Account of the gross Produce of the Duties on Malt, from the End of the Year 1795, to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing the Produce of each Duty and each Year; together with an Average of the respective Duties, and of the Whole.

	Old Annual.			Perpetual.				Total Amount of Malt Duties.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1796	710,755	—	6½	1,144,128	15	6½	—	1,854,883	16	1½
1797	766,107	19	2½	1,256,703	15	9½	—	2,032,811	15	—½
1798	676,301	17	10½	1,095,980	18	3½	—	1,772,282	16	2½
Years ended 23d of June 1799	796,940	18	1½	1,002,149	19	—½	—	2,087,878	19	3½
				288,788	2	—½				
1800	368,470	13	8½	588,617	15	6½	—	957,088	9	2½
1801	468,736	10	6½	754,444	16	1½	—	1,223,181	6	8½
Total - -	3,797,313	—	1	6,130,814	2	5½	—	9,928,127	2	6½
Average -	632,885	10	—	1,021,802	7	—½	—	1,654,687	17	1

Perpetual. New Annual.

N. B. The duties on malt are made up to the 23d of June, in conformity to the old malt acts of Parliament.

Excise Office, London, 9th April 1802.

C. RIX, Accountant General.

R. NICHOLAS. W. LOWNDES. I. OLMIUS. T. CASWALL. A. PHIPPS. W. JACKSON. R. SPILLER. G. SEYMOUR.

An Account of the Quantity of Malt on which Duty has been paid, from the 5th of July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year; with an Average of the Whole.

	Bushels.
Years ended the 23d of June - - - 1784	26,601,058
1785	27,086,821
1786	22,747,634
1787	27,272,841
1788	26,868,996
1789	24,250,514
1790	22,669,579
1791	27,919,010
1792	28,661,374
1793	24,452,837
1794	25,588,151
1795	24,693,567
1796	28,142,008
1797	30,923,419
1798	26,963,454
1799	31,751,645
1800	14,480,714
1801	18,566,946
Total -	459,640,568
Average -	25,535,587

N. B. The duties on malt are made up to 23d of June, in conformity to the old malt acts of Parliament.

Excise Office, London, 9th April 1802.

C. RIX, Acccuntant General.

R. NICHOLAS. W. LOWNDES. I. OLMIUS. T. CASWALL. A. PHIPPS. W. JACKSON. R. SPILLER. G. SEYMOUR.

An Account of the Quantity of Hops on which Duty has been paid, from the 5th July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year; with a general Average of the Whole.

	lbs. wt.
Years ended 5th July - - - 1784	15,801,792
1785	19,736,202
1786	23,519,267
1787	19,996,055
1788	8,813,819
1789	29,978,410
1790	21,176,855
1791	22,308,245
1792	18,867,548
1793	33,949,732
1794	5,000,175
1795	42,528,587
1796	17,180,497
1797	15,739,511
1798	32,881,264
1799	11,774,587
1800	15,293,335
1801	15,229,379
Total -	369,775,260
Average lbs.	20,543,070

Excise Office, London, 9th April 1802.

C. RIX, Accountant General.

R. NICHOLAS. W. LOWNDES. I. OLMIUS. T. CASWALL. A. PHIPPS. W. JACKSON. R. SPILLER. G. SEYMOUR.

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An Account of the Number of Barrels of Strong Beer for which Duty has been paid, brewed from the 5th July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year.

		Number of Barrels.
From 5th July 1783 to 5th July 1784	—	4,337,662 ½
5	—	4,328,750 ½
6	—	4,146,512
7	—	4,426,482 ½
8	—	4,304,895 ½
9	—	4,437,831 ½
90	—	4,525,950 ½
1	—	4,754,588 ½
2	—	5,082,293 ½
3	—	5,167,850 ½
4	—	5,011,320 ½
5	—	5,037,804 ½
6	—	5,504,453
7	—	5,839,627
8	—	5,784,467
9	—	5,774,311 ½
1800	—	4,824,306
1	—	4,734,978 ½
Total	—	88,024,085 ½

Excise Office, London, 9th April 1802.

NAT. PLANNER, Accountant General.

R. NICHOLAS.
W. LOWNDES.
I. OLMIUS.
T. CASWALL.
A. PHIPPS.
W. JACKSON.
R. SPILLER.
G. SEYMOUR.

An Account of all Bounties on Corn and Rice imported, from the 1st January 1801, to the latest Period at which the same can be made up.

	£.	s.	d.
The bounties paid on corn and rice imported into Great Britain, amounted, between the 1st January 1801 and the 19th June 1802, to the sum of - - - -	1,912,486	7	7½

An Account of the Duties paid, for the last two Years, on all printed Books imported into this Kingdom; distinguishing between those bound, and those not bound.

	Books.					
	Bound.			Not bound.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Year 1800 - -	841	6	11	1,734	8	—
Three quarters ending 10th Oct. 1801	1,217	2	7	1,910	—	4½

Note.—This Account cannot yet be made up to a later period than the 10th of October 1801; the Inspector General not being in possession of all the necessary documents from the out-ports for the last quarter of that year.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

Inspector General's Office, Custom House, London, February 25th, 1802.

ODE *for the new Year,* 1802. *By* HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

Lo, from Bellona's crimson car
At length the panting steeds unbound;
At length the thunder of the war
In festive shouts of peace is drown'd:
Yet as around her Monarch's brow
Britannia twines the olive bough,
Bold as her eagle-eye is cast
On hours of recent tempest past;
Through the rude wave and adverse gale,
When free she spread her daring sail,
Immortal Glory's radiant form
Her guiding load-star through the storm;
Directed by whose golden ray,
Through rocks and shoals she kept her steady way;
"My sons," she cries, "can Honour's guerdon claim,
"Unsoil'd my parent worth, unstain'd their Sovereign's fame?"

Albion! though oft by dread alarms
Thy native valour has been tried,
Ne'er did the lustre of thy arms
Shine forth with more refulgent pride
Than when, while Europe's sons, dismay'd,
Shrunk recreant from thy mighty aid;
Alone, unfriended, firm you stood,
A barrier 'gainst the foaming flood.
When mild and soft the silken breeze
Blows gently o'er the rippling seas,
The pinnace then may lightly sweep
With painted oar the halcyon deep:
But when the howling whirlwinds rise,
When mountain billows threat the skies;
With ribs of oak the bark must brave
The inroad of the furious wave;
The hardy crew must to the raging wind
Oppose the sinewy arm, th' unconquerable mind.

In every clime where ocean roars,
High though thy naval banners flew;
From where by Hyperborean shores
The frozen gale ungenial blew,
To sultry lands that Indian surges lave,
Atlantic isles and fam'd Canopus' wave;
Though from insulted Egypt's coast
Thy armies swept the victor host,
From veteran bands where British valour won
The lofty walls of Ammon's godlike son:
Useless the danger and the toil
To free each self-devoted soil.
Auxiliar legions from thy side
Recede, to swell the Gallic conqueror's pride:

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While on Marengo's fatal plain,
Faithful to honour's tie, brave Austria bleeds in vain.

Not fir'd by fierce Ambition's flame,
Did Albion's monarch urge his car
Impetuous through the bleeding ranks of war,
To succour and protect his nobler aim.
His guardian arm, while each Hesperian vale,
While Lusitania's vine-clad mountains hail
Their ancient rights and laws restor'd,
The royal Patriot sheaths th' avenging sword;
By heaven-born Concord led, while Plenty smiles,
And sheds her bounties wide to bless the sister isles.

ODE *for his Majesty's Birthday*, 1802. *By* HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

No more the thunders of the plain,
The fiery battle's iron show'r,
Terrific, drown the duteous strain
That greets our Monarch's natal hour;
Peace, soaring high on seraph wings,
Now strikes her viol's golden strings;
Responsive to the thrilling note,
Symphonious strains of rapture float.
While grateful myriads in the Pæan join,
And hail her angel voice, and bless her form divine.

Through many a whirlwind's blast severe,
The rage of elemental war,
Stern heralds of the op'ning year,
Sol urges on his burning car;
Though dark the wint'ry tempest lours,
Though keen are April's icy show'rs,
Still, still his flaming coursers rise,
Till high in June's refulgent skies
'Mid the blue arch of heav'n he victor rides,
And spreads of light and heat the unextinguish'd tides.

Glory's true sons, that hardy race,
Who bravely o'er the briny flood,
Smiling serene in danger's face,
Uncheck'd by tempest, fire, and blood,
Britain's triumphant flag unfurl'd,
The terror of the wat'ry world,
Now freely to the fav'ring gale
Of commerce spread the peaceful sail,
And friendly waft from ev'ry shore,
Where Ocean's subject billows roar,
The gifts of Nature, and the works of toil,
Produce of ev'ry clime and ev'ry soil.
The Genius of the sister isles
On the rich heap exulting smiles,
"Mine the prime stores of earth's remotest zone,
"Her choicest fruits and flow'rs, her treasures all
my own."

Nor second you 'mid glory's radiant train,
Who o'er the tented field your ensigns spread:
Whether on Lincelles' trophied plain
Before your ranks superior numbers fled;
Or on Ierne's kindred coast
Ye crush'd invasion's threat'ning host;
Or on fam'd Egypt's sultry sands
The banner tore from Gallia's vet'ran bands;
Your sinewy limbs with happier toil
Now till your country's fertile soil,
Mow with keen scythe the fragrant vale,
Or whirl aloft the sounding flail,
Or bow with many a sturdy stroke,
King of our groves, the giant oak;
Or now the blazing hearth beside,
With all a soldier's honest pride,
To hoary sires and blooming maidens tell
Of gallant chiefs who fought, who conquer
who fell.

Yet, in the arms of Peace reclin'd,
Still flames the free, the ardent mind;
And should again Sedition's roar
Or hostile inroad threat our shore,
From Labour's field, from Commerce' wa
Eager would rush the strong, the brave,
To form an adamantine zone
Around their patriot Monarch's throne.
But long with Plenty in her train
May Concord spread her halcyon reign,
And join with festive voice the lay sincere
Which sings th' auspicious morn to Britai
dear.

MR. PITT'S STATUE.

UNDER this head we have collect
gether the various articles which appea
the different public prints upon the s
of the statue proposed to be erected in h
of Mr. Pitt. This statue is in itself a
of no earthly importance; but when
dered as an instrument of party, it be
worthy of notice; and will, doubtless,
an object of attention with the biog
and the historian. To the articles resp
the statue, we think it right to add thos
tive to the first public celebration
Pitt's birthday; and, while we are ab
we shall give a place to the articles resp
Mr. Addington's birthday, and a
which, it would seem, the people of
burgh (resolved not to be outdone by
of London) are about to erect in hon
Mr. Dundas.

Lloyd's Coffee-house, May 8, 180[illegible].—A
scription is opened for erecting a statue
Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, late First Lord of the
sury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer,
distinguished and valuable services, wh
has rendered to his country during the
of his able and upright administration.

Lloyd's Coffee-house, May 18, 180[illegible].—
general meeting of the subscribers
erection of a statue of the Rt. Hon. Wm
for the distinguished services which
rendered to his country during the co
his able and upright administration; J.
gerstein, Esq. in the chair; Resolved, t
money subscribed and to be subscribed
above purpose, shall be vested in trustee
hereafter appointed, to be applied by
such manner as they shall think expe
the erection of a statue or monument
memory of the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt,
demise; and in the mean time to acc
The chairman having reported, that the
already received has been laid out in th
cents, Res. that the said money, in

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th future subscriptions, shall for the present rested in the funds, in the names of Earl ncer, J. J. Angerstein, T. Bonar, Esqrs. d Belgrave, and S. Thornton, Esq. M. P. that the subscription shall continue open for a limited time, to be hereafter speci- Res. that a gen. meeting of the sub- bers shall be held on Thursday, the 3d of e, at the London Tavern, at 12 o'clock pre- y, to confirm or alter the above resolu- . Res. that the thanks of the meeting be to the chairman.

ture of Mr. Pitt.—London Tavern, June 3. t a gen. meeting of the subscribers for ting a statue of the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, ened for the purpose of confirming or al- g the resolutions passed at a gen. meeting at Lloyd's Coffee-house on the 18th of last; J. J. Angerstein, Esq. in the chair; ved, that the first resolution of the last ing, postponing the erecting of a statue r. Pitt's demise be rescinded. Res. that oney subscribed, and to be subscribed, be d, when the subscription shall be closed, erection of a statue of the Rt. Hon. Wm. in testimony of public gratitude for the t services rendered by him to his sove- and his country, during the course of ost able, upright, and arduous admini- n. Res. that the subscription be kept ong enough to afford every individual in t. empire an opportunity of subscribing. hat on the last Thursday in May 1803, a eeting shall be called for the purpose of ating a committee to carry the above re- ons into effect. Res. that the second tion of the last gen. meeting, purporting he subscriptions be vested in the funds, e names of Earl Spencer, J. J. Angerstein, ear, Esqrs. Lord Belgrave, and S. Thornton, M. P. be confirmed. Res. that the thanks s meeting be given to the chairman.

J. J. ANGERSTEIN, Chairman.

the Editor of the True Briton.—SIR, I ad- you as the public orator. With consi- le indignation I read in your paper, that meeting held the 18th inst. at Lloyd's e-house, it was "Resolved, that the mo- subscribed for a statue of the Rt. Hon. n. Pitt shall be applied in the erection of tatue or monument to his memory, after demise." So imprudent, so improper a osal, could not be made by a friend to Mr. some Fox must have got among the to do away the public zeal by so ill- d an attempt, for only an attempt can I ose it to be. Is there a subscriber but ex- d that his money would be immediately ied to the declared purpose? If that be so, can any majority, assembled at any time ace, change the original intention, without aking, invidiously, to the disappointed their criptions, who undoubtedly hoped to see monument of their gratitude? I have no bt but that Mr. Pitt will, during his life, ersere in that honourable, that glorious line of conduct he has hitherto pursued: then let us leave it to our descendants to give another proof of their affection for, and gratitude to him. Mr. Pitt is a young man (a fault objected to him some years ago by the man I could almost suspect has thrown this apple amongst us). How very few of us have a chance, none a hope, to see the monument now proposed to be hereafter erected at their cost? Such an incitement is not necessary to keep Mr. Pitt steady in the path he has pursued; but surely it is good policy to stimulate others by his bright example, by the hopes of a similar honour; and the sooner that incitement is held out the better. I will trouble you no further than to enter my protest against this new and extremely unfortunate proposal, being one of your constant readers, and to an immediate statue

May 21, 1802. A READY SUBSCRIBER.

To the Editor of the True Briton.—SIR, I address you not "as the public orator," in the language of your correspondent, "A Ready Sub- "scriber," but as the reputable conductor of a public paper. "With considerable indigna- "tion" I read the letter of a Ready Subscriber on Friday last; as a more wanton attack was never made, than that which it attempts against the resolution of a most respectable meeting of gentlemen at Lloyd's coffee-house. Neither the style nor the ideas of your correspondent are calculated to impress the public mind with a belief that he is a very sincere friend of Mr. Pitt; but rather, to use his own phraseology, "a Fox got among the lambs," who, with the profession of great zeal, discovers some disingenuous motives lurking at the bottom. This "ready gentleman" insists, that if the money subscribed be not immediately applied to the erection of a statue to Mr. Pitt, it *ought* to be returned to the subscribers. This is not altogether so clear as the writer imagines it to be: waving this, however, as it seemed expedient (for many reasons not necessary to be specified here) to the general meeting of the 18th, to fix upon the demise of Mr. Pitt as the proper period for erecting the statue or monument in question, it is not probable that any person, except perhaps a "Ready Subscriber," will wish on that account to return his subscription into his pocket. He "hoped," however, "to "*see* the monument," and therefore subscribed. But he has, and I trust will long have, the pleasure of seeing the original; and surely the original is better than the copy, as long as it remains in a state of preservation. Statues are commonly erected in honourable memory of great men, as a record of their eminent services, and an incitement to others to emulate such illustrious examples: but monuments of this nature could not, with much propriety, be erected to the memory of a living character. Scarcely an instance occurs in modern times, of statues erected during the life of the individuals: in ancient times, indeed, they are sufficiently frequent; but the fate of those monu-

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ments shews that they usually originated in flattery or fear; since, on the demise of the monarch or minister to whom they were erected, they were usually thrown down, defaced, and flung with scorn into the Tiber. With life, flattery and fear expire; and nobler and juster motives of action prevail in their turn. Enough of this: but I would ask this gent. if he can suppose, for a moment, that a statue *now* erected to Mr. Pitt would wholly escape a midnight mutilation from some of those enemies who have been created by those very splendid and meritorious services for which the statue is proposed? Buonaparté's guard of honour would be insufficient to secure it from the secret and reiterated attacks of the disappointed, the malicious, and the revengeful. Besides, what real friend of Mr. Pitt can imagine that it would be grateful to his feelings, to that genuine modesty which always accompanies true merit, and which increases in proportion to that merit, to become the spectator of his own statue, either in its state of elevation or depression? In truth, Sir, there is such an air of ridicule attached to the proposition for "an immediate statue," that I trust your correspondent, anxious for it as he appears to be, will submit, with the rest of the subscribers, to the restraint of not beholding the copy while the original is before his sight, and lives in the eyes and hearts of his grateful countrymen.—I am, Sir, *An Enemy to an immediate Statue, and a Friend to the Resolution of the Meeting at Lloyd's.* *May* 25, 1802.

Mr. Pitt. (*True Briton, June* 21, 1802.)—We never thought our countrymen deficient either in justice or gratitude, but we should have doubted the correctness of our judgment on these points, if the people could have suffered Mr. Pitt to retire, after his long and arduous services, without testifying those public marks of approbation, which do no less honour to those who confer, than to him who is the object of them. The moment which has been chosen for evincing this feeling is as fit as the thing itself is just and becoming. To have expressed thanks to Mr. Pitt at the moment of his resignation might have savoured too much of party spirit, might have looked even like an opposition to the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King in the choice of his ministers: but to have waited till all such feelings must have subsided—to have seen the effects which his measures have produced in the attainment of peace, to have witnessed his great and disinterested conduct on that question itself, is to have sought the period when every praise which can be bestowed, when every testimony of applause which can be given, is offered with additional weight and recommendation. With a great majority of our countrymen, we believe, that it is to this identical Wm. Pitt that we owe at this moment the existence of our constitution. We believe that it is to the energy of his mind that we are indebted for having been able to struggle with the complicated difficulties which the French revolution presented to us. Is it then because he was thwarted in a measure, upon the adoption of which the ablest and best intentioned men may conscientiously differ in opinion—a measure approved by some of the greatest men of both parties—a measure which he thought essential to the safety of the empire—and which, if the war had continued, some people think we might have found to have involved in its consequences a question of no less importance than whether *Ireland* should have been preserved or lost to us—is it, we ask, because at a moment when he thought this measure so important, and was prevented from carrying it, he thought fit to retire, that we are therefore to forget all the services he had rendered his country for 17 years before? Is there a man who doubts, that if he had employed that period in the avocations of that profession in which he first set out, his great and transcendent abilities would have led to the highest honours and emoluments? And will the people of this country suffer such a man, the man who has saved us, to retire unnoticed, because in saving us he has adopted measures which some persons do not approve, but which they do not approve only because they choose to consider them abstractedly, and independent of the necessity in which they originated? The measures which have drawn down upon Mr. Pitt the severest animadversion of his enemies, are those which have been adopted for the preservation of our independence and the protection of our constitution.—The great difference, however, upon these points is not so much as to the propriety of the measures themselves, as to the existence of the necessity from whence they arose. Those who think that the meetings of *Chalk Farm*, of *St. George's Fields*, and of *Copenhagen House*, were harmless assemblies, will not think that we required Acts of Parliament to prevent such meetings; and those who think that Mr. Jackson, Mr. O'Connor, Mr. O'Coigley, Mr. Tone, Ld. Ed. Fitzgerald, &c. &c. were good and loyal subjects, will not think that any bill against traitors could be framed with any other view than for the purpose of wantonly infringing the constitution. But the sober part of the community may perhaps feel that it was not a culpable act in Mr. Pitt's administration to guard against such men; and that after the Opposition had been in a body to *Maidstone*, on a certain memorable trial, they would have wiped away *some suspicious stains*, and would have raised their own characters, if, on their return, they had renounced their opinions, and had acknowledged the necessity of such measures. The income-tax, however, is said to have been a most odious measure—but if it had not been imposed, could we have carried on the war? And would not the terms which the enemy would have imposed upon us, have been ten thousand times more odious? But this is a way in which those who condemn it never choose to consider

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the subject—they tell us it was ill-collected, evaded, unequal, and oppressive; but they never tell us that any other tax to the same amount would have possessed less of these objections; nor do they venture to assert, that at the time it was imposed we could have made peace without throwing ourselves on the mercy of our enemies. Most artful attempts have been made to induce Mr. Addington to think that every compliment which is paid to Mr. Pitt is a censure upon himself. Those men know little of Mr. Addington who suppose, that they can thus work upon his passions, and set them at variance with his reason and his judgment. This attempt did not succeed in the House of Commons, nor will it succeed elsewhere; Mr. Addington knows well that there is no inconsistency in a person approving of every act of Mr. Pitt's administration, in thinking that his measures have actually saved the country, and, at the same time, not attaching so much importance to the giving or refusing the remaining privileges to the Catholics, even during a war with France, as Mr. Pitt does. Mr. Addington is not more united with Mr. Pitt by the ties of personal friendship than he is by similarity of sentiment upon all the great political questions which have been produced by the extraordinary events of the last ten years. But it was not enough for the enemies of Mr. Pitt to endeavour to excite Mr. Addington's opposition to any mark of approbation of his conduct; it was more than insinuated, that such approbation was not agreeable in a quarter where it is the grossest calumny to suppose that Mr. Pitt's services are either forgotten or undervalued. We have reason to know, that there is no man who appreciates more correctly, or values more highly, the services of which we have spoken, than the illustrious Personage to whom we allude. He will not readily forget what passed on Mr. Fox's India Bill, or what was done on the question of the Regency; but above all, he will never forget the efforts of the man who has guarded him and the nation from the dangers of the French revolution; and who, in so doing, has performed greater services than any other man had ever before an opportunity of rendering to his sovereign.

The Statue. (*Morn. Chron. May* 22, 1802.)—The erection of this monument of national gratitude is postponed for the present. Mr. Pitt has found out what it appears the subscribers could not find out—that there is some small impropriety in erecting a statue to a living character. This discovery was made by Lord Belgrave, on Tuesday, at a meeting of the subsbribers. He had been instructed by Mr. Pitt to communicate his thanks, &c. and his wish that they would drop the design for the present. The company assented; but resolved that the statue should be erected at a future period, when it should please *Heaven* to remove its *born* minister to those happy realms where services are rewarded by *perpetuity* of *place*, and *resignations* are unknown. It was farther resolved, that the money collected, which exceeds 3000 *guineas*, should be vested in the hands of trustees for the above purpose. This way of *postponing gratitude*, of deferring a passion *sine die*, is somewhat new in the history of our feelings, and we suspect, in the case of a man who follows so precarious a trade as that of popularity, may be somewhat dangerous. The die is cast, however, and Mr. Pitt is bound over to his good behaviour for life, under a penalty of 3000 *guineas!* In the mean time, that the subscribers' gratitude might not evaporate, or be lost in the multiplicity of changes and chances of this mortal life, each determined for himself to refresh the memory of Mr. Pitt's eminent services, by an occasional contemplation of the national debt, the taxes, and other little *traits* of his glorious administration, till the period arrive when they shall be more durably recorded by the chisel.

Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque
Lætus intersis populo Londini!

Mr. Pitt's Statue. (*Morn. Chron. May* 22, 1802.)—We hasten to inform our readers that the plan of subscription for Mr. Pitt's statue is wholly changed.—Instead of a money subscription, it is to be conducted by a pic-nic; that is to say, the various subscribers are, according to their zeal and ability, to contribute the several parts of the work. We are happy to hear that Mr. Dundas is to take the lead. Having, with his usual caution in changes of administration, carefully weighed the probabilities in favour of each party, he finds Mr. Pitt the favourite, and, consequently, he resumes his place with all speed. His contribution to the statue is a forehead of brass. Difficulties having arisen about constructing a proper nose, three worthy Aldermen, Curtis, Anderson, and Sir Watkin, are uniting their skill to fabricate one, with due attention to the tubercles. The eyes by the Bishop of Lincoln. They look different ways, as a statesman ought to do; one earnestly surveys the palace and the church, whilst the other is equally intent on the mob. He seems hesitating which to prefer. A strange story having been propagated, that the statue was to have a tongue, all the romance-writers were striving for priority. The thought was new, and at first pleased the conductors; but it was considered, that the tongue of the original was apt to change its shape, and therefore it was quite as well to conceal it in the statue. Mr. I. H. Browne, Sir R. Peele, and a number of country gentlemen, were for setting on his shoulders a great globe, representing the world; but the shoulders were too narrow and feeble. Besides, the only globe that could be found was marked with the word "Marengo," which would not have been pleasing to a British spectator. But the greatest contribution of all is of hands and arms. At least a thousand have been offered, in all different shapes and forms. It is remarkable, however, that most of them are for the left

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side. There are a few good pairs, indeed, with hooked fingers, fit for turning a pocket inside out, to denote Mr. Pitt's great skill in finance.—Mr. S. Thornton would have had a little Bank of England hard by, for the convenience of representing the admirable dexterity of the great statesman in converting her gold into rags. But the Bank has been too much exposed of late for so delicate a constitution; and therefore what relates to her will be better communicated on *paper*.—It is astonishing that nobody has yet come forward to supply the trunk of the body. Ld. Grenville's vigour, it seems, will not answer, and Ld. Hawkesbury's or Mr. Addington's vicarious form has not sufficient strength. Fortunately, Mr. Wilberforce has presented a *cloak*. Ld. Belgrave likewise offered one; but Mr. Wilberforce's is thicker.—The City wished to put a drawn sword in his hand; but the Bishop of Rochester thinks a whip will be more characteristic.—From the difficulty of imitating the legs, it is proposed to place him on his knees, "but not asking pardon of God or man."—The place is not yet fixed. Some would put him in one of the regal niches within the Royal Exchange; others in the front of the New Prison in Cold Bath Fields. But it is believed he will at last be brought to the Old Bailey.—It is much to be desired that the exhibition may be early, of which there are great hopes, the sheriffs having already provided the scaffolding and ropes.

The Statue.—(Morning Chron. May 24, 1802.)—We are happy to find that the few particulars in our paper of Thursday respecting Mr. Pitt's statue are in general correct. Every information on a subject of so much importance will no doubt be highly prized.—Many contradictory reports, however, may be expected. The subscribers hold frequent meetings, but, overpowered by the grandeur and dignity of the subject, they as frequently part without coming to any decisive resolutions.—The contributions mentioned in our paper of Thursday are pretty correct. It remains to be added, that the assessment on the noses of Aldermen Curtis, Anderson, and Lewes, is 2½ pr. cent. Sir Watkin at first objected to this as unequal, for that his brother Anderson, with a freehold nose of six inches, would contribute no more than himself with three inches, renewable every hogshead. This was over-ruled, however, by Ald. Curtis, who thought that it might tend to revive the memory of the Income-tax; although he was willing to allow that Sir John could at present spare a greater proportion, as there would be no further occasion to smell plots, which had been the bounden duty of every magistrate for some years.—Before the subscriptions came in so fast as at present, it was proposed that the statue should be made without arms, and with hands only appearing, which would be a great saving to the country. But this was opposed, as destroying the consistency of the figure; and it was urged, that although his hands were conspicuous enough, as most men knew by experience, yet they would have been nothing without his arms. The extreme length of the fingers was unanimously agreed on; but the committee came to no determination as to what he should be holding in them.—On the subject of posture there were long and ingenious debates. Sitting and standing were respectively canvassed. A good many were for lying; and an ingenious gentleman, whose name we could not learn, thought that if the figure could be made to move by a pivot from side to side, without any visible cause, it would be very characteristic, and more like the life.—It being generally agreed that the Colossal form is preferable, Mr. Kemble is to sit for the flesh, of which, from much experience in the best cattle, he is thought a very able judge.—The materials are to be contributed in the manner mentioned in our last, with the addition of some part in plaster of Paris, as the French gov. are expected to subscribe very largely to their best benefactor.—This statue being designed, not so much out of respect, for that is too cold a sentiment, but for the purposes of adoration, it has been proposed to instruct the city members to move for a repeal of that part of the second commandment which prohibits the "making of graven images," for a limited time, to be specified in the act. This will wisely obviate the objections of those who may have some scruples as to the worship of stocks and stones, and have hitherto been disposed to pay their addreses to a Minister incarnate.—All that can be gathered of ancient statuary has been consulted, and the Aldermen who are on the Nose Committee are to examine and report on the merit of the ancients, from Phidias to the unknown artist who made Nebuchadnezzar's celebrated image.—The pedestal is to have groups of little figures on each side, pointing to the principal figure, and holding out their hands. Most of these will be portraits; but of the disposition of them, no report can be made in the present stage of the business.

Fresh Subscribers to Mr. Pitt's Statue. (Morning Chronicle.)—Dr. Brodum—A bottle of his nostrum, in compliment to the greatest nostrum-monger of the age, and as a proper companion to his grand specific for paying off the national debt.—*Mr. Dundas*—A transient blush which once passed over his cheek when he told a truth. N. B. This is considered doubtful.—*Gov. Aris*—An inside view of the Bastile and all its little elegancies; Dr. Glasse and Justice Mainwaring in the fore ground, haranguing on the comforts of bread and water in six feet by eight. In distant perspective, roast beef and claret for themselves.—*The Swinish Multitude*—An enormous penny roll sold in the year 1801.—*The People of England*—A list of the reforms in Parliament which this grand reformer has procured since the year 1782.—*The People of Ireland*—An account of the Catholic emancipation, and of the gentle methods of persuasion used at the Castle to

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induce the Irish to adopt the principles of freedom.—*The People of Africa*—A list of his efforts, in conjunction with Mr. Wilberforce, to procure the emancipation of the negroes in the W. Indies, and to prevent exportation from their own country.—*The People of France*—A map of France, shewing how she has been confined within her ancient boundaries.—*Buonaparté*—A portrait of the Corsican adventurer, the child and champion of Jacobinism; a copy of Ld. Grenville's letter; and a plan of Marengo.—*The Dutch*—A view of the Scheldt, with the ships sailing to Antwerp.—*The Stadtholder*—A stiver, in consideration of the indemnities procured for him.—*Louis XVIII.*—A complete map of his kingdom, and a print of his grand triumphal entry into Paris.—*The Emp. of Germany*—A reversion in the Imperial loan, and a map of Belgium, the Milanese, &c. territories gained by the war.—*The Widows and Orphans of Soldiers and Sailors, &c. killed off*—A mantle, dyed in the blood of their deceased relatives.—*Jenky, jun.*—A pair of jack-boots, accustomed to the road to Paris.—*The Habeas Corpus Act*—An account of her long state of suspended animation while under his care.—*Liberty*—Her own portrait, in a deep decline.—*Mr. Ketch*—Indemnity for the past, and security for the future.

The Statue, an Epigram.—(Morning Chronicle.)

Shall then a statue rise to Pitt,
Who sunk us in despair?
Long-since, ere on that rock we split,
Our course was smooth and fair:
Yet might we grant thy statue, Pitt,
Could we our grief forego;
Couldst thou at last, with all thy wit,
Place us in STATU-*quo!*

STERNHOLD AND HOPKINS.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.—Sir, As you have admitted the poetry of my brothers Sternhold and Hopkins, I trust you will not refuse the following tribute to the virtues of our late heaven-born minister, though offered by a poor parish-clerk. I am, Sir, yours.

"Good Lord, how happy should I be,"
Cries John, "could I this statue see
"Erected to our Billy!"
"Bother!" says Pat; "why, neighbour John,
"Be all your sense and manners gone,
"You spake so wondrous silly?
"The devil should pick me limb from limb
"Before I'd wish it rais'd to *him*
"Who caus'd our shame and sorrow."
"Patience, dear brother," John replies;
"'T will not be rais'd before he dies:—
"I wish 't were done to-morrow."

AMEN!

To the Editor of the True Briton.—Sir, I think there is much weight in the arguments in a letter on Mr. Pitt's statue, by "A Friend to the Resolutions at Lloyd's;" but I must beg to make one remark, that a part of the objection against an immediate statue might be removed, if the figure were to be made of bronze instead of stone, which was probably intended, as the "midnight mutilation" would, in that case, be at least a much more difficult work, although disfiguration might still ensue; however, Sir, on the whole, I cannot but agree that it would be a much more decent, and full as honourable a testimonial of respect for the virtues of Mr. Pitt, and a more dignified monument to his fame, as well as more grateful, I should think, to his feelings, to erect the statue after his death than during his lifetime.

June 14th. A SUBSCRIBER.

The Statue.—(Morning Chronicle, June 21.)—It is not our fault that the public must have "more last words" on this subject. The friends of the scheme have changed their minds—the statue is to be erected, without waiting for any thing so uncertain as Mr. Pitt's demise, and which, if it were not uncertain, might, when it came, overwhelm his friends with such a weight of sorrow, that, instead of erecting statues, they would be for following him to the land of Forgetfulness.—At a late meeting, it was solemnly debated, and agreed *nem. con.* that the present was not to be sacrificed to the future, that we did not know enough of posterity to trust them with this great work, and that the impulses of gratitude were not things to be vested in the hands of trustees. The debates, or rather conversation, were long and serious; for, as a member observed, it was no less than a question of *life* and *death*.—A Committee of Precedents had been appointed to search for statues to living characters, and enough were produced to justify the practice; and it was likewise ingeniously discovered that a picture is but a statue on canvass, and that between an *engraving* and a *bronze*, the only difference was weight of metal.—Possibilities were taken into account, and it was observed that if Mr. Pitt *should* change his opinions, it was no more than he had done before, when the only consequence was, that his friends changed with him. As to his becoming *worse*, none of the subscribers would allow that to be in the smallest degree probable, or possible. Some thought there was a physical, and others a natural impossibility—but all concurred in the sempiternity of merit they were determined to discover in him in all time forthcoming.—The statue therefore is to be put in hand, but whose hand or whose head will be equal to the undertaking, it was thought presumptuous even to guess at. It seemed too vast for the common powers of human genius.—One member observed, that as the word *statue* had been bandied about too much, it should be called a *monument*; but this was over-ruled by a facetious Alderman present, who remarked that this would create great confusion to Mr. Pitt's admirers from the country, who, when they inquired for THE MONUMENT, would infallibly be shewn the way to *Fish-street Hill*.—The clamour and malignity of faction were properly noticed, and the danger of erecting the statue in any public place was weighed with great accuracy and eloquence by several speakers. To obviate this, it was proposed, that the statue should be erected in some very secure place, and no admission to see it granted, but to those who were

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well affected to Mr. Pitt's person and government. It was also proposed, that the place of erection should be concealed as much as possible, which the Alderman above mentioned said might be easily done, as they did not at present know it themselves.—The meeting dispersed after coming to the principal resolution, that the statue should be immediately erected, and that in the mean time subscriptions should be *taken in* as usual.

To the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, on the proposed Statue.
(Morning Chronicle, June 25.)

———Quærit Pater Urbium
Subscribi Statuis. Hor.

Subscrib'd the Sire of Cities! Oh, how pretty!
Subscription marks thee Father of the City.
Portentous parent of each baneful bribe,
From me take truth—'t is all I can subscribe!
Father unrivall'd of each lusty loan,
Each pious prop of Pitt, who propp'd the Throne,
Who propp'd it till the day he frankly told
Hibernia's sons by *whom* their rights were sold;
'T was thine, O generous man! to make it known
That glory was thy sovereign's, not thy own.
Oh! if to thee we could a statue raise,
Large as thy conquests, ample as thy praise,
Loosely one foot should stand on Gallia's heights,
One *firmly* on thy country's prostrate rights;
One hand (1) should, conscious, point to Quiberon's strand,
One shake (2) the scourge o'er Erin's bleeding land;
Through "troubled" skies thy "meteor" eyeballs glare,
Thy brow "shake battles from its horrid hair;" (3)
Or, could the Cape of Palinurus be
But chisell'd to a shape resembling thee,
Still might thy form o'er shipwreck'd empires rise,
Still rear some tell-tale fragment to the skies, (4)
Still bode of ills which peaceful shores deform,
Still seem "the pilot shrinking from the storm."
Oh! could our pile, Att's last and proudest boast,
But mark thee lord of all which thou hast lost,
O'er its broad pedestal should Sculpture trace
Belgium, the *Scheldt*, and *Bourbon*'s exil'd race;
There, should Security with Terror wed, (5)
Indemnity should "bow her cloud-topt head;" (6)
There, Rhodes survey by *our* colossal man
Her giant humbled to a pigmy's span,
And vanquish'd Ammon, stung with envy, start
To see his Athos dwindled to a wart.——
Once, Rome, by Tully sav'd from blood and fire,
That Tully cherish'd as his country's sire; (7)
Thee Europe hails, "by fire and blood" *refin'd*, (8)
"*Deliverer*" *now—(or Torturer)* of mankind.

(1) "He wielded with one hand the democracy of England, and humbled with the other the whole House of Bourbon."—Character (supposed to be by Mr. GRATTAN) of *the late* Mr. PITT.—(2) "Quatiente *Tortore* flagellum."—JUV.—(3) Milton.—(4) Palinurus was too honest to pretend that *he* had "weathered the storm," but candidly owned that he *broke the rudder* from the vessel, and *fell overboard* before it reached land.

——"Gubernaculum multâ vi forté revulsum
Præcipitans traxi mecum." VIRGIL.

(5) "Tigribus agnus."—(6) Gray.—(7) "Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit."—JUV.—(8) "In all its transmigrations be purified with fire and blood."—Reflections on the Fr. Rev. by the Rt. Hon. ED. BURKE.

Lloyd's Coffee-house, Dec. 24, 1802.—Amount of subscriptions to Mr. Pitt's statue 5410*l.* 6*s.*

MR. PITT'S BIRTHDAY.

(True Briton, May 20, 1802.)—The Anniversary of the birthday of the Rt. Hon. William Pitt will be commemorated on Friday, the 28th of May, at the London Tavern.—Earl Spencer in the Chair.—Stewards, Marq. of Worcester, Earl of Euston, Earl Temple, Visc. Morpeth, Ld. G. L. Gower, Ld. Louvaine, Sir J. Wrottesly, Sir W. Lowther, Sir H. Mildmay, Sir R. Vaughan, Sir J. W. Stuart, Sir R. Peele, E. W. Bootle, Esq. W. R. Cartwright, Esq. W. Dickenson, Esq. J. Down, Esq. W. Egerton, Esq. Lt. Gen. Egerton, C. R. Ellis, Esq. R. Ellison, J. Fane, Esq. N. B. French, Esq. Francis Gregor, Esq. R. Milligan, Esq. W. Manning, Esq. T. Raikes, Esq. Hans Sloane, Esq. G. H. Sumner, Esq. S. Thornton, Esq. J. Tunno, Esq.—Tickets, one guinea each, to be had of Mr. Hatchard, No. 190, Piccadilly; and at the Bar of the London Tavern.

Mr. Pitt's Birthday.—(True Briton, May 29, 1802.)—Yesterday the anniversary of the birth of Mr. Pitt was for the first time publicly celebrated. It is here unnecessary for us to trace the causes that led to this event. They sprung apparently from a weak and wicked attempt to calumniate him when his talents have been so conspicuously displayed; but the sentiment of respect for his virtues, and gratitude for his public services, was so generally felt, and so deeply rooted in the hearts of all good men, that there wanted but the slightest occasion to call it forth into action. The attempt to sully his high and dignified fame was more than sufficient to awaken it, and it has accordingly displayed itself in every way that can be adopted consistently with the character of Mr. Pitt.—The demand for tickets for the celebration of his birthday anniversary was so great, that it was found the London Tavern would be inadequate to the accommodation of the company, and *Merchant Taylors' Hall* was procured for the occasion.—At 4 o'clock the company began to assemble, and in half an hour the whole body of the Hall was filled, a space which contained at least 500 persons. If we add to this number the comp. at the head table, and those who were in the galleries, not not less than 650 persons dined in the Hall. There were tables besides in two adjoining rooms for 200; so that the whole comp. consisted of 850 persons of the first respectability in the kingdom, for rank, character, and opulence.—A little after 6 dinner was served, and it was excellent in its kind. Turtle was in great abundance, and every delicacy which so large a company could expect. Earl Spencer was in the chair. Upon the cloth being removed, *Non nobis* was sung with their usual excellence by the Knyvetts, Gore, Nield, Sale, &c. Then followed the health of—"The King, with three times three," which was drank with the loudest acclamations of joy.—"The Queen, with three times three."—

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"The Prince and Princess of Wales, ditto." "The Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Family, ditto."—"Mr. Pitt."—Earl Spencer prefaced Mr. Pitt's health by observing that that gent. had been invited by the committee and stewards to be present at the meeting on that day, but he had received a letter from him, which he would take the liberty of reading to the company; and the substance of which was, that he felt most deeply the honour which was done him; but as from the nature of the meeting, and the partiality of his friends, for which he was impressed with the most lively gratitude, he could not reconcile it to his feelings to be present, he entreated his Ldp. to offer his excuses to the comp. The letter was received with the loudest applause; and Mr. Pitt's health was drank with an enthusiasm which no language can adequately describe. It was the union of every grand, every grateful, every affectionate sentiment that can be felt and concentred in the human mind, bursting consentaneously from 850 persons into action. The scene for a very long period was truly sublime. We will venture to assert, it never was presented in the same manner and degree before. The company was not satisfied with the common expressions of huzzaing and clapping of hands, but hundreds of handkerchiefs waved in the air, and produced an undescribable effect.—After the tumult of applause had subsided, the following song, written for the occasion (by G. H. Rose, Esq.), was sung by Mr. Dignum:

SONG.—To the tune of the Anacreontic.

To the statesman, whose genius and judgment matur'd,
From Gallic ambition, 'midst Anarchy's cry,
To his country her laws and her commerce secur'd,
Can Britons the grateful memorial deny?
No! just to his claim
Of a patriot's name,
They trust not his merit to *posthumous* fame;
Remember with pride what by Chatham was done,
And hallow the day that gave birth to his son.

Rome's senate decreed to her worthies ovations,
With civic rewards she encircled their brows;
To a true British worthy we pour our libations,
While our senate her *order of merit* bestows:
Amidst Europe's alarms,
With persuasion's blest charms,
Britain's councils he led, rous'd her heroes to arms;
In the dread wreck of nations her empire maintain'd,
Her spirit unconquer'd, her credit unstain'd.

No Jacobin rites in our fête shall prevail,
Ours the true feast of reason—the soul's social flow;
Here we cherish the friend, and his virtues we hail,
But the Gallic fraternal embrace disavow;
Impress'd with his worth,
We indulge in our mirth,
And bright shines the planet that rul'd at his birth;
Round the orbit of Britain, O! long may it move
Like attendant satellites circling their Jove.

To the counsels of Pitt *, in an æra that's past,
Her high rank 'midst the nations this city may trace;
Though his statue may moulder, his mem'ry will last;
"The great and the good live again in their race."
Ere to time's distant day
Our marble convey
The fame that now blooms, and will know no decay,
Our fathers' example our breasts shall inspire,
And we'll honour the Son, as they honour'd the Sire.

The next toasts were,—"The wooden walls "of Old England."—"The army, militia, "yeomanry, and volunteers of the United "Kingdom."—"The Lord Mayor, and pro- "sperity to the city of London."—The toast that succeeded was applicable to the occasion —"The pilot that weathered the storm."—This was received by the company, if possible, with a warmer fervour of enthusiasm than marked the health of the individual alluded to, when it was drank by name. After this toast, Mr. Dignum sung the following song, composed for the occasion by the Right Hon. G. Canning:

If hush'd the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
The sky if no longer dark tempests deform;
When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep?
No—Here's to the pilot that weather'd the storm!

At the footstool of Power let Flattery fawn;
Let Faction her idols extol to the skies;
To Virtue, in humble retirement withdrawn,
Unblam'd may the accents of Gratitude rise!

And shall not *his* mem'ry to Britain be dear,
Whose example with envy all nations behold;
A statesman, unbiass'd by int'rest or fear,
By pow'r uncorrupted, untainted by gold?

Who, when Terror and Doubt through the universe reign'd,
While Rapine and Treason their standards unfurl'd,
The heart and the hopes of his country maintain'd,
And one kingdom preserv'd 'midst the wreck of the world.

Unheeding, unthankful, we bask in the blaze,
While the beams of the sun in full majesty shine;
When he sinks into twilight with fondness we gaze,
And mark the mild lustre that gilds his decline.

So, Pitt, when the course of thy greatness is o'er,
Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly recall;
Now justly we prize thee, when lost we deplore;
Admir'd in thy zenith, but lov'd in thy fall!

O! take, then—for dangers by wisdom repell'd,
For evils, by courage and constancy brav'd—
O! take, for a throne by thy counsels upheld,
The thanks of a people thy firmness has sav'd!

And, O! if again the rude whirlwind should rise,
The dawning of peace should fresh darkness deform;
The regrets of the good, and the fears of the wise,
Shall turn to the pilot that weather'd the storm!

To attempt to describe all the testimonies of the zealous attachment of the company to the

* The late Earl of Chatham.

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illustrious cause of the meeting, would be to exhaust language, without conveying an idea of their effects. The loudest acclamations accompanied every allusion to Mr. Pitt, and so highly delighted were the hearers with the above song, that it was in the course of the evening repeated, as well as the toasts which preceded it.—Sir R. Peele rose, and proposed the health of the Noble Chairman, which was drank with great applause, and his Lordship, in very handsome terms, returned his acknowledgments.—The following toasts succeeded:—"The memory of Earl Howe, and "the heroes of the 1st of June 1794."—"Earl "St. Vincent, and the heroes of February 14, "1797."—"Viscount Duncan, and the heroes "of Camperdown."—"Viscount Nelson, and "the heroes of the Nile and Copenhagen."—"The memory of Sir R. Abercromby; and "Lord Hutchinson, and the army of Egypt."—"The Throne, the virtue that fills it, and "the councils that saved it."—This toast was received with particular marks of approbation and applause.—"The landed interest of the "United Kingdom."—"The Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of Merchant "Taylors' Company, and thanks to them for "the use of their hall."—A little after ten o'clock the Noble Chairman left the chair, amidst the thanks and plaudits of the company, for the very able and satisfactory manner in which he had filled it. A large proportion of the company went away at the same time. The Marquis of Worcester took the chair after Lord Spencer had quitted it, and supported the spirit of the company that remained for a considerable time after, with good effect.—Never did we see so numerous a company so well arranged; never in any body of men, of whatever denomination, did we see such unanimity of sentiment: it was the genuine tribute, we may truly say, of honest feeling to transcendent talents and virtue.

True Briton, June 3.—We have received several applications from correspondents to give to the public a correct list of the company that dined at Merchant Taylors' Hall, last Friday, in celebration of Mr. Pitt's birthday. The following is a pretty correct list of those who procured their tickets at Hatchard's, all of whom, we believe, were present at the dinner. The names of such as took tickets at the London Tavern, we have been unable to procure. We revert the more readily to this event, as it was one in which the feelings of the public at large were more than commonly interested.—*Dukes*—Rutland and Montrose.—*Marquises*—Cornwallis, Townsend, Worcester, Headfort, and Buckingham.—*Earls*—Spencer, Camden, Chesterfield, Carysfort, Aboyne, Conyngham, Temple, Beverley, Euston, Romney, Essex, Fortescue, Gower, Westmorland, Courtown, Dartmouth, and Yarmouth.—*Lords*—Amherst, Grenville, Braybroke, Castlereagh, Bulkeley, Belgrave, Rolle, F. Montague, Hinchinbroke, Newark, Valentia, Chetwynd, Limerick, Glastenbury, Walsingham, Whitworth, Hawkesbury, Dunstanville, Morpeth, Louvaine, Alvanley, George Thynne, John Thynne, Levison Gower, Hervey, Ducie, George Seymour, Craven, Bridport, Arden, Minto, Bruce, Longford, Cawdor, Loftus, Bayning, W. Gordon, and F. Campbell.—*The Right Hon.* G. Rose, G. Wodehouse, Curzon, Frederick Campbell, Canning, John Staples, T. Wallace, T. Grenville, C. Yorke, W. Wickham, Sir W. Fawcett, H. Dundas, D. Ryder, J. C. Villiers, Sir W. Grant, C. Bragge, T. Steele, and W. Windham.—*The Hon.* Mr. Anker, Col. Stewart, T. Knox, J. Scott, J. Eliot, R. Ryder, Admiral Berkeley, —— Lascelles, Rev. H. Ryder, W. Broderick, and —— Stanhope.—*Sirs*—H. S. Mildmay, A. Hume, G. Dallas, W. Farquhar, Isaac Pocock, J. W. Anderson, R. Buxton, Grenville Temple, W. Lowther, W. Heathcote, R. Peele, R. William Vaughan, W. Young, J. Stewart, J. Wrottesley, J. Frederick, G. Ducket, R. C. Glynn, and R. Ford.—*Commissioners*—Hartwell, Gambier, and George.—*Generals*—Balfour, Bowles, Grenville, Lennox, Ross, Egerton, Bernard, and Grosvenor.—*Colonels*—Peachey, Salisbury, Stanley, Bateman, Paterson, Hay, Dalton, and Garbett.—*Majors*—Mowbray, Hart, and Alcock.—*Captains*—Bruce, Jones, Williams, and Elliot.—*Messrs.* Penn, R. Thornton, Strahan, Blackburn, —— Smyth, J. Smyth, Tyler, Davison, Huskisson, M. P. Woodmason, Nepean, M. P. Adams, M. P. Spence, Stuckey, Courtenay, West, Adams, Dent, M. P. Vernon, Balfour, Symonds, Sparks, Cartwright, Gunning, Atkinson, Clement, Betty, Marsh, Hay, Poyntz, Bowles, Morrit, Kay, Palmer, Bullock, Bootle, M. P. D. Lloyd, Hammond, Allen, Thompson, Manning, M. P. Adolphus, Atcheson, Wills, Newberry, Parry, Barker, Nethersole, Mitford, Gregson, White, Carr, Denison, Beckett, Asheton, Drummond, Stanhope, Gordon, Montague, M. P. Wilberforce, M. P. Sloane, Jackson, Barne, Snowdon Barne, M. P. Osgoode, G. Isted, Burdon, Meeke, M'Kenzie, Elliot, Sturgess, Nott, Chute, Wrottesley, Smith, G. Pitt, Beckford, Barnham, Rev. W. Long, Cooke, Smith, Cornwallis, M. P. G. H. Vaughan, Golding, Fletcher, Wright, Dennison, Thos. Pitt. N. Vansittart, M. P. H. Addington, M. P. Eliot, Greniston, Lee, Ellison, M. P. Bell, Frere, M. P. Fane, W. Egerton, Sumner, Roebuck, Newbolt, Cholmondeley, Rev. W. Wilson, Griffin Wilson, G. Wilson, Perkins, Nodes, Carter, Thornton, Boucherett, Willett, M. P. Joddrell, M. P. Price, Bonar, Drax Grosvenor, Taylor, Ch. H. Cholmondeley, Heber, Wyndham, M. P. Pigou, Stuart, Deane, Bernard, Beach, M. P. Heriot, Lee, M. P. Sparrow, Grierson, Longman, Musgrave, Martin, Hatton, Saville, M. P. Prince, Winter, Jones, Arbuthnot, Park, Bathurst, Pye, Madox, Young, Woodcock, Spens, Alcock, Swain, Fordyce, Smeaton, Moor, Morison, Taylor, Owen, Hale, Curzon, Webb, White, Barry, Cowper, Bray, Smith, Slark, Aust, Angerstein, Bidwell, Brooke

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Watson, Spiller, T. Wood, F. Wood, R. Wood, Langton, Dowell, Banks, Garrett, Hollis, Strange, Aston Smith, Joseph Smith, W. M. Pitt, M. P. Martin, King, Wharton, Adderley, P. Rue, J. Rue, Birnil, Bayley, Forbes, Dr. Blane, Rev. J. Pike, Woodford, Farquharson, Wright, Malkinson, Rev. —— Hook, Leycester, Rev. J. Salt, H. Thornton, M. P. Leslie, Duncombe, Morgan, and R. H. Sumner.

To Earl Spencer, Chairman of the Meeting for the Celebration of Mr. Pitt's Birthday. (Morning Chronicle, May 28.)—My Lord, Observing your Lordship's name in an advertisement for the chair of an intended meeting for the celebration of Mr. Pitt's birthday, and also that it stands among the first of the subscribers to erecting a statue to him for his "able and upright administration," I feel myself irresistibly impelled to address a few observations to your Lordship, suggested to me by an occupation into which I naturally enough fell upon a perusal of the notifications of your two Committees. Retracing, in somewhat of the spirit of a philosopher, the transactions of these last eight years (a period, at the commencement of which, your connexion with Mr. Pitt and the Buckingham faction was first formed), the course of my reflections carried me backwards to old times, to a day fatally memorable to all true Whigs, a day that may be called in reality the political birthday of Mr. Pitt—I mean that of the death of the Marquis of Rockingham. After pursuing for a while the train of thought, and of comparisons of all kinds, arising out of the events now before us, I could not help indulging a sentiment of curiosity, in the involuntary yielding to which I asked myself (I believe with a smile), what would be the probable period of Mr. Pitt's life to which you would look for matter to animate your bumpers, or to inscribe, in the sober moment that must follow them, upon the too durable monument of your folly? My curiosity in regard to the first of these points was easily dismissed to the chance of the hour; but I must confess that it dwells with some uneasiness upon the second, as there are parts of your Lordship's character which have hitherto made me feel an interest in your fame.—Let us discuss a little, therefore, this subject of the statue. You are a scholar, my Lord, and a man of taste, and consequently must be sensible of the importance of a proper inscription for it. For if you have no inscription, it will look as if you and the other subscribers were ashamed of the statue; and if you have not a proper one, the statue may one day make you ashamed of yourselves. Now, my Lord, I am sure it is needless to tell *you* what ought to be the style and character of an inscription. It may be full and varied, or it may be short and simple. It may either contain a splendid recital of illustrious actions, or exhibit in a few sentences, sometimes even in a single one, a summary of the moral qualities and conduct, or the employment of the mind and faculties, of the person whose memory it is to immortalize. Either of these styles may be in perfect good taste. Not to go out of our own island for examples, I will only direct your attention to three, which may be regarded as models in this species of composition. There is the inscription on the pillar at Blenheim to the Duke of Marlborough, enumerating his splendid successes in war, his able negotiations, and that conduct by which he became the scourge and terror of France, and the preserver and deliverer of Europe. There is that sublime sentence engraven upon the monument of Sir C. Wren, in St. Paul's, itself the monument of his labours. There is, besides these, that pathetic apostrophe to the wit, humour, and learning of Ben Jonson, inscribed on his tombstone in Westminster Abbey. I much question, however, whether an inscription, drawn up according to either of the first of these forms, would exactly suit Mr. Pitt. If he has delivered Europe, he certainly took a method to deliver it very different from that which presented itself to the humble genius of the Duke of Marlborough. On the other hand, if you should exhibit your statue rising out of a heap of crowns, mitres, and banners, and write *circumspice* underneath, posterity might doubt whether you meant satire or panegyric by it, and possibly call your whole proceedings a piece of *mauvaise plaisanterie*. It seems, therefore, more safe upon the whole to conform to existing circumstances; and in this case you may follow literally the third formula I have pointed out, and inscribe upon his pedestal, "O RARE WILLIAM PITT!!!"—I recommend this to you, my Lord, as a method that will relieve you from many difficulties into which I should be sorry a man of your gravity should fall. First of all, the taste of it is that of the very chastest simplicity. There is nothing of a compound or mixed quality in it. All is pure negation. It is, in plain English, to acknowledge that the less you say about your hero the better. Now, if you remember any of the precepts of your youth, my Lord, I am sure that you will agree in this sentiment as applied to the political life of Mr. Pitt. Of the "able and upright administration" you are about to glorify, I believe that, as far as Mr. Pitt is personally concerned, you must entirely leave out the beginning and the end; and your Lordship, I am sure, is too good a *moral* classic not to acknowledge the importance of these two periods in the history of a public man. Your Lordship cannot forget that Mr. Pitt founded his administration on a breach of the constitution, and that he has closed it (as far, I say, as *he himself* is concerned) by the sacrifice of the national safety. So your Lordship must confess, if you were in earnest when you stood up in the year 1784 for the rights of the House of Commons; or if you are in earnest, now, in your opposition to the peace. For as to the paltry subterfuge,

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that this peace is Mr. Addington's and not Mr. Pitt's, I will not suspect your Lordship of being *yet* humbled to the adoption of it.—I think that I might safely challenge your Lordship to try with me upon these principles the public character of this, the new object of your idolatry. For the capricious preferences of ambition, where ambition is personal, there is no rule. Mr. Pitt *suits you* better than Mr. Fox; therefore you are in the right to prefer him. These are matters of accident; sometimes they are matters of taste; and by the same rule (not the less sure from being of difficult explanation) that we often see burning youth attach itself to loathsomeness and age in woman, your Lordship may be justified in throwing open your arms to the painted rottenness, and patched-up and varnished decrepitude of this new mistress of your mind. I know it, my Lord; this is in nature, as are many strange things not dreamt of in our philosophy. There is a voluptuousness in these attachments of which *facility* is the grand secret; and it is just as natural for you, in the disease and languor of your virtues, to tie yourself to that object which gives you enjoyment by the shortest process, as it is for the vigour of youthful honour, fresh from the hands of nature, to seek pleasure in difficulty, in struggles for the sake of glory, and in a conquest over resisting vices. Mr. Pitt may give you the Admiralty again: your portion with Mr. Fox would have been barren honour. —I can easily account, therefore, for your personal preference of the one to the other of these statesmen; but this is not just now to the purpose. What I mean is, to recommend the last of my three inscriptions to you, upon the ground of its suiting better with your own declared and solemnly recorded opinions of the man and of his measures. For, according to those opinions, your statue, to be truly emblematical of Mr. Pitt's administration, ought neither to have feet nor head. The wise and upright government it is to typify must appear absolute deformity to your eyes, except in its middle parts. It has a false base, and a monstrous termination. I have an expedient, however, to help you even here. To meet all occasions, all modes and possibilities of being, past, present, or to come, what think you, my Lord, of taking for the head of your statue the double one of old Janus, the great divinity of "existing circumstances?" What could so well suit the character of the great *Bifrons* of modern days? I need not remind you of the many points of resemblance between the two; such as that Janus was the God of Peace and War; that his temple stood on the Roman Stock Exchange; that he had two, sometimes four faces; that he held in one hand a sceptre, and in the other the key of the Treasury of Heaven; that he was, above all, a great encourager of the plant on whose juice your Lordship must depend to carry you through the melancholy festivity of this day. The hint, I trust, will not be lost upon your Lordship, on whose grateful acknowledgments I depend for having done my best to relieve you from two serious difficulties in the accomplishment of your very ingenious undertaking.—I am far, however, from being too proud of my contrivances; for, to own the truth, my Lord, all men are bunglers in the art of contriving in comparison with the facetious Gent. who proposed the resolution which your Committee has since adopted, namely, that of buying 3 per cents with the money subscribed, and leaving it to accumulate until Mr. Pitt's demise. The thought was most happy; and proves how admirably well the ideas of money-jobbing may be associated with those of fame and honour in our *philosophating* age! There is something so comically sublime in the idea of putting out glory to compound interest, that I trust your Lordship and the rest of the "*trustees*" will not suffer the author of it to languish any longer in obscurity. It is beyond Lord Belgrave. It is worthy of Mr. Wallace himself! I have heard wonders of the financial effects of a penny, if one had been vested upon such terms at the birth of our Saviour. Mr. Morgan will tell your Lordship, to the fraction of a *demi-stiver*, what will be the produce of your subscription at the period when we shall have to deplore the loss of Mr. Pitt. Now, if your Lordship and the Committee would but adopt the simple expedient of insuring his life, in addition to your present plan, there is no saying to what extent you might not carry his fame; and again I claim your thanks for putting you upon this speculation, by which, if properly managed, a pennyworth of merit in the present age may be made to exceed all bounds of calculation in the next!—With this I take my leave of your Lordship, in an humour not quite so serious as I began my letter in; for after all the different feelings which your conduct excites in me have had their turn, that of ridicule, I confess, predominates. That you have done more than perhaps any man living in this country, to destroy the belief of the existence of public principle in statesmen, is a grave charge, and much too grave a one to be mixed in this silly business. Instead of reprobating your versatility, therefore, I only smile at your embarrassment, and have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's humble servant,

A WHIG OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

To the Editor of the Morning Post.—Sir, Having it strongly in my recollection, that on an important conversation in a great assembly, about paying a *discharged pilot* with thanks, a comparison was made between two great men, and it was emphatically said that one *pilot* had by his prudence "weathered the storm," but that the other had "taken to his boat in the "hour of danger;" it was therefore with the utmost astonishment, that at a great dinner given last Friday, I heard a song, said too to have been written by no less a personage than

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r. Canning, the *false Acbates* of the late state ot, which song, instead of saying a word "the pilot who took to his boat in the storm," turned entirely to the praise of "the ilot who weathered the storm." Now, , I am exclusively attached to the one "who ook to his boat," both by the ties of gra-ude, as "a creature the work of his hands," d by the still stronger ties of congeniality of timent and opinion, and by a due sense of r interest and my prospects; for, Sir, al-ugh the story may appear somewhat ludi-us, yet, in my opinion, that traveller was stranger to the profoundest maxims of state icy, nor unacquainted with the vicissitudes human life, and "the various turns of fate elow," who, when visiting the Pantheon Rome, paid humble obeisance to the statue Jupiter; and being reminded by the priests Jupiter was no *saint*, but a mere wicked hen deity, replied, "I know that very ell; but, *if ever he comes into power again*, e will remember the man who compliment-d him when he was in disgrace."

Verses on a Great Man in Distress.

ritannia's pilot, who *weather'd* the storm,"
as been crown'd by George Canning with wonderful glory;
ere arduous task I have now to perform,
ad of *runaway pilots* to tell the sad story.

ugh loud roar'd the thunder, and high the winds blew,
hen black louring clouds the horizon deform;
s not the *pilot* who saves the ship's crew,
But the pilot who takes to his boat in the storm."

im my attachments exclusive belong,
or he was the sun that gave life to our faction;
the god of my worship, the theme of my song,
t soon may such pilots be call'd into action!

then we shall triumph o'er *Jacobin* rage,
'n then new "state trials" shall deluge the land;
'tis his to subdue this proud, reasoning age,
y the maxim of statesmen, "*divide and command.*"

n again shall the hero of Gallia's proud bands
e gall'd by the pow'r of his splendid oration;
ke in figures and tropes he sublimely expands
his Corsican birth and his foul usurpation.

n shall Bellona rekindle the strife,
ad war, want, and famine, again press the nation;
itish commerce, and credit, and honour, and life,"—
"Give us places, and titles, and endless taxation."

uch pilots as him let all honours be paid
y those who have shar'd both his rise and his fall;
him not *be forgot*, when retir'd *in the shade*,
or the fruits of his planting were tasted by all.

the statue shall rise to eternise his fame,
nd Sculpture bid Marble express his cold form;
r children shall cry, as they mention his name,
"That's the pilot who *took to his boat* in the storm."

May 31, 1802. A STAUNCH PITTITE.

MR. ADDINGTON'S BIRTHDAY!!!

*The Anniversary of the Birthday of the Right Hon. Henry Addington will be commemorated on Michaelmas Day, the 29th of September, at Apothecaries Hall.—*** Tickets one Guinea each, to be had at the Hall.*

To the Editor of the Morning Post.—(The following Note was received on Tuesday, and we cannot better attain its object than by inserting it.)—Sir, I am directed by the Master and Wardens of the Society of Apothecaries, to desire you would contradict, in your paper of to-morrow, a paragraph inserted therein yesterday, relative to the celebration of Mr. Addington's birthday, at the Hall; the whole being an imposition on the public.

FRED. KANMACHER, Beadle.

Apothecaries' Hall, Sept. 28.

Mr. Addington.—(Morning Post, Sept. 30.)—Yesterday being the 29th of Sept. the celebration of Mr. Addington's birth and services took place, according to advertisement, at Apothecaries' Hall. The attendance was more numerous and respectable than ever was known on a similar occasion.—Among the company we discerned many of the first characters, not of this country only, but of pacified Europe, particularly the *Swiss* and *Piedmontese* envoys, the ambassadors from the *King of Etruria* and the *Italian Republic*, the *Hildesheim* minister, and the ministers from the several secularized princes of *Germany*, together with many principal ship-owners, and gentlemen of the Stock Exchange, and most of the persons interested in *Tobago*, and the other ceded colonies.—The evening was passed with the utmost conviviality. The allusions to the *double* festival of the day (being *Michaelmas* Day) were in every body's mouth, and contributed to the general good humour. The following song, composed for the occasion, was received with a tumult of applause:

At the feast of St. Michael, when harvest they house,
And, rich in the blessings of plenty, carouse;
When tenants their rents are assembled to pay,
How cheerful a festival—Michaelmas Day!

But *we* for the *harvest* by Addington sown,
For the *blessings of peace* to maturity grown,
The *rent* of our *thanks* to our Addington pay,
And *this* festival mark, as *his* Michaelmas Day.

'Tis through Addington's *peace* that fair *plenty* is ours;
Peace brighten'd the sunshine, *peace* soften'd the show'rs;
What yellow'd the corn-fields?—what dpen'd the hay?
But the *peace* that was settled * *last* Michaelmas Day?

The saviours of states were rewarded of old,
With statues † of silver in porches of gold;

* Not actually *signed* till the 1st of October, but understood to have been finally *settled* at the cabinet dinner two days before.

† ——"Auratis volitans argenteus Anser
"Porticibus Gallos ad limina adesse canebat."
VIRG. Æn. lib. 8.

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'Twas thus did old Rome her acknowledgments pay,
For her capital sav'd by the bird of to-day.

And shall not such statues to Addington rise,
For service more timely, for warning more wise?
For the treaty which chas'd all our dangers away,
When sign'd with a quill from the bird of to-day!

Long may Peace, with her Addington, reign through our borders!
May each house still be true to its forms and its orders!
So shall Britain—though destin'd by Gauls for their prey,—
Be sav'd, as old Rome, by the bird of to-day.

To the Editor of the Morning Post.—Sir, We, the undersigned, stewards of Mr. Addington's celebration of Michaelmas Day, seeing a note in your paper of Friday, signed by the beadle of the Apothecaries Company, the purport of which is to throw a ridicule on the whole of that solemnity, by calling the veracity of your account in question, think ourselves bound to allow you to state to the public, that you had our authority for that account, and you are at liberty to support this statement by the publication of our names.—Earl of Wigborough; Viscount Dulman; Lord Shaberoon; Sir Andrew Blockwood; Sir P. Thicknesse Head; Sir Tristram Candour; Sir Theophilus Cant; Solomon Smile, Esq.; Arthur Leatherhead, Esq.; Peter Form, Esq.; Hum. Drum, Esq.; Stephen Order Order, Esq.; Simon Mace, Esq.; Thomas Peruke, Esq; Mr. Fuller Botham; Citizen Von Noodle, and Citizen Vander Goes, Batavian commercial commissioners; Mr. James Gander; Mr. Onesiphorus Dolt.

P. S. It is hardly necessary to observe to you, that the name signed to the supposed beadle's protest has every appearance of being a *feigned* or *fictitious* name; and this circumstance, when coupled with the *date* of the apothecaries letter, by which a contradiction is given *on the 28th* to a fact *not stated to have taken place till the 29th*, affords sufficient ground for receiving such testimony with caution.

READING BALL, IN HONOUR OF MR. ADDINGTON AND THE PEACE.—*(From the True Briton, Oct. 2, 1802.)*—Yesterday evening a splendid ball was given at Reading, by the Crown Country Club. The style of this perhaps exceeds every other entertainment that has been held in our town hall. Upon entering the room the eyes of the company were highly gratified with the brilliant allegory that decorated the hall; and whilst the eye was employed in examining the splendour of the illumination, it conveyed to the heart the highest sensation of gratitude by the contemplation of Addington and Peace, delineated in coloured lamps of the most lively hue, the light of which seemed to be still more augmented by the variegated festoons that hung in elegant simplicity on the opposite side. At the head of the room was a star of the most brilliant colours, with the letters G. and R. on either side. At the bottom was seen a beautiful transparency, over which glittered the word Peace, gracefully ornamented with its respective emblems. The olive-branch indeed was intermixed through the different parts of the room with great taste. Magnificent as this preparation must appear, it however received fresh lustre from the numerous assembly of the most elegant personages. We cannot adequately describe the gratification that shone on the countenance of every one, on witnessing the attendance of Mr. Addington.—At one the company retired to supper, when two rooms were prepared with the utmost taste and elegance, for the reception of the guests. Mr. Dundas proposed the toast of his Majesty, which was drank with all that expression of loyal affection which characterises the British nation. The Queen and Royal Family were toasted with equal ardour. The health of Mr. Addington being drank with that enthusiasm of respect and affection, which his public and private virtues have produced, he rose, and assured the company that the blessings of peace, which, in the hands of Divine Providence, he had been a happy instrument in procuring to his country, were the effect of the vigour and wisdom of his Majesty's councils, the firmness and intrepidity of the Parliament, and the steady loyalty of the people of England. Addressing himself more particularly to the meeting, he said that the only circumstance which he had to regret in consequence of his present important office, was the necessity that separated him and his family from a county and neighbourhood, for which he should never cease to feel the warmest attachment and the firmest regard. He embraced with pleasure every opportunity of continuing his connexion with them, and felt a more than common satisfaction in meeting them on the present occasion.—Mr. Nevit was then called upon for a song, whose alacrity in obliging, as well as superiority in performing, plainly proved that his heart was interested in the subject of his muse, which was well adapted to the present occasion. He then favoured the company with *God save the King*, in full chorus; and by the particular entreaty of Mr. Addington sung another song, to the no small satisfaction of his auditors. Many other public toasts received due honour, and morning dawned upon the festive band before they separated.

A country paper mentions Mr. Addington being present at a *splendid ball* given by a club at Reading, and "that among *other toasts*, the "health of the Premier *being drank*, he rose, "and in a dignified manner addressed the "company." There is certainly some *novelty* in giving *toasts at a ball;* and though it has not been usual for our Premiers to address themselves to *young* women, we are nevertheless convinced that Mr. Addington felt himself extremely happy, surrounded by *the jolly girls of Reading. (True Briton.)*

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[*For further particulars relative to the* READING BALL *we refer our readers to "A Lover of Truth and Decorum," p.* 521; *and also to the letters of our valuable correspondent, J. Tietensee, pp.* 545, 769, *and* 871. *A short note on the same subject will likewise be found in p.* 653, *from a gentleman who signs himself N. V. and writes from Whitehall.*]

A Simile, addressed to the Peace-maker.

Ye bards, attune your halcyon lays,
To Addington address your praise,
Who bade War's horrors cease;
Without the aid of wit or parts,
And not a grain of statesman's arts,
This Premier gave us peace.

So have I seen a chimney blaze,
And dart around terrific rays;
But soon the sparks expire,
If 'midst the flames the bird of Kings *,
A goose, is dropp'd;—with frighted wings
She flaps down smoke and fire †.

ADDINGTON FOR EVER!!! OR, THE PILOT THAT MOORED US IN PEACE.—*A new Song.*—(*True Briton, June* 10.)

We honour the pilot that weather'd the storm,
And ne'er can our justice and gratitude cease,
Till the sight of the harbour our hearts fail to warm?
So—Here's to the pilot that moor'd us in peace!

In the chance of new warfare Ambition may sigh;
And party hostilities strive to renew;
Wisdom, that nation to nation could tie,
The blessings of Europe are honestly due.

Shall not his merits then Britons revere,
Who went to the helm, at his Sovereign's command—
Not who prov'd he could steadily steer,
And the vessel secure from the storm and the strand?

Ah, when gloom and dejection hung over the state,
As the *orb that preserv'd us* its radiance withdrew,
Right the ship into port, through the perils of fate,
Unfurl'd her flag, and in safety her crew.

Viking, impetuous, on glory we gaze,
And, caught by war's triumphs, scarce think of its woes;
The pause of reflection its horrors displays,
And the heart of humanity pants for repose.

Addington, proudly as Britons we burn,
In viewing the laurels by conquest assign'd,
With nobler delight to thy clive we turn,
As the symbol of happiness shar'd by mankind.

Take, then—*for honour with spirit maintain'd,*
Her counsels, by judgment and prudence matur'd—
Take, for the peace which thy wisdom has gain'd,
The thanks of an empire whose rights are *secur'd!*

And O! if the value of concord we prize,
And wish that the blessings of life may increase;
The respect of the good, and the praise of the wise,
Will point to the pilot that moor'd us in peace!

MORE STATUES!!—MR. DUNDAS'S STATUE.—(*From the Morning Chronicle, July* 11.)

FROM the following article it appears that Mr. Pitt is not to monopolize the honour of having statues erected to him for his meritorious services. If such signal honours are to be bestowed on the head of the late Administration, we confess that Mr. Dundas is a man who has no inconsiderable claims to a similar distinction. If he did not take the lead, he had at least the merit of being an indefatigable labourer in the same great work which has secured to his patron so many proofs of admiration:—"At a meeting of the Lord Provost, magistrates, and council of Edinburgh, on Monday last, it was unanimously resolved to erect a statue of the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, in an appropriate place within that city. A subscription was immediately opened, which was rapidly filling."—The statue will in all probability be ordered to be cast in brass.

ON THE AMBITION OF FRANCE, AND THE IMBECILITY OF THE BRITISH MINISTRY.—(*From the Morning Chronicle.*)

SIR, If it were possible that the people of England could estimate the abilities of the King's Ministers at a lower rate than they have continually done since their elevation, certainly the conduct which those Ministers now pursue would induce them to do so. In these times, which may be said most emphatically to be those that "try men's souls," their supineness and inactivity, and the total indifference which to all appearance they manifest to the encroachments of France, and the debasement of our allies, must be attributed to their weakness and want of judgment. The rivalry of the two nations, which, though many persons have considered as ideal, and arising only from a defective view of their respective interests, is yet so inveterate, and in many respects their pursuits so materially clash, that, without the utmost nicety of observation, it is almost impossible to preserve the relations of peace and amity between them. England and France have for a long period of time aspired to govern, or in some measure to lead the rest of Europe. The former, from her commercial preponderance, the strength of her navy, her riches, and the assistance which by these means she was enabled to command, long held this proud prerogative, and has often been able to defeat the schemes of aggrandizement which France has endeavoured to carry into effect, and in which nothing else than that opposition could have prevented her succeeding. The states of Europe were arranged, and such a degree of power given to each as was most likely to

* Pindar calls the eagle the bird of Jove. Why did not his terrestrial deities have likewise their allegoric bird?

† A common custom in Ireland. This was mentioned by the late Lord Clare, at a cabinet council; and obviated all objections to Mr. Addington's appointment.

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maintain an eqnal balance, and to prevent any one state from subjugating the others. Europe was, indeed, as one great family, among whose members an estate is divided so as to give an unlimited or improper power to none, but to strengthen the interests of all: if any one state were oppressed by another, the former had only to apply to a third, and the dispute was either amicably settled, or the injured party was aided and assisted by the whole confederacy. Such, at least, were the principles upon which the federal union of those nations was founded; and if, in some instances, they were evaded, yet in general they were adhered to. France, a country possessing in itself vast resources, an immense and warlike population, great facilities for commercial speculation, and above all, a national spirit, and a gov. which thought no sacrifices too great so as they purchased extended power and dominion, always saw this preponderancy with envy, and omitted no efforts to attain it herself. Millions of money have been expended, and thousands of men have been slain, in the contest for this superiority; and though France has generally gained some small extension of territory, yet she never, under her old gov. was able to banish the Eng. from the continent, or to gain any adequate indemnity for her own expenses. But the Fr. rev. which has changed so many things, is here also plainly visible. Without troubling your readers with minute circumstances, which are well known, it is sufficient to state that the republic of France has done that in the space of ten years which the monarchy failed to do in a century. The dominions of France now nearly constitute the half of Europe; from the north to the south, in one continued line, the people either immediately obey her decrees, or implicitly receive them through those who are nominally their governors. Her influence, too, extends to the most remote parts, and she *concentrates*, as it is called, and divides the territories of rival states, as if she were constituted surveyor general of Europe. Every day produces some new act, by which she extends her power, and there seems to be no end to her ambitious plans. At one time we see her parcelling out the Empire of Germany, and, as a reward for the services received from her allies during the late war, she very generously allots to them whatever they desire. Another time (always holding in mind the maxim *divide et impera*) we see her dividing poor and ill-treated Switzerland into two republics, thus taking away the little strength she possessed in her former state, and of course rendering the task of subjugation the more easy whenever it may be deemed advisable. Again, the fertile plains of Piedmont are annexed to her already overstrained dominions, because, forsooth, in the opinion of these modern Gauls, they appear to be the natural boundaries of France; thus obtaining, in a time of profound peace, without any opposition or expense, an extension of territory which long years of war failed to obtain under former governments.—It is however, alone in these public acts (which is painful to contemplate) that the inadequ of our Ministers, and the contemptuous li in which they are viewed on the contin appear; but in the means which are take facilitate the commercial intercourse of two nations, or I may rather say in the en vours which are made to exclude this cou entirely from the continent, they are clearly shewn. It was thought that, im diately after the definitive treaty was sig this important object would have underg the consideration of the two governments, some precise regulations would have b mutually agreed upon. Instead of that, ever, six months have elapsed, and the prohibitions which were issued on the pa France during the war, still remain in force; and our merchants are prevented sending their goods to that market by the of confiscation and other inconveniences. ships which had sailed under the idea of intercourse, have been obliged to return their cargoes, thereby incurring a prodig expense to no purpose, and some which attempted to land them have been absol seized and condemned, as having endeav to introduce into the country contraband chandise. Surely, Sir, these matters cal instant redress; and though our Ministers continue quietly to see our natural allies r of their territories, and their legitimate p unjustly abridged, yet when the very vit terests of the state they profess to gover concerned, it is not too much to expect will shake off the torpidity which has so oppressed them, and exert a little of the for which their countrymen are general nowned, and which some of their predec in office have not been afraid to use. Pe they are waiting until the mind of the Consul shall be relieved from the cares the many great affairs he is now exec must naturally load it with, and then may expect that their representations will greater weight; but they know little of B parté who think that his ambition will ev satiated, and that, as long as his power las will not fail to make the utmost use of it. Alps were at one time conceived to be natural boundaries of the republic, now that idea is exploded, and Piedmont is bet a fixed appendage, it would be foolis think that, ere long, it will not be con necessary to make other additions eithe safety or glory. Indeed I believe, that, Buonaparté exists, he will never cease his deavours to add territory to territory, unt it be possible, all Europe owns his sway.— all the evils which can befall a nation in of difficulty and danger, certainly an ine executive government is the worst. I be that all history shews the downfal of the g empires of the world to have been more o

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to *the imbecility of their rulers* than to any other causes. That the proudest and the best days of England have passed away, I am unwilling to credit; but, notwithstanding I hesitate to say, with the new Opposition, that, in signing the late treaty of peace, "the sun of England's "glory set for ever," yet I think that he is indeed "shorn of his beams," and that nothing but a combination of the greatest talents, with the utmost degree of vigilance and judgment, can restore his pristine lustre. With respect to the present Ministers there can be but one opinion, viz. *that they unite the greatest desire to preserve their high situations, with the completest incapacity to fulfil their duties.*—I am sorry to perceive in many cotemporary prints a disposition to disbelieve the degraded situation of the country, and that they seem warmly to deprecate any representation of its true state being made public. Every thing which may shew to the First Consul that there are people who can penetrate his designs seems to give them uneasiness, and they literally appear to be afraid that a doubtful paragraph or a probable reflection should again kindle the flames of war between the two countries. Whether the means these moderate persons recommend are the best chosen to preserve a good understanding between nations, I shall not pretend to discuss; but this I know, that if peace is to be preserved on no other terms than a wilful blindness and feigned ignorance of the ambitious plans of our neighbour, and a silence by which we aid him in their completion, I, for one, have no hesitation in expressing a preference for war. If we must fall, let us at least fall with arms in our hands, and not hold up to posterity the example of a great nation ruined by complaisance, and deprived of its independence from the fear of exposing its grievances. Really, Sir, if I were rashly inclined to harbour harsh ideas, I should believe that the endeavours of the First Consul, which were alluded to in your paper some little time ago, had been more successful than you then apprehended; but I have a better opinion of my countrymen than seriously to suppose they could be induced to take a bribe for such a purpose, and conclude that the sentiments they express are the true dictates of their minds, and therefore that they are justified in uttering them.—Wishing that the opinion I now entertain of the situation of my country may turn out to be unfounded, and that she may continue until the end of time increasing in prosperity and riches, I beg leave to subscribe myself, Ever yours,

Sept. 22, 1802. PUBLIUS.

LIST OF PATENTS ENROLLED IN 1802.

1. *Abstract of the Specification of a Patent to Mr. W. Chapman, of Newcastle upon Tyne, for the "Application of certain Substances, either "separately or combined, as a Preservation for "Cordage; which Substances being insoluble in "Water, or very imperfectly soluble, will, when "used in the Manufacture of Cordage, be the "Means of making it more durable than it has "hitherto been."*—It is well known that cordage, exposed to great heat, frequently becomes useless in two or three years, and sometimes less, from a species of destruction called by seamen the dry rot, because the rope, looking well to the eye, and no way injured by moisture, is found to have its yarns quite rotten. It is also known, that ropes exposed to water soon lose the tar with which they are covered; which circumstance quickly takes place in warm climates, and shallow water; under which predicament that element becomes considerably more heated than it is in the ocean in the same latitude, and its effect is quickly shewn upon a new cable, as the part lying under water is soon covered with a slime arising from the solution of the tar. The first of those disorders (the dry rot) Mr. C. attributes to a superabundant acid, which is disengaged from the tar when exposed to the heat. —The other deficiency in ropes prepared with common tar, clearly arises from that substance containing a mucilage or gum, along with its resinous matter, which latter is insoluble in water. The remedy the patentee proposes for both these evils, is very simple, and is effected during the necessary inspissation of tar to that state in which it is used in the manufacture of ropes. The common process is by boiling the tar, until it has thrown off so much of its essential oil as to come to the state in which it is wanted. Instead of which, Mr. Chapman proposes to boil the tar in water, two or three times, until it nearly attains the necessary degree of inspissation. In the first boiling, the same as in distillation, it throws off with the steam its superabundant acid, and parts with much of its mucilage to the water; and by a second process it is rendered fit for use. Seamen, accustomed to hot climates, experience that tarred ropes, although sufficiently pliable whilst there, become rigid on their return to cold countries; which sometimes occasions the loss of sails by the breaking of the ropes which form their borders. These ropes, which are called bolt-ropes, the patentee proposes to prepare with inspissated gross oils, mixed, if requisite, with a small quantity of resin. He also prepares crane-ropes in the same manner, so as to prevent their receiving injury from the weather, and yet keep them always pliable.—The cause of the rigidity of tarred ropes, after exposure to heat, is the dissipation of the essential oil of the tar. To prevent this inconvenience, Mr. C. proposes that his purified tar should be more inspissated than if used by itself, and that a due proportion of tallow, suet, whale-oil, rape-oil, or other fixed oil, be mixed with the tar, and that the oils should previously be deprived of their mucilage after the same process as the tar.

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2. *Miss Young's Patent for an Apparatus for teaching the Principles of Music in Children's Games.*—Miss A. Young, of St. James's Square, Edinburgh, has lately obtained a patent for an apparatus by which children, even so early as eight years of age, may be instructed in the way of an amusing game, in the fundamental principles of music. This apparatus consists of an oblong square box, which, when opened, presents two faces or tables, and of various dice, pins, counters, &c. contained within that box. By the means of this box, with its dice, counters, and pins, six different games of amusement may be played. These games are contrived to familiarize to the young mind all the musical keys or modulations of the signatures, common and uncommon, the chords and dischords, with their revolutions, and the most useful rules of thorough bass. The box resembles in its form the size and figure of a backgammon-table. When opened, it presents on the face of one of its halves, at each end, two musical staves or systems of five lines each. These staves have holes to receive pins of turned ivory and wood, representing the sharps and flats which belong to the different keys. Under the stave are two drawers; one of which contains dice, pins, &c. to be used in playing with sharps; the other, the dice, pins, &c. which are to be used in playing with flats. Between the drawers, and under the same side of the opened box, are lodged two dice-boxes to be used in the game. The other face of the table is of one piece. It has at each end a delineation of the clavier or finger-touches of a piano-forte; and in every one of these a small hole. Over these are two musical staves, on which all the notes of the natural scale are written in crotchets. Each crotchet has in its head a hole to receive a pin: and immediately below each is another hole to receive a pin with the mark on its head of *a* sharp, flat, or natural. A drawer below contains the apparatus appropriated to this table, consisting of dice, counters, &c. particularly marked for the intended game. With this apparatus and these tables, a series of games are played, the chances of which conduct the players through so many improving exercises in the knowledge of the fundamental principles of *musical composition.*

3. *Mr. J. B. Denize's Patent for a particular Cement.*—On the 16th of July last, Mr. D. enrolled, in the proper office of a record, a specification of an invention of a particular cement, for the exclusive use of which, during a wonted time, he has obtained the protection of letters patent from his Majesty. The principle on which the grand peculiarity of his invention is founded is simply this, that a greater quantity of viscid matter than is commonly employed, ought to enter into the composition of cement, to render it sufficiently adhesive.—Mr. D. uses in the preparation of his cement two different kinds of matters; *fixed substances*, and viscid matters capable of liquefaction. The fixed matters are, 1. Metallic, and particularly ferruginous scoriæ, scums, drosses, file-dust, and other remains, such as may be procured from forges. 2. Metallic calces or oxyds of all sorts; any of the native oxyds of iron; volcanic ashes, lava, pozzolana, or pumice-stone; ashes of all sorts which can be procured by the incineration of pit-coal, charcoal, or any vegetable body; any of the simple earths, as silex, alumine, lime, magnesia, barytes, &c. 3. Pit-coal as nearly as possible of the character of that which is known in England by the name of Cannel-coal. 4. A proportion of glass or flint-stone. Charcoal and soot, glass-flint in any form, potter's earth, brick, tile, slate, clay, marle, gravel, sandstone, lime, plaster, sand, shells of all sorts, Mr. D. has also tried, as fixed matters, in the composition of his cement. But he has found, that if they be used either exclusively, or in too great a proportion, the cement cannot be made with them. The *viscid matters, capable of liquefaction*, which he employs, are these: Sulphur (not precisely of this character) in flour; bitumen extracted from pit-coal, or petrol, mineral pitch, naphtha, or asphaltos; tallow-pitch, white-rosin, pitch, tar, or any similar resinous extract from vegetables; the mucilage procured by the decoction of linseed, to the consistency of about twice the thickness of the white of an egg; or, instead of this last matter, any similar oily and mucilaginous substance, prepared from matters animal or vegetable. He prepares the fixed matters for mixture in his cement, by cleaning the volcanic substances or others analogous to them from all extraneous mixture, reducing them to a powder, of the fineness of the finest white ashes, calcining them in a furnace, if they be not already in a state of sufficient calcination, washing them in an alkaline lye, then thoroughly drying, and, lastly, sifting them. The pit-coal, glass, and flint-stone, are to be reduced to the same fine pulverization as the other matters, and to be sifted. The *viscid matters* are next to be separately prepared. In this manipulation he takes flour of sulphur, in the proportion of one eighth of the whole bulk of cement intended to be made. With this he mixes bitumen from pit-coal, to the amount of about one third of the quantity of the sulphur. The mixture is then exposed to the heat of a very moderate fire, till bubbles begin to rise on its surface; and it appears to be completely dissolved. While on the fire, it is constantly stirred; continue the stirring for some time after you remove it from the fire; and during this agitation, add to the liquid mixture one third of black pitch. Put it again on the fire, and let it remain till it shall again rise in bubbles at the surface. Remove it from the fire; and add of tallow, and either rosin or wax, in equal proportions, a quantity equal to one twentieth of the whole bulk of matters which you use in the composition of the cement. These proportions may be varied. After this last addition is suffici-

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ently mixed with the other viscid matters, this part of the preparation is now fit to be mingled with the fixed parts. You next proceed to the immediate composition of the cement. Holding the viscid matter in liquefaction, add to it three fourths in volume of the ferruginous preparation specified above—one eighth of pozzolana, or what you use as a substitute for it; one eighth of pumice-stone or its substitute; one eighth of pit-coal; and one eighth of glass or flint-stone, all duly prepared in the manner above described. Expose this mixture of viscid and fixed matters to the heat of a fire sufficient to hold them in solution, without evaporating the volatile parts. Stir the mixture on the fire, to hinder the fixed parts from settling at the bottom. From time to time, while you stir, make trial, with the trowel and with your hand, whether any portion hardens as it cools, and when warm does not stick to the finger. When the mixture has acquired these qualities, your cement is made; and you may remove it from the fire. It would be advantageous to have this last boiling performed by heat conducted to your boiler through the medium of steam. The cement thus made is removed from the fire, left to cool, and then put aside for future use. In using it, you break it in small pieces; expose it with one fortieth of either tallow, or any bituminous substance, or vegetable oil, to melt for a quarter of an hour in an earthen vessel, or one of cast iron, over a slow fire; and then, without delay, apply it to your intended purpose of cementing.

4. *Mr. Wilkinson's Patent for his Method of making leaden Pipes.*—Mr. W.'s invention for making leaden pipes will, within no long time, become free to the common use of the public. It is extremely simple; and therefore so much the more valuable. He casts the lead in lengths upon a rod or maundrel of iron. The rod or maundrel may vary in length or thickness, according to the differences desired in the length or width of the leaden pipes. The leaden pipe upon the maundrel is then extended to the exact length and thickness wanted in the pipes, by drawing the maundrel, with the pipe upon it, through or between rollers with grooves of different sizes. Or the maundrel bearing the pipe, may be drawn through metal gauges or collars, each successive collar being smaller than that used immediately before it. These operations are easily done under the action of a common water-wheel.

5. *Patent of Mess. Kendrew and Porthouse, for a Machine for spinning Yarn from Hemp, Tow, Flax, or Wool.*—This invention has, within these few months, become free to the common use of the public. In the machine, wheel-work moved by water, a horse, or any other means of giving the requisite impulse, communicates motion to the exterior of two wheels belonging peculiarly to this invention. That by means of a nut on its axis, gives motion to an interior wheel. This interior wheel impels the revolutions of a cylinder, by which the whole process of the spinning is chiefly performed. This cylinder is three feet in diameter, and in breadth 10 inches. It is made of dry wood or metal: and is covered on its circumference with smooth leather. On this leather are a certain number of rollers, covered also with leather, and turning an axis of iron. They are of different weights. The roller which is the highest on the cylinder, is of two stone weight; the others decrease to the lowest, which weighs only two pounds. A cloth revolves upon two rollers; and by its side is placed a table precisely of the same length and breadth. To this table belong two other similar cloths. The workman puts on this table a quantity of the material to be spun, more or less, as a finer or a coarser thread is wanted.—He spreads it equally on the smooth cloths—From these he puts it upon the revolving cloth.—Motion is then communicated from the wheel-work to the rollers and the cylinder. The flax, tow, hemp, or wool is drawn forward. It is extended in passing into a thread or sliver. From under the action of the rollers, it falls into a canister suspended to receive it. The first sliver may be afterwards reduced on another similar machine, with only some necessary variations, into a thread for cloth of any ordinary fineness.

6. *Captain Bolton's Patent for an improved Rudder, and the Means of preserving the Rudder.*—Capt. B.'s invention of an "improved rudder" is described, in the specification, as a rudder prepared with means for enlarging its breadth, whenever this shall be necessary. It is made in two parts; or, with a slit of sufficient width, passing, at the exterior edge, down the middle of its thickness. In this aperture is inserted a triangular piece of wood, or plate of metal, which hangs on a centre pin passing through its head, and through the whole thickness of the rudder; has the head, for convenience in turning, semicircular, and furnished with teeth to sustain it at any particular degree of extension; and, when not actually employed to enlarge the breadth of the rudder, fills the slit which was made to contain it. A bolt, passing through the head of the rudder, or at its back, is made to throw out or draw back the moveable piece of wood, or plate of metal, whenever it is moved to right or left. The piece of wood, or plate of metal, when thrown forward by the bolt, gives a considerable extension of the rudder's breadth at its lower extremity. That part of the invention which respects the "*Preservation of the Rudder*," accomplishes this end by so hanging it on the stern-post, that it may be lifted at pleasure with a screw, or any other of the mechanical powers. In the draught accompanying the specification, that mode is exhibited in which the invention has been tried in actual use. A slide or bolt fixed by strong braces to the stern-post, is, by pintles and goosings, connected with the rudder. A screw-

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bolt passes through the head of the slide; and, when turned by a lever at its top, above the deck, serves to elevate that slide. The rudder being hung upon the slide, and firmly attached to it, is at the same time raised. These inventions are obviously adapted to prove essentially useful to the seaman. There are many occasions on which an extraordinary power of rudder is wanted, and on all such Mr. B.'s contrivance for enlarging the breadth of the rudder will undoubtedly be of service. The loss of the rudder by its touching on a rock, is in very many instances the cause of the loss of the vessel to which it belongs. This will be almost always effectually prevented, if rudders be hung in such a manner that they may be screwed up or otherwise elevated at pleasure.

7. *Mr. Tidmarsh's Patent for a Substitute for Paint.*—The invention for which this patent was obtained, consists in pulverizing and mixing quantities which the specification does not particularly state, of glass of any sort, burned or baked clay, such as that which is in earthen or stone ware; flag from glass manufactures; metals, such as copper, brass, or iron; marble; calcareous and siliceous earths, simple or in artificial compositions. The pulverized mixture thus obtained, is then to be diluted with the usual desiccative oils, &c. and thus to be used as paint. Having carefully inspected the specification of this patent, we are induced to observe, that it certainly does not describe the peculiarity of the invention, with a definiteness and precision sufficient in law to secure the right of its property to the inventor. Nine tenths of the patents on record are in the same predicament.

8. *Mr. Longmore's Patent for a Patten or Clog in the Locks of Guns.*—By the invention recorded in the specification of this patent, an elastic tong or spring of iron or other metal, is provided, to pass through a hole perforated in the middle of the block of the patten, and then by pressure to keep the sole of the foot tight against ties. The foot or block is made of iron, wood, cork, or any other suitable substance.

9. *Mr. Becker's Patent for Improvements in musical Instruments.*—The grand peculiarity in this invention consists in its producing in the harp sharps, flats, quarter-notes, &c. by a new motion of the wrest-pins with which the strings are extended and turned. This motion is given to the wrest-pins by the following contrivance:—The wrest-pins have levers attached to them, respectively. On the lever slides a quadrant. Links are fixed on the quadrant, and are kept stationary by a regulating screw. A crank connects the several quadrants with the pedals of the harp. On the crank is another regulating screw, to adjust the whole to the motion of the pedals. When any of the pedals are pressed down, the quadrants and wrest-pins connected with it, follow its movements. When the pressure on the pedal ceases, the strings instantly return to their former state of tension. A sort of rack is applied to stop the pedals at four different stations, answering to the natural note, to one-quarter, to one-half, and to three-quarter notes. A spring is applied to each pedal, to counteract the tension of the strings. In piano-fortes, and other stringed instruments which are played with keys, wheels are by this invention placed under or over the strings, to make them vibrate. The strings are, by the touch of the keys, inclined to the wheels; and a pedal, or any other mechanical power, is applied to put the wheels in motion. The strings, that they may be susceptible of vibration from the wheels, must be extended on any thing moveable having its prop or fulcrum any where within the extent of the string, or its two ends higher or lower, for the purpose of moving or inclining the string to the wheels, or altering the tension of the strings to raise or lower the tone thereof.

10. *Bosquet's Measure (Method) for the better Preservation of his Majesty's Ships and all trading Vessels from rapid Decay, and for effectually avoiding the Nuisance and destructive Effects of Rats on board Ships, and also for the Prevention of Leakage, &c.*—The method proposed by the patentee for the attainment of all the important objects above specified, is by filling up the void spaces between the planks, lining, and timbers of the vessel with hot or melted pitch, tempered with a small proportion of tar to render the pitch less brittle and more tenacious: and mixed with cork-shavings, charcoal-dust, ox-hair, &c. rendering the composition firm, adhesive, and almost everlasting. In those parts where the timbers are remote, pieces of cork-wood or slips of deal may be introduced, by which a less quantity of pitch will be necessary, and the specific gravity diminished. *Obs.* The duration of ships of war is computed, on an average, at 12 or 13 years. Mr. B. imagines, that if his method were adopted, a ship would be much better at the end of 20 years than by the common construction it is after 12 years service. At present great pains are taken to preserve the exterior of vessels, which at all times is easily repaired, while the interior is neglected. By the patent method, the inner parts of the ship would be the most durable; and if a plank should start the water could not find its way into the ship; the pumps would become in a manner useless; the aversion that rats have to the composition, would secure the vessel from the destructive effects of those animals, and from the fetid smell occasioned by their living, dying, and rotting between the timbers. The patent composition will have the same effect as so much ballast, in the best position in which ballast could be placed, as it will occupy the centre of motion; and being specifically lighter than water, it will tend to preserve the ship in case of danger from a heavy sea. Such are the principal advantages which the patentee anticipates as the result of his invention.—He ob-

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serves, that ships already built may be fortified by his patent method, at an expense not exceeding 4 or 500*l.* for a first-rate Indiaman.

11. *Mr. Walker's, for making and manufacturing Caps and Hats, and rendering them perfectly Water-proof; as also all Kinds of Leather, Silks, Linens, Stuffs, Pasteboard, &c. for the Purpose of being worked into Boots, Shoes, Hats, Bonnets, and other Wearing Apparel, in which a Power of repelling Moisture is required.*—The principal object of the patentee is the manufacturing of military caps; for which purpose he makes use of pasteboard, to which is cemented, with glue or paste, linen cloth, or any other woven substance. The cap is then cut to the proper shape, and all the seams or joinings are united by narrow slips of linen, &c. and then cemented with glue. It is then to be painted inside and out, with any kind of oil-paint, though a mixture of oil and lamp-black is to be preferred, and, when dry, the cap is to be varnished or japanned. The same process is to be applied to leather, silk, cotton, &c. before they are made into boots, caps, and bonnets.—*Obs.* The objection against water-proof articles of dress is, that, after a very few times wear, those parts which are creased by means of the motions of the joints, readily admit the rain, and thereby subject the wearer to the inconvenience of a partial chill, which may be equally or more dangerous to health than if the moisture were more generally applied. This we admit is not applicable to the military caps. But how far boots, shoes, gaiters, &c. would be comfortable to the wearer after having received two or three coats of paint, and as many of japan, experience will best determine.

12. *Mr. Jackson's, for a Drill, to be fixed to a Plough-beam for sowing Turnips.*—This drill may be made to sow turnips, rape, or other small round seeds, at any given different distances from each other, according to the pleasure of the purchaser: it may be adapted to the width of any furrow intended to be ploughed; and, by a neat contrivance, the seed may be dropped either under the furrow or upon the surface of the ground.

13. *Mr. Brown's, for a Method of making or preparing Extract of Zinc.*—This invention consists in saturating the vegetable or animal acid with the oxyd of zinc, found in any state, or obtained by any process. The acid necessary for this operation may be made by acetous fermentation, as common vinegar, or any acid produced from any vegetable, or any vegetable or animal oil; all or any of which being saturated with the oxyd of zinc, produce extract of zinc.

14. *Mr. Boaz's Telegraph, or new and improved Method of communicating Thoughts, Information, and Intelligence, by means of Signs, Lights, &c.*—Mr. B. describes his invention to consist in representing at pleasure, by means of lights or luminous bodies, and also by means of opake bodies, any letter of the alphabet, or any numerical figure, or any appearance as a sign or signal, such as plain geometrical figures of all kinds. The following he mentions as one of the simplest methods of effecting his purposes:—take 25 lamps, disposed on a board or frame in the form of a square, at equal distances from each other. To each lamp belongs an opake cover or blind, with proper apparatus, to move backwards and forwards, so as to exclude the light, and only so many of the lamps be left visible, as are necessary to represent the letter of the alphabet, or other sign intended to be exhibited. Mr. Boaz is very particular in his specification, to describe a vast variety of mechanical methods by which the effect of his contrivance may be produced. Although he has pitched upon 25 lamps, as answering to the number of letters in the alphabet, yet he observes that nine lamps, properly fitted up with blinds, sliders, pullies, incliners, &c. would produce nearly the same effect; and a similar effect might be obtained by a greater or smaller number of lamps than 25; so that he wishes it to be distinctly understood, that it is not in the number of lamps made use of, nor in the particular configuration or construction of the machine, that the invention consists, but in being able to represent, by means of lamps or luminous bodies, as candles or phosphorus, or by means of opake substances, the signals desired.

15. *Mr. Pott's Patent for an artificial Leg.*—A patent has been granted to Mr. P. of Belford, Northumberland, for an artificial leg, which is made of light materials, and has great resemblance to the bony and fleshy parts of the natural leg. By this the wearer is enabled to avoid those semicircular motions which most artificial legs require: all its motions are perfectly at his command; he has the power of turning the foot inward and outward, and can imitate almost every motion than can be performed by the natural leg. The wearer of Mr. Pott's artificial leg can, with the utmost ease, sit, kneel, rise, pull on and off a boot, and even walk several miles without incurring great fatigue.—This ingenious invention was the offspring of necessity; the patentee, having unfortunately suffered amputation above the knee, was led to contrive the best possible method of supplying the deficiency. Although we presume not to anticipate the merits of future inventions, yet we shall be fully justified in giving a decided preference to Mr. Pott's invention, compared with all former ones of the same kind. In giving this as our opinion, we have only followed the decided testimonies given by almost all the principal surgeons in London and Edinburgh.—The above patent is now the property of Mr. W. Sheldrake, No. 483, in the Strand, near Charing Cross, who takes great pleasure in exhibiting to the curious and men of science the principle of the invention.

16. *Mr. Dickenson's (Long Acre) Patent for certain Improvements in the Construction of, and Additions to, Saddles, Harness, &c.*—

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Mr. D. assomes that the principal defect in the common construction of saddles, &c. arises from the want of elasticity of the materials of which they are composed. This induces the necessity of girthing the animal too tight, which impedes the respiration, as well as endangers the girths. With respect to the crupper, he conceives it almost impossible, with the common construction of saddles and harness, to observe that just medium which shall preserve the saddle in its proper place, and yet not incommode the animal. His own improvements consist in the addition of certain elastic springs, interposed between the parts of these articles of horse furniture. He lodges one or more spiral springs, similar to those made use of in spring steelyards, in certain cavities, to which a piece of catgut or wire is fastened, or made to bear against one end of it; this, when drawn or acted upon, causes the parts of the spring to approach more nearly together. To the end of the catgut are fixed straps, or other fastenings, for the ready fixing of the girth, crupper, &c. in the usual manner.—The spiral springs are enclosed in proper receptacles, which form a separate piece capable of being applied or attached between the saddle and the extremity of the girth, crupper, &c. so as to communicate to the said appendages the effect of its own elasticity in the longitudinal direction.—Mr. D. includes all materials, forms, and shapes in his patent; steel however he thinks the best substance, and the spiral the most commodious form. In some cases he makes use of *caoutchouc*, or common Indian rubber.

17. *Mr. Francis Brewin's (Bermondsey) Patent for an improved Method of Tanning.*—This improved process of tanning consists in consolidating floaters and taps, that is, by drawing the oozes for the vats, and handlers from the floaters, and working the oozes through the floaters, in every respect, as though they were a set of taps, and using them at the same time in the nature of floaters, by handling the greenest packs in them. These vats Mr. B. calls floating taps. Twenty or twenty-five vats of nearly the same size, in the form of a square or parallelogram, constitute one complete tan-yard: of these, two or three of the centre vats are used as spenders, four or six immediately next are floating taps, each containing an eye and a false bottom. The rest are vats and handlers in which the fresh bark is used. One floating tap is kept empty, to contain the whole of the ooze and bark in a vat or handler, into which floating vat the ooze and bark are drawn from the vat or handler. A pump is used to draw off the ooze.—By disposing the spenders, taps, vats, &c. in the manner described, barrows or long shoots will seldom, if ever, be required. And the material advantages derived from this process are, the leather is made of a superior quality, being more solid and weighty than other leather, and is manufactured in less time. The leather, when curried, will be much more water-proof than common leather, as it will take in more oil in the process of currying; the leather will be much tougher than other leather. The labour, as well as the quantity of bark, required in the process, is less in this than in the common method of tanning.

18. *Mr. Matthew Murray's (Leeds) Patent for a Method of constructing the Air-pump, and sundry other Parts belonging to a Steam-engine, by which there will be a Saving of Fuel, and an increased Power obtained.*—Mr. M.'s invention embraces six principal objects: 1. By the new air-pump, the air is discharged without its having to make any effort in opening of valves, or pressing through a body of water, and in causing the water and air to be discharged separately, and different ways. It is effected by taking out the air alone by one bucket, and the water alone by another, or by an eduction pipe 28 feet long. 2. The second principle is an improved method of packing the cylinder lid, stuffing boxes, &c. by bringing the removable parts of each to come in immediate contact with one another. 3. and 4. The two next improvements relate to the construction and circular motion of the valves, the two uppermost being inverted, and the valve-rods are made to pass through reservoirs of oil, or other liquid matter, which effectually prevents the air from insinuating itself into the engine. 5. The next principle is a new method of connecting the piston-rod to the parallel motion. 6. And the last relates to the construction of fire-places, by which the smoke arising from the fire is consumed, and made part of the fuel.

19. *Mr. G. Bodley's (Exeter) Patent for a portable Stove or Kitchen for the Purpose of dressing Victuals.*—The object of this patent is, to save as much as possible the expense of fuel. The whole stove consists of three principal parts, an oven, a fire-place, and appurtenances; and a fountain or warm closet is made of cast or wrought iron plates, properly fastened together with screws or rivets, except the sides and bottom of the fire-place and ash-hole, which are composed of bricks set in mortar, loam, &c. The fire-place is in the middle, between the oven and warm closet. While the stove is in use, the fire is enclosed by an iron door, so that the smoke and heat must necessarily pass through a funnel, which, ascending close to one side of the oven, is carried round the other three sides, under the ash-hole and hot closet, and then ascends again by the outer side of the closet into a chimney, which conveys it into the open air.—The top of the apparatus, which Mr. Bodley calls the mantle, is a flat iron plate, and, from its constant heat, when the stove is at work, is capable of broiling, boiling, stewing, &c.

20. *Mr. J. Lewis's (Old Street, Middlesex), for a Method of preventing Accidents by a Horse or Horses drawing a Carriage or Carriages.*—By means of rings fitted to the harness, and bolts adapted to them, the horse or horses are fastened with a chain

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to the carriage; from the part of the carriage to which the chain is fixed, proceeds a handle to the place most convenient to be laid hold of by the driver, who can instantly disengage the horse from the chaise. The same pressure which sets the horse at liberty, in case of a two-wheel carriage, throws out two legs, one before and another behind, so that the chaise still keeps its level. And that the rider may be in no danger of falling forward by the sudden stopping of the carriage, each of the legs has a wheel; thus the motion will be gradually retarded. Mr. L.'s invention is applicable to curricles and other carriages, the principle of which is explained in the patent, with a number of drawings.

21. *M. Paul de Philipsthal's Patent (of the Lyceum, Strand) for the Invention of representing in a dark Scene human Figures, in various Characters, Sizes, &c.*—The patentee professes to have discovered, by indefatigable research and numerous optical experiments, a new method of producing representations of apparitions and spectres. The apparatus consists principally of two concave glasses or metal reflectors, secured in a dark closet, before which an artificial light, proportionable to their foci, is applied, and directed upon a picture representing the apparition. Lenses are made use of, to throw the image of the picture on a transparent screen, which is hung between the darkened closet, or lantern, and the spectator. When the mirrors are brought nearer the screen, the object is diminished in size, and appears, according to the laws of perspective, to retire, and, when taken farther off, the size of the object is enlarged, while it appears to approach the spectator. M. P. has, in his specification, given particular instructions for producing the various optical deceptions, which he has, for some time past, successfully exhibited at the Lyceum to crowded audiences, and at the same time claiming, in high terms, the "protection of his Britannic Majesty to his meritorious discoveries."

22. *Mr. Donaldson's Patent (Bristol) for a Method of making all Kinds of Glass in a more expeditious Manner than hitherto attempted.*—Mr. D. proposes no alteration in the materials for making glass, nor in the proportions usually adopted. The principle of his invention consists in the application of a stronger heat, at a much less expense than the common operations of glass-making will admit of. And although he describes the shape which he conceives the best adapted for the furnaces used in this manufacture, yet he expects no exclusive privilege on that account. What he lays claim to as an inventor is, the construction of a building in which the furnace is, except the chimney, completely included, so that the whole heat from the fire must be employed in the operation. The grate of the furnace is so constructed, that all the air consumed must pass through the lower part of it; by which means it is said that there is a saving of at least one third part of the coals; and the glass, by keeping a regular, as well as a strong heat, is found to be of a superior quality to that made in the common way. As the heat of the room which includes the furnace is, during the operation, insufferably great, iron or other doors are made for the convenience of persons going in and out to overlook and attend to the process.—*Obs.* The idea of preventing the access of the external air to any part of the fire, except at the bottom of the grating, is not new; it has, for several years past, been adopted by Lord Stanhope in burning lime, with which he makes a mortar, not inferior perhaps to that of the ancients so much celebrated.

23. *Mr. Winter's Patent (Shacklewell) for a certain Manufacture for covering the Floors of Rooms, and also for covering and packing Goods, &c.*—This new manufacture is composed of waste tan or bark, after it has been used by the tanner; threads and scrapings of all kinds of leather, and the short hair of animals. The tan and the leather are to be well cleaned; and, by certain processes, the former is to be reduced to fibres, and the latter to a pulp; the hair is to be washed and separated, so that the ingredients may be rendered fit for uniting with each other very completely. Being thus prepared, they are mixed together in the proportion of four parts of tan, two of leather, and one of hair, with five pounds of refuse tow, wadding, or wool, to every hundred weight of the mixture. The whole is then to be intimately blended together, and conveyed into vats or receivers containing warm water, in which a small portion of glue is dissolved. In this state it is moulded in frames, and the remaining part of the process is very much like that made use of in the manufacture of paper.

24. *Mr. Howard's Patent (Manchester) for a Method of making a British Barilla and Pot-ash, and of obtaining a greater Quantity of Alkali than hitherto discovered.*—The method adopted by Mr. H. for obtaining alkali is, by saturating with quicklime the ashes made from bleachers' waste lie, rock-salt, soda, natron, common salt, black-ashes of the soap-boilers' lie, kelp, tobacco-ashes, &c. &c. To these substances, being made sufficiently small by grinding, pounding, or rolling, to pass through a fine sieve, is to be added a certain proportion of coke, cinders, charcoal, or any other combustible substance, free from sulphur, and reduced to powder. These ingredients are to be most intimately mixed, and a layer of them to be spread on an even floor, to which is added a layer of quicklime. The mass is then to be sprinkled with as much common water, brine, lie, or sea-water, as it will absorb. Other layers are to be added at pleasure; and when the heap is made, it is to be cut down while warm, and to be reduced, by means of water, lie, sea-water, &c. to the consistence of mortar, then dried on iron plates or pans, and afterwards fluxed in a reverberating furnace, which is the finishing part of Mr. H.'s

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operation in producing his British barilla. He gives in the specification the proportions which he thinks may be most advantageously used; but as on this point there may be a diversity of opinions, he desires it to be understood, that the saturating by quicklime any of the ingredients mentioned by him, for the purpose of obtaining alkali, will be deemed an infringement of his patent.—Mr. H. particularly describes the mode of obtaining alkali from *sal enixum*, and the *caput mortuums* of the sulphuric and muriatic acids; and his mode of separating those acids from common salt, brine, lie, &c.

25. *Mr. Arnold Wilde and Mr. J. Ridge's Patent (Little Sheffield) for manufacturing of all Kinds of Saws, Steel Doctors for Printers, Plates made of Iron or Steel, Beads or Mouldings of Fenders, Springs made of Steel, &c.*—When the steel or iron articles are made or cut into the proper shape, they are put into a frame and made red hot. They are then to be immersed in water, or a composition of grease or oil, to be hardened in the frame according to the direction wanted. When hardened, they are to be tempered, by being kept in motion over the fire till the grease smokes, and until a blue blaze alternately appear and disappear. They are then to be stretched with as much power as will bring them into the direction required. If they do not require hardening, they must be made red hot, and suffered to cool in the open air; they are then to be ground by a machine, which being put in motion will pare, tooth, smith, finish, set the teeth of saws, sharpen, grind, and polish plates of steel and iron, and form beads and mouldings, and other articles.

26. *Messrs. J. and J. Robertson's (Glasgow), for a Method of applying Steam with the greatest Advantage in working of Steam-engines.*—In the best-constructed engines, a considerable quantity of steam escapes by the sides of the piston, and is lost without producing any mechanical effect. Messrs. R.'s invention consists in preventing, in a great measure, the escape of the steam, and in making that which does escape act on another piston, and thereby augment the power of the engine. In these engines there are two steam cylinders, one smaller than the other, with pistons fitted to each, which act together in producing the effect. To the cylinders are annexed a condensing vessel and air-pump, which are common to other steam-engines; but the principle of exclusive right is founded in the mode of conducting the steam on and between the pistons.

27. *Mr. E. Thomason's (Birmingham), for an Improvement on Corkscrews.*—The patentee combines in this invention three screws, the male, the female, and what he calls the hermaphrodite screw. This last acts in some circumstances as a male, and in others as a female screw.—In making use of this screw, the operator, by turning always to the right, draws out the cork, without any other advantage than what is gained by the screw simply; and when the cork is drawn, by t ing the screw to the left, it falls off wit touching with the fingers.

28. *Mr. Christopher Wilson's (Bermondsey) an improved Method of obtaining a Vacuum a cable to all pneumatic, hydraulic, and mec Instruments, in which any Kind of Fluid is use of as a Power.*—The merits of this p cannot be comprehended without referen the figures, which are annexed to the sp cation.

29. *Mr. J. Williams's (Portsmouth), f Method of disengaging Horses from Carriag* Mr. W.'s invention consists chiefly in the dition of a rolling splinter-bar, affixed to usual or main splinter-bar, in such a wa will suffer it to turn on its axis when nec and also in the means of fastening the tra the said rolling-bar.—The method of gaging the horses is very simple: a per the carriage has need only, by means of a to pull back a bolt, when a lever immed rises; in consequence of the action o traces, the studs by which the traces are ened to the rolling splinter-bar change position, and the traces are instantly liberty. The patentee extends his inv to all kinds of carriages. Those that shafts are to have a socket fixed to the each; and those which have shafts, or a which, from its construction, would fall ground as soon as the horse or horses ar engaged, are to have a piece of iron, broad bottom, or a wheel affixed to each or the pole, to prevent the motion checked too suddenly by the fall.—M does not claim the method of disengagi harness from the ends of the pole or as part of his invention. He observe the operation of disengaging the h horses is performed with as much fac the pulling of a check-string; and, no standing the simplicity of the process, be found that the horses are as secur tached to the carriage as upon the co construction.—The exclusive right of facturing these safeguard splinter-bars h assigned to Andrew Leith and Co. o Lane, Fleet Street.

30. *Mr. P. Rusher's (Banbury), for Improvements and Alterations in the Printing Types, and the Manner in which is to be performed therewith, so as to dim Trouble and Expense of Printing, and to m more uniform and beautiful.*—According specification, the capital letters, with exceptions, should be comprised in the pass of an oval, by which they will occ room than usual, and be more uniform. small letter is to be without any tail- descender; and the metal of the type, forming the shoulder, is to extend than the body of the letter; consequen letters will occupy less room in printi out being less legible. The small lett have heads or ascending points which ri the body of the characters, should hav

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heads shortened about one third, which, besides uniformity, will allow room for a greater space between the lines in printing, or the type may be placed closer, and thereby a considerable saving in paper will be made.

31. *Mr. Chester Gould's (Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell), for an Apparatus or artificial Horizon to be attached to and used with the Quadrant or Sextant, for the Purpose of taking Altitudes of celestial or other Objects, either on Land or Water, without the Assistance of the natural Horizon.*—This invention consists in applying coloured or other fluids to the instrument, so as to obtain a level for the purpose of taking altitudes, either on land or water; which is performed by making a circular tube or ring of brass, or other substance, from two to three inches in diameter, in which are fitted four transparent glasses, directly opposite to, and parallel with each other, so that the surfaces of the fluid contained in the tube may be distinctly seen by the observer. The inside of the tube may be about a quarter of an inch in diameter, and half full of some transparent fluid. It is then to be fixed to a small apparatus, with proper joints and adjustments, so as to bring it to its true position on the quadrant.—The true position on the instrument being obtained, and the ring filled up to the centre of the glasses, the quadrant or sextant must be held in a vertical position, and the surface of the fluid be brought to form a perfect level with the eye of the observer: then the object whose altitude is to be taken is reflected down to this fluid level, in the same manner as when altitudes are taken by the sea horizon.—The artificial horizon may be so constructed as to be connected with a telescope, such as is frequently applied to quadrants and sextants; by which means, the surfaces of the fluid, and their contact with the image of the sun or any other body, may be more exactly determined, and the altitude may be read off upon the arc, as in common cases.

32. *Mr. J. Lawrence's (Lambeth), for a new Method of Tanning.*—The patentee makes use of a liquor made from oak saw-dust instead of that from oak bark, and in this consists the whole invention.

33. *Mr. J. Lewis's (Brinscomb, in Gloucestershire), for certain Improvements in the Art of Dying by means of a new Method of cooling the Cloth, and other Piece Goods, particularly in dying Black, and a new Mode of applying the Fire for the Purpose of heating the Boiler, which may be applied to the heating of other Boilers where Heat is required.*—This method of cooling cloth consists in passing it from the boilers over rollers or cylinders, erected on a stage near the boiler, in the following manner: Immediately opposite the roller, over which the cloth turns in the boiler, a stage is erected of a proper width for the goods intended to be dyed. This stage is so high, that the gutters which are placed under the eaves may be sufficiently elevated to convey the liquor which drops from the cloth while turned over it, back again into the boiler. At each end of the stage a roller with a winch or handle is placed so high above the troughs, as to admit of the troughs holding the whole of the goods; and between these rollers with handles, other intermediate rollers extend over the width of the stage, at about three feet distance from each other. The rollers are about 30 inches in diameter, and the specification contains proper directions for working them, and carrying on the whole operation by means of three men, viz. one at each winch, and the other keeps the cloth abroad while coming out of the boiler.—In dying black, it is allowed that repeated cooling is essential; to accomplish this, and to secure the cloth from the possibility of being heat-wrinkled, is the object of this part of the invention.—Mr. L.'s mode of applying the fire for the purpose of heating the boiler is founded on the idea that the stronger the draught, the greater will be the effect of the fire on the liquor, provided the heat so generated impinges in the best possible direction against the boiler. The directions given in the specification seem very well adapted to accomplish the ends intended to be answered in this respect; and, from repeated experience, Mr. L. assures us that the saving of fuel, and, what is often of more consequence to the dyer, in time, is from one third to a half over any other mode that has been tried.

34. *Mr. B. Hawkins's (Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell), for a new floating Mill or Engine, to be worked by Tides or Currents of Water, for grinding all Sorts of Grain, and various other Purposes.*—This invention consists in converting a ship, brig, sloop, or other vessel proper for the purpose, into a floating water-mill, and obtaining sufficient power to work the mill for grinding all sorts of grain, by the application of a sufficient number of water-wheels to the hull of the ship or vessel, in a proper manner to be acted upon by the tide or current, so as to give the wheels a rotatory motion, and by connecting them with proper machinery.—When the ship or mill is to be stationary, it must be made fast, so as to swing with the tide when necessary; but the mill may be worked whilst the vessel in which it is erected is sailing. The number and size of the wheels may be varied in proportion to the size of the vessel, the strength of the current, and the power required: and the wheels may be constructed as in common cases, or with folding floats, for the more readily freeing them from the water. They may also be placed in a vertical, horizontal, or oblique direction. The water-wheels may extend into the water from three to eight feet: they should be so connected as to be easily engaged with, or disengaged from each other, so that during the weak part of the tide they may all be made to act on one pair of mill stones, if necessary, and, as the strength of the tide increases, more stones or other machinery may be put in motion, so as at all times to do business in proportion thereto.

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35. *Mr. H. Tickell's (Mansell Street, Whitechapel), for an Apparatus or Method of more effectually dissolving and extracting the Virtues and preserving the essential Oil of Hops, Malt, and other vegetable Substances used in brewing, distilling, dying, and sugar-refining, and dissolving animal Substances in making Soap, and which is also useful and applicable to various other chemical Processes.*—The apparatus described in the specification of this patent is very extensive, and accompanied with a variety of figures, without the assistance of which it is impossible to explain the several principles of the invention upon which Mr. Tickell founds his claim for exclusive privileges. It is by the application of steam in various ways that the vegetable and animal matters are sooner dissolved, and their virtues or properties more effectually extracted, than can be done by the usual method.

36. *M. A. C. de Peggi's (of New Bond Street), for Improvements in the constructing and using of Ordnance, to be employed both in Sea and Land Service.*—The objects intended to be answered by this invention are, to produce a rapid fire, and to secure the men.—The improved gun is constructed from a calibre scale as usual; but the trunnions are nearly in the axis of the piece, and no more increase of weight is left behind them, than what is sufficient to cause the breech to preponderate, and the piece to be steady on the prop that supports it behind at the moment of fire, and to descend when that support is withdrawn.—(Here follows a particular account of the several additions to the old construction of the gun.)—To regulate the elevation and depression of the gun, some machinery is fixed, consisting of a spindle, with pinions acting on two wheels, between which is a cylindrical barrel, and on this two double and single flat-linked chains wind their ends, extending to the lower part of a fixed box, where two eye-bolts are fixed, and an iron pin runs through them, which is kept in by a nut, and the chain is kept closer at that end to enable it to wind without riding. The gun by this means is capable of being elevated or depressed by the turning of a winch. By putting a catch-bolt back, the breech of the gun falls down on the axletree, and the charge being previously laid in the bore, immediately runs home. The gun is brought up by cords in an instant, and as speedily laid to the object by the machinery and contrivance of the carriage; by which means a rapid and destructive fire may be kept up, without exposing the men who load to the least danger in the operation.—Other contrivances for elevating and depressing the piece are intended to be introduced; and all guns on the new construction may, if in any case it should be thought more advisable, be loaded and fixed in the usual manner, since the pieces and their carriages are not, by these improvements, rendered in the least unfit for the mode of manœuvring now used.—This specification contains also full descriptions of the *improved grenade gun, or long bowitzer, and its sea-service carriage;* of the *sliding carriage*, constructed to admit of the guns being traversed to a very open angle with the ship's side; and of an *improved brass mortar and bed.*

37. *Mr. T. Maltby's (Nottingham), for a Stirrup.*—This invention is intended to preserve the rider from the accidents occasioned by the foot hanging in the stirrup, should be thrown from his seat.—The bottom of Mr. M.'s stirrup is made larger than the lower surface of the foot, and may be plain or in bars, according to the fancy of the workman. From the middle of the sides a hoop springs, very much like the hoop of the common stirrup; then at small distances from each other, all round the front part of the stirrup, bended bars are fastened, and being carried up, unite in the centre hoop, and thus make a sort of basket-work for the front part of the foot; the bars are placed too close to admit the boot or shoe, and therefore the possibility of entangling the foot is effectually prevented, should the rider be thrown from his horse; and the whole is so contrived, by adapting the stirrup to the particular person for whom it is made, that the instep and ankle can never be injured by friction. The whole may be made of iron, or any other metal fit for the purpose.

38. *Mr. T. Richardson's (Iron-Acton, Gloucestershire), for Improvements in the Art of preparing, colouring, and uniting the Skins of Sheep and Lambs.*—The specification of this patent contains particular and minute directions for the whole process of tanning and colouring skins, from the time they are taken from the animal till they are in a finished state. Mr. R. shews in what manner they may be made to resemble any animal, either by spotting the skins, or by different kinds of shading. The manner which he adopts as the most preferable for uniting the skins, is by cutting the several pieces to the same length, and then by lapping them over each other a small distance, and sewing down the edges.—The patentee proposes to apply this manufacture to a great number of articles, such as bed-side and coach carpets, using the wool side in the winter, and the plain leather in summer; bed-mattrasses and hammer-cloths; the stands for urns; rugs for the hearth, and for the door, to clean the feet: and, by being able to unite different skins, they may be made of any size, so as to appear but of one piece. He means also to apply his invention to the manufacture of muffs, shoes, &c.

39. *Mr. Matthias Koop's (James Street, Westminster), for manufacturing Paper from Straw, Hay, Thistles, Waste and Refuse of Hemp and Flax, and different Kinds of Wood and Bark, fit for Printing and other useful Purposes.*—For each pound of straw or hay, a pound and a half of quicklime is to be dissolved, in about a gallon or 6 quarts of river water. The hay or straw is to be cut into portions about 2 inches in length, then boiled in a considerable quantity

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of water, viz. about 2 gallons to a pound of materials, for ½ of an hour. It is then to be macerated in the solution of lime and water, for 5, 6, 7, or more days, taking care to agitate the mass, by frequently stirring and turning it over. At the end of this time the lime-water is to be drawn off, and the materials to be washed very clean, and boiled in a large portion of clean river water. This part of the operation is to be repeated, and, for the sake of improving the colour of the paper, one pound of dissolved crystals of soda or potash may be used to every 36 pounds of straw or hay. When the materials are pressed out of the water, the manufacture of them into paper may be proceeded with by the usual and well-known processes. In some cases the patentee has thought it advisable to suffer the materials to ferment and heat before they were reduced to a pulp. This, however, will always depend upon the warmth of the season.—When thistles are used, they are to be cut down at the time when the bloom begins to fall, to be dried, and reduced into lengths of 2 inches; and then the same process to be made use of as has been already described with regard to the straw and hay.—The manufacture from wood, bark, refuse hemp, and flax, is carried on by similar processes. The wood is to be reduced into shavings, and the outside rough bark is to be first scraped away. Wood containing much turpentine or resinous matter cannot be beneficially made into paper.—Mr. K. does not mean to rest his invention upon the exclusive use of soft water: he lays claim to his privileges, although it should be hereafter found that spring-water is equally adapted to the purposes before mentioned.

40. *Mr. R. Dickinson's (Long Acre), for a new or improved Method of fixing Straps of and to Saddles, to which the Girths are usually made fast or buckle.*—This invention consists in the application of the power of a lever to a spring which is attached, by means of screws or rivets, to a plate of metal that is fixed to the upper or under side of the bar of the saddle-tree. There are two of these springs in correspondent situations upon the opposite bar of the saddle-tree, to which straps are attached for the purpose of fastening the ends of the girths; obstacles are, however, wisely placed to prevent the lever from being overdrawn.—The patentee mentions the following advantages as certain effects of this invention. By drawing the buckles of the girth with more or less force, the reaction of the said springs upon the levers, and consequently upon the straps, causes the girth to be applied with any desired firmness or tension; at the same time that the elasticity of the said spring affords a degree of ease and liberty for the horse to breathe and perform his various movements with much less constraint, and a greater degree of comfort and ease than can be had when the girth is applied and fixed in the usual manner.

41. *Mr. B. Collins's (New Sarum), for a Cephalic Snuff, being a Remedy for most Disorders in the Head, which it purges, strengthens the Nerves, and revives the Spirits.*—To the best snuff made from Virginia leaf-tobacco, add one twelfth part of roseat rappee snuff, and a small quantity of the true maccabaw; herbs, betony, eyebright, marjoram, thyme-syriac, flowers of maram-syriac, equal quantities, dried and made into a fine powder, to which add the one twentieth part of the leaves of assari, dried and powdered in like manner; also of East India cloves one fiftieth part, essential oils of cinnamon, nutmegs, lavender, and balsam of Peru, a small quantity of each. These ingredients must be all well mixed, and put into an earthen pan, for four days, and then an ounce of *eau-de-luce* with a little orange-flower, lavender, and rose water, are to be added to each pound of snuff. It must be kept in bottles, and a pinch to be used as occasion may require.

42. *Dr. G. F. Bauer's (Swithin's Lane), for Improvements in the Construction of Carriages, and the Wheels of Carriages.*—The principles of this invention cannot be comprehended without referring to the drawings annexed to it; the advantages resulting from it, the patentee describes in the following manner:—first, machines made according to this plan are much lighter, without losing any thing in solidity; secondly, the friction is considerably diminished; and, thirdly, in the superior degree of elasticity which attaches to carriages made after his plan.

43. *Mr. T. Fryer's (Halifax), for a Method of manufacturing and finishing Goods from Cotton, Cotton and Woollen, Cotton and Silk, Cotton and Linen, or Cotton and Mohair, in such Manner as to make the same appear as if covered with Ermine or Fur, and in Imitation thereof.*—This method consists in the following particulars. 1st, After the cloth has been woven, it is to be rubbed with pumice-stone boards covered with emery, or metal blades, so as to remove or destroy the knots or knobs upon the surface thereof. 2d, It is then to be singed or sheared, and afterwards raised with cards or teazles to a shag, which appears like fur or ermine, which finishes the process for manufacturing the sort of goods already described.

44. *Mr. Dearborn's (Boston), for Steel-yards.* Are said to promise to be of great utility. On these, pieces of ordnance weighing 8000 pounds are easily suspended and accurately weighed. The whole apparatus is so compact, that two men may readily transport it on a hand-barrow to any distance. In the ordinary mode of weighing with scales, a great number of weights must be twice handled, and the common beams could scarcely be made strong enough to sustain so great a weight, as is easily managed with these steel-yards.

45. *Mr. G. Hudson's (Chester), for the making or manufacturing of mineral or fossil Alkali.*—This gentleman enumerates a great number of

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substances which he makes use of for the purpose of obtaining the mineral alkali, with the particulars of each process in the manufacture. It will give a general idea of his plan, to particularize the method which he takes with kelp: this is the substance which stands most prominent in the specification. To two hundred weight and a half of kelp, beat into very small pieces, or ground into powder, he adds one hundred and a half of soaper's ashes, and one hundred weight of waste tan, which he mixes together with water, or other fluid, till it comes to a proper consistency; it then is to be taken and placed on the bottom of a reverberatory furnace, the construction of which is shewn by a drawing annexed to the specification; a strong heat is to be applied, and constantly kept up, and the flame made to pass over and act upon the mixture. At the interval of every ten minutes, more water is to be thrown in, and more tanner's waste bark, and the whole to be kept moving about with an iron spatula: at the end of four hours the substance begins to flux, and in about six hours it will be found completely fluxed, and the operation finished.

46. *Mr. Forder's (Portsea), for a Method of stopping the Leaks, &c. of Ships.*—According to the plan described by the patentee, all trifling damages sustained by any vessels may be repaired without bringing them into dock. He has contrived a kind of diving-machine, made principally of copper and leather, the joints of which are to be rendered water-tight, by a sort of cement, likewise described in the specification. Mr. F. has not forgotten, that air and light will be wanted by the diver, for both of which he has provided; he seems also to have taken into consideration the immense pressure to which the machine must be subject at any given depth below the surface, and has so constructed it, that it may sustain the force: he has also a contrivance for taking down lighted candles, when the work is to be performed in the light. According to the plan which he has submitted to the public, the diver may remain under water, without inconvenience, two hours, during which a considerable quantity of work may be performed with regard to stopping leaks, &c.

47. *Mr. T. Sawdon's (Lincoln), for a Machine for cutting Straw for Fodder for Cattle, on Principles entirely new.*—This machine is worked by hand. A man turns a wheel four feet in diameter; this gives motion to a wooden roller, inlaid with ribs of iron, and to one made of cast-iron; by the operation of these the hay or straw is drawn from the box to the knives, of which two or three are fixed upon an iron axle, and are of course turned round with the motion of the wheel, and are made to cut against a plate of polished steel.

48. *Mr. W. Walmsley's (Manchester), for a Machine for batting and opening Cotton Wool, Sheep's Wool, Tow, Hemp, and Flax.*—The patentee has given with his specification a bird's-eye view, a side view, and an end view, of his machine; by these, and a careful attention to his description, the mechanic and manufacturer will be able to estimate the value and importance of the invention.

49. *Lord Dundonald's, for a Method or Methods of preparing a Substitute or Substitutes for Gum-Senegal, and other Gums, extensively employed in certain Branches of Manufacture.*—Lord D.'s invention consists in procuring a substitute for gum from the class of plants called in botany lichens; from the plants of hemp and flax, previously to being steeped in water, or after having been steeped; likewise from the bark or rind of the willow or lime-tree.—The first process in preparing gum from the lichen is to free it of the outer skin of the plant, and the resinous matter, which is done by scalding it two or three times in boiling water, or by actually boiling it for fifteen or twenty minutes, then washing it in cold water, and laying it afterwards on a stone or brick floor for ten or twelve hours.—The scalded lichen is then to be put into a copper boiler, with a due proportion of water, that is, about two wine-gallons to every pound of lichen, and boiled during ten or twelve hours, adding about a quarter of an ounce of soda, or pearl-ashes, for every pound of lichen, or, instead of these salts, about two ounces of volatile alkali. The boiling should be continued until the liquor acquires a considerable degree of gummy consistence: it is then suffered to drain, and after to be squeezed in a press similar to that used by the melters of tallow.—The first boiling does not extract the whole of the gum, and should be repeated a second, and even a third time, diminishing, at each time, the quantity of water and the quantity of alkali: but when the volatile alkali is made use of, the boiler must be made of iron, instead of copper, which is acted upon by the volatile alkali.—Hemp, flax, and the bark of the willow and lime trees, or sea-weed, are to be heated in a similar manner, to extract the gum or mucilage contained in them; and his Lordship includes in this patent every tree, plant, or vegetable, of whatever kind, from which a gum is to be extracted by the action of volatile or fixed alkaline salts, when used in the processes of maceration, digestion, or boiling these vegetable matters.

50. *Mr. Nathan Smith's (Brighthelmstone), for a Method of Construction, or making a Vapour-bath or Vessel, of different Sizes and Shapes, by uniting thereto, and using therewith, a certain mathematical Instrument or Machine, called an Air-pump or Exhauster, for curing and relieving Persons afflicted with the Gout, putrid and inflammatory Sores of various Kinds, with which the human Body may be afflicted.*—This vapour-bath is made either to receive the whole body of the patient, or any particular part of it that is afflicted. It is first filled with steam, and then the external air is drawn out of the vessel in a less or greater degree, as the patient can

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bear it, thus giving aid to the elastic force of the internal air contained within the human body, to throw out and expel the matter which occasions pain, or hinders the natural functions of the human frame. The operation is to be repeated each time, as often as it may be deemed necessary.

51. *Mr. T. Martin's (Clerkenwell), for Improvements in the Art of tanning and dressing Hides.*—This invention consists in placing a boiler of convenient size, near a reservoir of water, with a pipe near the edge of the boiler to convey hot water into a vat intended to regulate the warmth of the water, and which is placed rather higher than the vats which contain the raw goods, and those working out the limes; so that the first may empty itself into a second and third vat, or into as many as may be deemed necessary. These vats are made with false bottoms, for the reception of the sand, blood, filth, &c. collected by the pelts in the slaughter-houses and markets, and which will, by the application of water rather warmer than blood-heat, be more readily separated from the skins, and will sink under the false bottoms, whence it may be conveyed into a sewer by pulling out a plug from the real bottom.—The application of warm water will revive dried hides, and expedite the process of tanning or dressing, by expanding the pores for the reception of the ooze, alum-liquor, &c. When the hides are perfectly clean, they are to be limed; and when the hair is taken off, they must be cleaned from the lime with warm water.—Mr. M. gives a very particular and accurate description of his method of constructing his vats; of what materials they are made; and of the nature of the ground on which they are to rest. He then describes the nature of the planks to be used in passing from one vat to another; the necessity of frequently removing and handling the goods, without impeding the circulation of the ooze; and how the ooze is to be removed from one vat to another, by means of pumps or jets. The necessary pumps may be wrought by men, or by a bark-mill commonly turned by horses, or by a boiler, the steam of which may be employed to grind the bark and work the pumps; and the fire for this purpose will prove of great utility in drying the new bark, and making it grind well, and in drying the old exhausted bark for burning; also for drying the leather, hair, wool, glue-pieces, &c.

52. *Mr. J. Weekes's (Plymton), for a Machine to grind Bark and other Substances.*—This machine is, we are informed, calculated to produce the article of bark in the best possible state for tanners, sufficiently soft and small, with none of that fine dust caused by friction, so prejudicial to the process of tanning; and the whole expense of a machine, which will last for a great number of years, may be saved by the grinding of about one hundred tons of bark, without taking into consideration the risk and expense of drying bark by fire, which is never recurred to by those who make use of this machine.—The mills may be made of any size, and grind any quantity of bark, by applying an adequate power: and they may be worked by water, wind, steam, horses, or even by manual labour.—This patent extends to grinding any other substance besides bark, and to an apparatus for raising liquors, and conveying them from one place, vessel, or vat, to another; so that no man is obliged to dip or pump the liquor, or handle the leather, as has hitherto been done.—It may be applied to any tan-yard already planted; to breweries; and to many other useful purposes.

53. *Mr. Wyatt's (New Bridge Street), for his Invention of certain Improvements in the Apparatus for, and Mode of Distillery, drying Coffee and Sugar.*—The improvements in distilling consist, first, in applying steam to produce the heat required for distillation, and adapting an apparatus for that specific purpose; and, secondly, in varying the construction and disposition of common stills, when fire alone is to be employed.—In the process of distillation, steam is conveyed through proper tubes, either into the matter intended for distillation, or through it, or wholly or partially round, or beneath it, and in contact with the external substance of the still or vessel in which the matter is contained, or in any of those methods combined: that of introducing the steam wholly and totally into the body of the liquid to be distilled, so as to be mingled therewith, being the most effectual and advantageous.—The liquid being thus heated by the action or contact of steam, the subsequent parts of the process proceed in the same way as a common distillation over a fire.—The parts essential to the system of distillation by steam may be omitted, and then the apparatus will be applicable to the common mode of distillery by fire alone, which constitutes the second part of the improvement, and consists in making the roof of the still a medium of condensation, and applying a channel beneath that roof to conduct the liquid arising from the condensation into the ultimate condenser.—The mode of drying coffee and sugar consists in exposing those substances to the action of air, raised to a necessary degree of heat, by passing over, or in contact with, a body of heated steam. If, therefore, any receptacle, admitting and discharging occasionally the external air, be allotted for drying coffee and sugar, and that receptacle heated by the access of steam, so that none of the steam shall come in contact with either of those substances; that construction of an apparatus will produce the effect described, and is claimed by Mr. W. as his invention.—This apparatus may be applied to the drying of other substances, such as grain, gunpowder, &c.

54. *Mr. R. Fryer's (Halifax), for a Method of manufacturing, cutting, dressing, drying, and finishing of Cloth, the Warp whereof is composed of Silk, Cotton, Woollen, Worsted, or*

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Linen Yarn, and the Weft of Sheep's or Lamb's Wool.—This new method of manufacturing cloth, &c. consists, first, in carding, rowing, and spinning in the common method; 2dly, after the weft is manufactured, it is wove into a warp or warps, by causing the weft or woof to float or pass over two or three or more threads of the warp, for going under, or being attached to the cloth only by one or more threads of the warp, which causes it to form a roll or figure on the face of the cloth; 3dly, the cloth so manufactured is then to be cut with a knife, or other instrument, by introducing it under the roll or figure, and running it along with the hand, or by a machine, which cuts that part of the weft which is left above such roll or figure, or afloat in the figure, and thereby produces a fine rich cover upon the face of the cloth; 4thly, the cloth is then to be singed by means of a red hot cylinder, instead of being cropped or sheared; which method of finishing woollen cloth so manufactured, the patentee claims as a new invention, and never practised before by any other person.—The cloth is then to be scoured in soap-suds or lie, or any other alkaline solution fit for the purpose, and afterwards boiled a few hours in clean water, when it is fit for dying and finishing according to the discretion of the manufacturer.

55. *Mr. J. Tate's (Tottenham Court Road), for Improvements in the Construction of Wheel-carriages.*—Mr. T.'s invention appears to be an admirable method of diminishing the effects of friction. The whole weight of the carriage is made to rest on two or more new-invented friction-wheels; by the action of which the whole axletree is made to turn round, as well as the wheels on the axle. The friction-wheels are made something in the form of inverted cones; they are fitted up with cups to contain a certain quantity of oil; turn upon centres; and revolve only once during three revolutions of the carriage-wheels; by which means the friction, which increases with the velocity, will be always kept to a very moderate degree. —Mr. T. from various experiments, is confident that, by his plan, one horse will be able to do as much work as four in the common mode.

56. *Mr. J. Smith's (Red Lion Street, Holborn), for a Method of fixing and setting an Alarum, or Alarum-bell, so contrived as to alarm Families in case of Fires, &c.*—It is known to every body that alarums, on the old construction, are acted upon by means of wires, connected with doors, window-shutters, &c. and that no person can force these parts of the house without breaking or disengaging the wire, which instantly sets the alarum off. This, of course, would be of no use in the case of fire, as it would be a considerable time before the flames would make sufficient impression on it as to cause a separation of its parts. Instead, therefore, of wire, the patentee makes use of a fine, but strong, string, which flames will speedily burn in two. As a preventive against burglaries, the little bolts that confine the string are made so sharp, that a very small pressure may cut it asunder, which instantly disengages the alarum.—*Obs.* We have only to observe, that inventions which tend to the security of lives and property merit every attention. The great objection to alarums is, that from a variety of accidents the wires in the old construction, and the cord in the new, are apt to snap, at times when there is no danger, by which persons and families may be terrified without any real cause. It is obvious, that for Mr. S.'s invention to serve as a perfect alarum against the effects of fire, the cord should be carried to every door and window, and those be previously shut; and then a fire could not extend beyond a single room, without awakening the family.

57. *Mr. T. Pritty's (Stowmarket), for a Method or Invention of affixing or hanging certain Springs, Joints, and Apparatus to Doors, by means whereof, such Doors may be opened from either Jamb.*—In the door made according to Mr. P.'s plan, there are two projecting balls or handles instead of one, and according as it is intended to open the door on one side or the other, must the corresponding ball be turned towards the edge. This ball, or handle, is connected with a latch that acts as a lever, by means of which a certain wire, and two pins, are raised out of that part of the hinge which is fast on the door, and immediately it is free to open with the same ease as a door hung in the common way. It appears then that there are in this contrivance two sets of hinges, and that the projecting balls or handles serve, by the act of turning, to extricate the pin from one hinge, and giving liberty, at the same time, to the door to play on the other. —Doors formed on this construction are made, where there are no obstacles to prevent them, to open completely back, or one hundred and eighty degrees. And for chambers, &c. where security is required, there is a contrivance for dropping in two small pins into the balls or handles, which effectually prevents them from being turned on the outside of the room.

58. *Messrs. Henry Penneck and Robert Dunkin's (of Penzance), for Methods of improving the sailing and navigating certain Ships.*—Several improvements in the methods of navigating vessels are mentioned in this specification: the action of the square sails is increased by forming the leeches of such convexity, that the bolt-ropes may not be drawn tighter than necessary to preserve the sail, and to allow it to produce the required effect. Two new and improved fore-and-aft sails are next described, which may be readily managed without dipping; besides full directions for the construction and management of these and other sails described, with their various tackle, &c. We have in the same specification a claim for a new-invented compass, called a transparent or luminous compass, whose inner box, or ring, as it has no bottom, is balanced round its

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lower circumference, across which are fixed wires that support the pedestal. The card is painted on both sides: its letters and points, as well as a point for the ship's head, are rendered transparent; a mirror is placed below it, which turns on a hinge by night, and the lamp-light is admitted either below or above the card, according as it is desirable to steer, by the simple or reflected transparency: in the former case, the mirror is turned to throw the light on the card, and the eye is admitted above; in the latter, the mirror is turned to meet the eye, which is admitted below. The light is of course admitted or excluded by the proper application of shutters, and by raising or lowering the lamp. It may be likewise used as a common compass.—*Obs. by the patentees.* It must be remarked, that although on the common compasses black and white are strongly defined, yet no little difficulty, at night, often occurs, in readily ascertaining the exact point, which must yield to the superior contrast of light and darkness; and when its capability of being elevated to meet the eye, as well as its emitting less light on the sails in chase, or when pursued, are thrown into the scale, it is fairly imagined considerable advantages will be found in its use.

59. *Mr. J. Ashworth's (of Tottington, Lancashire), for a Method of making Iron-liquor, for the Use of Dyers and Painters.*—The patentee prefaces this specification by observing, that, according to the usual processes in making iron-liquor, a space of seven weeks is required for the operation; but according to his invention, the same may be brought to perfection in two or three days.—Mr. A.'s method is thus described: any metallic oxyd is dissolved in a vegetable acid; and as between these substances there is less affinity than between the same acid and the oxyd of iron, iron in its metallic state is added to the above solution, which precipitates the metal before dissolved, and is taken up in its place. Example: dissolve about six ounces of red lead in vinegar, at a boiling heat, which is to be poured into a vessel containing pieces of iron, and there left to stand all together about twenty-four or thirty-six hours. The liquor is then boiled with the same or fresh pieces of iron, and when cool it is ready for use. A similar effect is produced by substituting any of the oxyds of manganese, tin, copper, bismuth, antimony, or arsenic, in the place of lead, or by the substituting any of the vegetable acids instead of vinegar. The application of this principle to the making of iron-liquor with vegetable acids, is claimed by Mr. A. as an exclusive privilege.—The second principle in this specification, depends on the solution of any iron oxyd, as ocre, Venetian red, or Spanish brown, in a vegetable acid brought to a boiling heat, then poured on iron in its metallic state; and after it has stood a day or two, and boiled a second time, it is good iron-liquor, and fit for use.—*Obs. of the patentee.* Although the principle of this second process differs from that described under the first head, and does not depend upon elective attraction, yet the solution of the metallic iron is, probably, effected by its attracting the oxygen from the oxyd of iron previously dissolved, and a compound is by this means also obtained of a vegetable acid, with iron oxydated to the extent proper for producing good iron-liquor.

60. *Mr. J. Fryer's (of Rastrick, York), for a Machine for the Purpose of cutting, dressing, and finishing Woollen Cloth.*—This machine is applicable to the cutting, &c. the shag, fur, or pile, from all kinds of cloth or woven fabrications which require the same, made of woollen or worsted yarn, down, silk, hair, cotton, or linen, used for wearing apparel, in a more expeditious manner than has been hitherto accomplished. It is not possible to describe the parts of this machine, so as to make it intelligible to the general reader, without the assistance of plates.—After the cloth has undergone the operation of shearing, it is, in its descent to a cylinder, exposed to a current of steam, thrown out from a horizontal tube with a number of apertures, so as to give it softness and pliability; a brushing cylinder is next made to move against it, by which the remaining wool or fur is laid in one direction. It then passes between two polished metal, hollow cylinders, kept hot by the admission of steam or otherwise, which press it firmly, and dissipate all the water imbibed from the steam.—The steam employed is procured either from a boiler, kept hot for the purpose, or from a small steam-engine, of peculiar construction, made use of for working the machine.—The simplicity of the steam-engine merits a description here. A piston is alternately pressed upwards and downwards, by means of elastic steam, in a cylinder closed at both ends, with a wadded hole for the piston-rod to move through, which gives motion to a crank and fly, or balance-wheel. Instead of condensing the steam, as in other engines, it is in this suffered to escape, after it has forced the piston, in either direction, to the end of the cylinder; it is then conducted through proper vessels to soften the cloth, and heat the pressing cylinders, or made use of for any other purpose where heat is required, such as heating drying-houses, stoves, hot-houses, &c.—*Remarks by the patentee.* This mode of finishing cloth gives it a much handsomer appearance, and renders it more durable in wearing than that finished in a common way.

BURDETT AND PARR.

Copy of a Letter from Sir F. Burdett to Dr. Parr.

SIR, I am sorry that it is not in my power to place you in a situation which would well become you—I mean in the Episcopal Palace at Buckden: but I can bring you very near to it; for I have the presentation to a rectory now vacant, within a mile and a half of it,

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which is very much at Dr. Parr's service. It is the rectory of Graffham, at present worth two hundred pounds a year, and, as I am informed, may soon be worth two hundred and seventy; and I this moment learn that the incumbent died last Tuesday.—Dr. Parr's talents and character might well entitle him to better patronage than this from those who know how to estimate his merits; but I acknowledge that a great additional motive with me to the offer I now make him, is, that I believe I cannot do any thing more pleasing to his friends, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Knight; and I desire you, Sir, to consider yourself obliged to them only. I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant, FRANCIS BURDETT.

Dr. Parr's Answer.

Vicarage-house, Buckden, Sept. 26th, 1802.

DEAR SIR, After rambling in various parts of Norfolk, I went to Cambridge, and from Cambridge I yesterday came to the parsonage of my most respectable friend, Mr. Maltby, at Buckden, where I this morning had the honour of receiving your letter. Mrs. Parr opened it last Friday at Hatton, and I trust that you will pardon the liberty she took in desiring your servant to convey it to me in Huntingdonshire, where she knew that I should be, as upon this day.—Permit me, dear Sir, to request that you would accept the warmest and most sincere thanks of my heart for this unsolicited, but most honourable, expression of your good will towards me. Nothing can be more important to my worldly interest than the service you have done me, in presenting me to the living of Graffham: nothing can be more exquisitely gratifying to my very best feelings than the language in which you have conveyed to me this mark of your friendship. Indeed, dear Sir, you have enabled me to pass the years of declining life in comfortable and honourable independence. You have given me additional and unalterable conviction, that the firmness with which I have adhered to my principles, has obtained for me the approbation of wise and good men. And when that approbation assumes, as it now does, the form of protection, I fairly confess to you, that the patronage of Sir Francis Burdett has a right to be ranked among the proudest, as well as the happiest, events of my life. I trust that my future conduct will justify you in the disinterested and generous gift which you have bestowed upon me: and sure I am that my friends Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Knight, will not only share with me in my joy, but sympathize with me in those sentiments of respect and gratitude which I shall ever feel towards Sir Francis Burdett.—Most assuredly I shall myself set a higher value upon your kindness, when I consider it as intended to gratify the friendly feelings of these excellent men, as well as to promote my own personal happiness.—I shall wait your pleasure about the presentation; and I beg leave to add, that I shall stay at Buckden for one we only, and shall have reached Hatton about t day fortnight, where I shall obey your co mands. One circumstance, I am sure, w give you great satisfaction, and therefor shall beg leave to state it. The living of Gr ham will be of infinite value to me, becaus is tenable with a rectory I now have in Nor amptonshire; and happy I am that my futu residence will be fixed, and my existence clos upon that spot where Sir Francis Burdett given me the power of spending my old with comforts and conveniencies, quite eq to the extent of my fondest wishes, and surpassing any expectations I have hithe ventured to indulge. I have the honour to with the greatest respect, and most unfeig thankfulness, dear Sir, your very obed faithful servant, S. PAR

FRENCH FUNDS.

For the Political Register.

SIR, Amidst the various information tained from time to time in your valuable gister, on the affairs of France, I do not collect to have seen any account of her PU FUNDS. The history of the French fina from the commencement of the revolution the mode in which money has been ra year after year, for carrying on so long expensive a war; the origin and amou their present debt, their resources, and particulars connected with this subject, w no doubt, be very interesting to many of readers. I am led to make these observa by the following circumstance. Seeing French *Tiers Consolidé* frequently quote our newspapers, curiosity prompted m make some inquiry respecting their pr funds of a friend, whose situation I th would enable him to procure me the de information. He sent the following state which was taken from a paper just put his hands, and is probably a translation the French. I here insert it, that, if in rate, it may be corrected, and that its d ency of information may be supplied by of your correspondents qualified for the u taking.—The public funds of France co of, 1st, *Bank Shares*, or *Actions de la Ba* as they are called; 2d, Third Consolidat Tiers Consolidé.—The speculation on th change at Paris turns principally on the T Consolidated.—It is presumed that the am of that stock is about 38,000,000 francs al consolidated.—Life annuities, including sions, may be 39,000,000 francs; but th decreases in proportion to the expirati the lives. There will be this year 2,800,000 francs of the provision consol in the Tiers Consolidé; and there remain over to be liquidated 2,000,000 francs in petual annuities: 20,000,000 francs in nuities.—The settlement of the above two nuities will take at least ten years.—The

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ter concludes that the whole amount of the interest of the public debt is about 101,800,000 francs.—A franc is in value a little more than 10*d.* of our money.—The *Tiers consolidé* is a 5 per cent. stock, and has been lately quoted in the Moniteur as such. The price stands at present between 55 and 56; i. e. a capital of 100 bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum, would cost between 55 and 56*l.* sterling: consequently this stock pays between 8 and 9*l.* annual interest.—The interest is paid every six months in cash; but he who buys at any time between the 21st of March and the 21st of September, will have a right to the interest only commencing from the *latter* day. If he purchase between the 21st of September and 21st of March, his right to the interest does not commence till March 21st, and he would not receive his first half-yearly dividend till September 21st. The seller always retains his right to half a year's interest at the succeeding stated time of payment. This is the rule.—For buying, no sort of formality is required; but for receiving interest, or selling, a power of attorney is necessary. The bank-stock is disposed of in shares or actions of 1000 francs each. Its capital is computed to be about 91,800,000 francs, and there is every reason to believe, that, as soon as commerce resumes its flourishing state, it will establish an annual dividend from between 8 to 10*l.* per cent.—It is a curious circumstance, that the 3 per cent. stock of this country, burdened with a debt of between 5 and 600,000,000*l.* sterling, is upwards of 70, while the 5 per cent. stock of France, whose public debt does not amount to 5,000,000*l.* (if the above statement be accurate), is not at present quite 56.

MALTA.

Translation of a Memoir, containing the Sentiments of the Maltese on the Evacuation of their Island by the English.

THE Locotenenti of the cities and boroughs, and the representatives of the towns, humbly represent, The sensation produced at Malta by the news that has been brought by the French cartel, that the island is to be delivered up to the Order, is violent and universal.—The conduct of the captain and his officer who landed, in communicating with those who are notorious partisans of the French, gives suspicion that Buonaparté has consented to restore the island to the Order, only with a view to make himself master of it. The Order has itself but few partisans, who never have had, since their expulsion, any weight with the people, farther than by exciting discontent occasionally on various false allegations.—The French are generally detested; and as the Maltese foresee that the putting the Order in possession of the island is tantamount to giving it to the French, they are determined to resist it.—All those who have heretofore opposed, either the Order itself, or the French, look on themselves as certain victims; and this description composes the great body of the people. In the desperate situation they will be placed in, we must expect to see the most obstinate resistance made by a people, whose bravery and high spirit has been proved; they began to taste the advantages, and enjoy the happiness of his Majesty's government; they saw prospects of an extensive commerce; of this island becoming the emporium of the Mediterranean, and arts, sciences, and manufactures flourishing; they began to feel a consequence in having become a part of a vast empire, and every individual found himself elevated from a state of dejection to a respectable member of society. Whether in future they be under the Order, or the French, they know importance only will be attached to their island as a port and a military post, and that the people will return to a more abject state than they have been in at any past period. Every merchant of property has determined to quit the country, in the apprehension, that under the Order their commerce will be cramped, as it was before, from motives of policy, not to excite the jealousy of other powers. Under the French, they well know that Marseilles and other ports will have every preference given to them.—The apprehensions of those who took up arms, and fought with the utmost inveteracy against the French and the Order, need not be described.—With respect to the ability of the Order to maintain itself in independency, and as a neutral power, they remark, 1st, That the other nations having taken from the Order all its revenues, it must be dependant on France, which will not fail to support its knights, and who are much more numerous, as France is in possession of three *langues*. Thus, in the very beginning, without any open attack, France will be mistress of Malta, and whenever it suits her to throw off the mask, she may hoist her tri-coloured flag on their impregnable bulwark. 2dly, The garrison of Malta was formerly composed of Maltese. The Order will not trust them now. It must, therefore, employ foreign troops, which there is no doubt will be such as are in the French interest, let them be of what nation they may. The French having the garrison in their pay, and devoted to their interest, will therefore be masters of the island. 3dly, The Maltese may hope to dispossess the French as they did before; but will not the French lay up timely a store of provisions to hold out a long siege? and a blockade in winter is almost impossible. Will they not easily disarm the inhabitants, or turn them out of their fortresses, and, in general, take measures to prevent their being again surprised? 4thly, Will the Maltese, after being abandoned and sacrificed by the English, trust on their protection a second time? From being our ardent friends, they will become our most inveterate enemies. 5thly, If it is therefore determined to withdraw the British troops from Malta, they

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entreat that they may be left to themselves to settle with the Order. They are determined not to submit to any foreign power but Great Britain; and to perish under the ruins of their cities, or maintain their liberty and independence. After having received us as friends and liberators, after having so cordially united with us, they have reason to hope that we will not unite with their enemies in assisting to subdue them, and deliver them over as slaves to other masters. As yet they cannot suspect us of such conduct. They complain heavily of their being sacrificed in the capitulations of the French, and they were by the tyranny and the insults they experienced lately under a military command, so provoked, that they were on the point of rising, when the giving them a civil government perfectly reconciled them: from all this the more enlightened Maltese insist that the anger of the body of the people will so awaken, at being abandoned by us now, that it will ever be out of our power, on any future occasion, to repossess ourselves of the island. 6thly, They feel the great political importance of Malta to whoever may hold it. They know that, in the hands of the French, they may at all times reconquer Egypt, and proceed to India with more experience and force than before.—They know that Russia is at this moment eager to see the Order, or, what is equivalent, France, hold Malta (the intercepted letters prove this); that Russia, however her projects against Turkey may lie dormant during one reign, will ever be revived; and that whoever has Malta has a sure means of uniting with Russia; and that if France will give up the Turks, she may rely on the co-operation of Russia to oppose the British having any power in the Mediterranean.—They know that Russia, united with France, may exclusively enjoy all the commerce of the Levant; that France may be supplied with naval stores from the Black Sea in all security; that a Russian army may march in a few days from their settlements in the south of the Caspian, to the dominions of Zaman Sha, and put into effect the threats of the late Empress Catharine, to drive us out of India.—In short, as long as they are persuaded that Malta is the key of India, and the link that will unite Russia and France, that will shut us out of the Mediterranean, and prevent us for ever from counteracting the influence of France in Italy; that will create a naval power, which may one day appear, and bid us defiance in the Atlantic.—As long as Great Britain possesses Malta, though every surrounding nation be our enemies, she will be mistress of the Mediterranean.—With respect to England, they are not ignorant of the importance of this island as a place of commerce; that this would be the great market for British manufacture, and Italian, Turkish, and Russian products; that in this arsenal every convenience for building, fitting out, or laying up a fleet, is to be found; that this might be the granary of Europe; that corn, to any amount, might be collected here, and stored up, from the Black Sea, from Egypt, and from every port where it were cheap, to supply every country where it may be wanted, and Great Britain itself in time of scarcity.—With respect to the knights personally, they affirm they cannot be neutral, wanting internal power, and the protection of neighbouring states. The only power that can take up their cause, is the power which has it in view to dispossess them.—They have violated their solemn vow at the altar, sealed with the sacrament, in delivering up their island, or consenting in betraying their Grand Master, and their own religious and military institutions; they have violated every tie of honour, as religious, as gentlemen, as soldiers. Can such be trusted? A great number entered the regicide service, and went to Egypt. The whole of them, with scarcely any exception, behaved in a manner incompatible with their obligations.—Those only could plead guiltless who were absent from the island: but they behaved in a manner not less reprehensible; not one of them came, as their oath obliged them, to Malta, to help to recover the ancient seat of the Order: the road to honour was open to them; an army of natives were in the field, and there was the powerful co-operation of allies. In fine, there is not one single knight who is not, according to the statutes of the Order, degraded, and has lost all pretence to be of the body; he is tacitly excluded and *dishonoured*.—The Order, therefore, does not exist. It is annihilated according to its own statutes.—The few despicable mendicants took refuge in Russia, where they were more safe from danger than in the camp before Valetta, and created, for a piece of bread, a schism in their Order; which was as much a violation of all their obligations, though not so scandalous a prostitution of honour, as was the part the more infamous took in opening their gates to the French. These are our sentiments, until we can have time to make a formal representation, and send a national representation to England. You are entreated to make them known to the King's civil commissioner, and to implore him, by all the attachment we have to his person, to the British government, to honour, virtue, and religion; by the attachment we have for our wives, our children, our paternal island, by the dignity of man, and by the sacred law of justice; by humanity, generosity, and gratitude for our sincere attachment, that he will be pleased to represent our miserable situation at the foot of his Majesty's throne, praying that it may stand for ever the bulwark and the asylum of *liberty*, *fidelity*, and *religion*.

MALTA.—(*Morning Post*, *Jan.* 23, 1802.)—SIR, The Times, of the 18th inst. pronounced its own judgment, fortunately neither competent nor decisive, upon Hompesch, the Grand Master.—The honour of an European being a

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matter not less sacred than the hereditary right of a nabob, I hope, Sir, that you will give admission to the following observations in your paper. This is an article from the Bamberg Gazette, No. 325, of the 21st Nov. last.—"Bamberg, Nov. 20.—We have been requested "to publish the following declaration at full "length. We have hesitated so much the "less in doing it, as the imputations laid "against the Grand Master Hompesch have "been pointed out for *false and calumnious* in "the Vienna Court Gazette, No. 33.—The "Declaration of the Bailly de Tigné, respecting the Production against the Grand Master, "printed in all the Newspapers under the Name "of that estimable Character.—A production "in five sheets is in circulation at St. Petersburgh (dated the 21st of June 1798), of "which I am marked out as the author. It is "full of the most atrocious calumnies against "our lawful chief, the Grand Master of Malta. "Though the writing bears all the marks of "improbability, it has yet acquired some credit, because they have had the assurance to "publish it in print. My sorrow was inexpressible when I learnt that so dark a deception, and destitute of all credibility, had "however occasioned so unhappy a division in "our Order. If every honest man is obliged "to clear himself from a similar imputation, "which closely attacks his honour, this duty "is more strongly imposed upon an ecclesiastic, to whom the editing of a libel against his "superior is falsely attributed —I am persuaded that every one who is acquainted with me "has given no credit to such a calumny. Looking at its want of likelihood, and its absurdity, it would not have made any impression "upon the public, if they did not so readily "pick up reports which tend to tarnish the "reputation of any one whatsoever. This "is a sufficient reason for me to give the lie to "the defamer, and to defend my own honour "thus attacked unjustly. I might adduce numerous motives to remove the suspicion from "myself that I could ever be capable of composing such a libel. My years, my conduct, "manners, and habits, sufficiently justify me; "they would rather form my panegyric. It "will suffice for me to observe, that at the "time when I should have written that piece, "I was ready to expire under a mortal complaint, and had received the sacrament as a "dying man. Can any reasonable man suppose I would have thought of such calumnies "in a similar state, or even could have dictated "them?—What advantage could I expect to "derive from so dark a proceeding, which was "likely to expose me to the hatred and detestation of every reasonable and honest man? "I declare then to all my brethren, ecclesiastics "of my Order, and to all those to whom this "justification shall come to hand, that I have "not written, and that I could not have written "that libel which is circulated under my name. "I call to witness all those who have known "me, and have had connexion with me; they "acknowledge me incapable of having written "it. I will that this declaration, signed by "me, and duly attested by a notary, shall be "set forth wherever it may be necessary, "in order that the public may have likewise "an authentic proof of the truth, and of my "innocence. Done in the city of La Valette, "in the island of Malta, the 3d of October "1800. BAILLY DE TIGNÉ,

"Grand Prior of Champagne."

[Here follow the declarations of the witnesses, and of the notary.]—These are the means that have been employed to impose upon the more *romantic* and *fantastical* than *chevaleresque* author of the *challenge to sovereigns*, and of the *Northern Confederacy*, to overwhelm an unfortunate honest man, by persuading a *married* sovereign of the *Greek church* that he had the right himself with *honorary*, *married*, *Greek*, and *Catholic chevaliers*, to judge *without a hearing*, upon forged accusations, as unlikely as untrue, the chief of a *religious Catholic Order*, *bachelors upon oath*, who could not be judged without being heard, and only by a legal chapter assembled of all the divisions *(langues)* of the Order, under the countenance of the Pope. Doubtless the Grand Master Hompesch has been culpable, if it be true that notice had been given him, and, being so, that he had still had the power to proceed against the traitors; yes, if it be so, he has been to blame himself, chief of the very essence of the Catholic nobility, to believe that indulgence and confidence would bring back his knights to duty and to honour. But the great ones of the earth, who would judge him upon that, for the fact of *weakness*, would they not be apprehensive that he should say to them in the words of the Gospel, *he who is without fault, let him cast the first stone at me?* The pretended dismission given by the Grand Master Hompesch is equally exceptionable; he could not give it but in the form above mentioned, speaking of his judgment, and still would it be requisite that it should be accepted by the tribunal composed in this manner. This pretended dismissal never existed, except in a letter to Paul the First from the Grand Master, whose counsels had engaged him, for the repose of the world, to flatter his folly, in seeming to legalize it in some manner; but this letter was never even answered by Paul. The Pope besides, and the *langues* of this Order in Spain and Portugal, have never ceased to acknowledge, and to call the Baron Hompesch Grand Master. He caused to appear then successively two justificatory addresses equally convincing and noble; and it is useless to repeat that the money which the French permitted him to carry away from Malta, he deposited at his arrival on the continent in the first chest belonging to the Order, exposing himself to the most extreme misery, which had menaced him really, if he had been equally abandoned, betrayed, and forgotten, by every body, as he

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has been by his knights in Malta and Russia. If in our times, then, those who reclaim rights for themselves were the first to acknowledge and respect them towards others, the Grand Master Hompesch would be before all reinstalled and replaced in his dignity. Those sentiments of justice, loyalty, and humanity, manifested by Alexander the First, allow no supposition that he will oppose so equitable a measure. The Grand Master might after that give in his dismission legally, and wish well for the safety of Malta under a new Grand Master, and under the eventual guarantee stipulated for that island. As to his base accusers, it will suffice by ranging them under the same class as those who have delivered up Malta to the French, to yield them up to the contempt of mankind. PHILALETHES.

A Letter addressed to Philalethes, from a Man full as well disposed, but better informed than himself, dated March 7, 1802.

THE Times declares, "that the Grand Master caused a letter, written by the Bailly of "Tigné, to be circulated at the moment of the "elections." This is false. The letter was inserted in the Italian gazettes, in 1800. Paul the First was then living; this letter was sent to Paul the First, attested by twelve witnesses, present at the declaration of the Bailly of Tigné, viz. the Baillies *Rabasters*, *Belmont*, *Barres*, *Clugny*, *St. Fois*, the Commander *Fricon*, the Knight *Djenne*, brother Lewis *Abaté*, and John Lewis *Reddi*, conventual chaplains; Augustin *Chiappe*, merchant; Francis *Avena*, commissary of the granaries, and the notary *Frendo*, who received the solemn act from the magistrate of Messina, by whom it was legalized. The Vienna Gazette, of the 16th of May 1801, has made mention of it, and quoted the Italian gazettes. If this declaration has not had more publicity, it is because the newspapers, who received it, were afraid of offending Paul the First, and dared not to give it to their readers. They were even afraid of inserting a reply to a letter written by *Dolomieu*. —In the printed memorial, which I send you, you will see that the Grand Master is inviolable; that the General Chapter is only legislative by the consent of the Grand Master and the Pope; that it can only approve or reject the matters laid before it by the Grand Master for its discussion; that it has no initiative power; that its duration is limited by the Grand Master, who presides in the persons of his delegates, who breaks up the assembly when he pleases, and annuls all its transactions, according to his pleasure: afterwards follow the other powers; for, being co-proprietors, they are interested in the admission of no statutes that can be offensive to them. You will see that *the Pope cannot pass sentence upon the Grand Master*, because he is a sovereign. The Pope may pass sentence upon the religieux; but here there is nothing contrary to canonical forms. The Pope may pass sentence upon the knights for offences against the Grand Master; but there exists a written law which commands silence as to the Grand Master, and a law which forbids every General Chapter to infringe upon the rights and prerogatives of the Grand Master.—The Maltese deputation in London was the rebellion of a minority.—The majority had assembled in parishes, and demanded the restoration of the Order, and the Grand Master *Hompesch*. This majority had deputies at Paris and Rome. The proceeding bears date the 10th November 1801, and *was forwarded to the King of England, and to Buonaparté, thanking them, in the name of the Maltese, for having restored their Sovereign Hompesch, and the Order*. These are the precise words of a letter written by the Grand Master himself, on the 17th of January in the present year, and I have in my possession the proceedings of the different deputations from 1799 to the present day.—I have also in my hands a summary, which I drew up, of the correspondence of the knights with the Grand Master, since the pretended abdication: it consists of five hundred letters, expressive of fidelity and attachment, and of requests for nominations. Among them are letters from Sicilian, Portuguese, and Spanish knights; and justificatory memorials given in by these knights, who were all at Malta, who saw the treason and pointed out the traitors—those who were desirous of poisoning and assassinating the Grand Master. This agreement of sentiment between knights of different nations, writing at a considerable distance from each other, is an evident proof of the innocence of the Grand Master.—Alexander the First did not openly constrain, but he privately demanded: several priors complained of the violence used to force them to elect. The Prior of Bohemia, for example, declared on the 4th of December, *that he was ignorant of the Grand Mastership being vacant*. The 18th of the same month was the day of election!——Portugal, Spain, Tuscany, and Rome, neither voted, nor replied to the invitation. Spain alone forms a majority: France has hitherto not declared herself.—Let us examine this pretended dismission. The statutes take from the Grand Master the power of resigning his situation. He must ask permission of the Pope, and if it be granted, he is then at liberty to resign.—The Grand Master can give in his resignation to the Pope only. He is prohibited from giving it, even to the council of the Order. The council demanded this privilege about two hundred years ago, but it was refused by the Pope, in order that no Grand Master advanced in years might be forced, by a cabal, to resign his situation.—When the Pope has accepted the resignation, he alone has the power of notifying a new election to the council. In the present instance, nothing of this kind took place. The Pope never acknowledged Paul the First. The Prior of Rome, who is under the sovereignty of the

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Pope, never replied to Paul the First, but always addressed his letters to Hompesch.—We come now to the protectorship of Alexander the First. It is an usurpation. The protectors naturally springing from the Order, are the sovereigns in whose states the Order has any possessions. This protection is natural: it is their duty to watch over the political and territorial existence of the Order; they are interested in so doing. With its religious and internal discipline they have no concern whatever. A protector in an exalted situation, would be offensive to the other sovereigns: he would thereby become their lord paramount on a portion of their own territory. If he possessed other superior attributes, the Order would, in fact, lose its sovereignty and independence; without independence it would become the instrument of an individual, and would no longer be enjoyed in common amongst the knights. It is therefore the policy of all the states of Europe that the Order should be delivered from so unheard-of a protection.—In Russia many a false step has been taken, more from ignorance than design. But to what sort of counsellors has she listened? to individuals, strangers to the Order, to adventurers.—You have well exposed the ridiculous composition of this Order, and of these Russian knights: to your account might be added the following particulars. The newly created priorship (for the intelligence was received at Malta only five days before the place was taken) had not been acknowledged by the other priors. In fact, they had not time for so doing. The enrolment had not taken place, nor even the notices of this affiliation. It exists only by the condescension of those sovereigns who acknowledged Paul the First Grand Master, and who obliged their priors to do the same. But this was an act of violence, and altogether illegal.—But of what use is this Russian priorship, composed as it is of schismatics and married men? Can it be represented in the council? No: for that council must entirely consist of *profes*, that is to say, religieux of the Catholic, Apostolic, Romish church: which the Russian priors are not. Can it arrive at the least preferment? No: for the same reason. Thus it is not capable of voting, nor of enjoying dignities; because the priors must of necessity be *profes*. Neither can they take the title of knights, because, for that purpose, it is necessary to pass through a novitiate: nor become members of the council, because these profes can alone be the mezubres of the Order. It can have no religious existence: and as the Order is itself a religion, it has every where the distinctive marks of that religion. No name can possibly be given to this singular creation: and this is so evident, that these Russian endowments, these creations of commanderies, are all mere child's play, unless the Order had been consulted; and that the Order has not been consulted is very clear; because Malta was taken five days after the arrival of the Russian courier.—The very excess of folly could alone have marched with so rapid a step. This priorship can only exist by violence. The Pope and the Order will never be able to harmonize with it. Nevertheless, it is this very priory that is anxious, by the assistance of a few persons, whom I will not call apostates, to judge, to depose, and to change the statutes of the Order. If the Order were to cease to be religious, the persons composing it would be nothing more than a foreign soldiery, even in Malta itself, which would remain attached to their country, their wives, and their children; and, having no chief, must be destroyed by other hands immediately; otherwise it would devour itself.

INTERESTING EXTRACTS *from Col. Charmilly's Refutation of Bryan Edwards's "Historical Survey of the French Colony of St. Domingo;" pointing out the fatal Consequences of a Peace with the French Republic; and particularly as it regards our Possessions in the East and West Indies.* [Written in November 1797.]

WHY, Sir, did you not call the attention of Great Britain to the happy situation in which she finds herself, in spite of the war? Why did you not publish this great truth, viz. that the commerce of all Europe has centred in England? Why did you not draw the attention of the public to this happy and important fact, that *she alone has preserved her manufactures*, and increased her commerce? Why did you not exhibit the English navy as being more flourishing than ever, and that of her enemies almost destroyed? the Dutch navy annihilated; Spain flying before the British flag, blocked up in her ports, or reduced to burn her ships with her own hands, to prevent their falling into those of her conquerors, as at la Trinité? In short, why did you not call the attention of your country to her flourishing situation, the true period of her glory, in being mistress of all the European colonies, her flag flying triumphant in every sea? What could the friends of England desire more? What could a commercial nation hope for more than to be mistress of the commerce of the whole world? Did those who laid the foundation of this amazing power *hope or foresee*, that your Navigation Act would have produced so many and such glorious successes to Great Britain? In short, *why do you not repeat to your readers, that* PEACE ALONE may make you lose, *in a very little time*, all these mighty advantages?—Why do you not draw the attention and thoughts of your readers to the gigantic power of the French upon the continent? Why did you not exhibit the critical situation of your country fallen from her power, *if peace* gives her enemies the means of recovering *their losses, their manufactures, their commerce, and particularly the re-establishment of their navy, by recovering their colonies*?—Why

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did you not repeat to your countrymen, that England can only lose, and gain nothing by peace? Why did you not remind her that she can only make restitution without receiving any thing in exchange? In short, why did you not prove that no peace with the republic can be made with safety, from the uncertainty of *her situation and her government?* that, being surrounded with many exterior enemies, *and having many interior ones*, a civil war in France is every moment ready to burst forth? — Even in this situation, *will England venture to disarm?* And, if she does not, what advantages will indemnify her for the sacrifices she must make *for a peace*, which will never be of long duration; but which, doubt it not, would bring upon her greater dangers than the war?—For, *according to what is going on in Italy and Germany*, you should remind your readers that the French revolution is more dangerous for all the European nations by a peace than by a war. If England were to make peace, how could she preserve herself from the poison which would soon be brought to her by a French ambassador and that heap of Jacobins that would be attached to his suite? How could she preserve herself from their principles, if, in spite of the war and her careful watchfulness, this country has several times been upon the point of being overturned? In short, how could she prevent, in the people of this country, the consequence of this *dreadful reflection* (supported by the example of the success and presence of republican envoys)? They were desirous of placing themselves in the situation of those who *possessed every thing*, and they fixed themselves there *by assassinating, by pillaging, and by forcing them to wander far from their country;* they wished it, and they have succeeded. - - - - - —In fine, Sir, why do you not rouse the public spirit of your country against her real enemies? Why do you not remind your countrymen of that profound hatred which has for so many ages existed between the two countries? Why do you not animate their courage by reminding them of the wars for these 300 years past, in which the English have so often triumphed? Why, above all, do you not continually repeat to the English, that *the nature of her government, her position, her population, and her climate*, destined her only to be *a secondary power;* and say to her: "In spite of the efforts *of a numerous*, "*brave, and active nation*, we are become the "*first maritime power in the world?* Why "should we not support ourselves in this hap- "py situation, since we are enabled so to do "by all the united advantages arising from "circumstances? Would it be more difficult "for us to preserve the situation in which we "have placed ourselves *than to attain it?*"— War alone, I repeat it to you, Sir, can enable you to preserve that noble and magnificent position—*with peace*, you will soon descend from it.—May Great Britain and her chiefs reflect upon the fate of Carthage! There is a greater similitude than one is disposed to believe between the situation of the French and English, with that of the Romans and Carthaginians. Let England cast her eyes upon the new republic that has just established itself at her doors! Let her consider the effects of the force (of a nation consisting of twenty-five millions of souls), which, whilst forming itself into a republic, has from the beginning of the government, *uneasy from its nature*, given *the bravest and most turbulent people in the* world those successes which Rome in her most glorious days never surpassed! Let England for a moment reflect upon the power of this people, who, by their revolution, have made themselves *the friends of the populace in all nations!*—In short, consider, Sir, and repeat in the bosom of the Senate of your country, to your friends, and to your readers, that France in spite of the misfortunes attending her revolution, in spite of the destruction of her finances and commerce, is arrived at such a height as to be able to extend her frontiers, and has acquired a new population, consisting of upwards of eight millions; represent to your readers and the English in general, that the Scheldt, the Maese, and all the coasts and ports, from the Texel to the *Straits of Gibraltar, and the Adriatic*, are now in the power of her natural enemy. I ask what degree of power must that nation attain after ten years peace, *which she alone hereafter will be able to brave?* What will become of all the neighbouring states, *if her finances, her commerce, and her colonies*, and through that *her navy*, are restored? Do you think that England can long remain free, ruler of the seas and the commerce of the universe? It is not difficult to foresee her fate, if the French republic, from her foundation, is more powerful than all Europe. What will she be, when *order in her finances, her agriculture, her commerce, manufactures, and her navy*, are placed in such a situation as the efforts of the peaceable French government are capable of raising them to? What will then be the fate of England, when we know what the French are, of all other people, the most active, the most uneasy, and the most ready for war? Yes, the ostentation of Rome will soon be eclipsed, if England, *who alone can and ought, to stop the increase of this immense power*, does not support herself in the happy situation in which chance, circumstances, her constitution, her manufactures, and her commerce, have placed her—if England does not say to France, You have rendered yourself *most considerable* power upon the continent *what right had you?* Strength and courage. Well! then by the same right we are sovereigns of the seas. We will preserve our power as you will respect yours, if you will respect our *which our situation renders absolutely necessary*. You will soon be masters of the interior commerce of Europe; well then, we will be masters of the exterior commerce. Our 660 ships of war *will secure to us our maritime power*,

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he same manner as your two or three millions of national guards will secure to you the sovereignty of the continent. Your conquests, your activity, *and our safety*, demand and require, that we suffer neither you nor your allies *to have more than a certain number of ships of war*; and that you possess no colonies: the time is come when England, from necessity, must concentrate all her power and force within her walls and wooden fortresses.—The English nation is arrived to the highest degree of prosperity, and the cruel revolution which has ruined *every other nation*, has enriched the English nation; *her commerce, manufactures, and agriculture*, are in a flourishing state; her credit is unimpaired in spite of her enemies; her troubles are domestic, and are, as to herself, a family concern, and with which, her situation prevents foreign powers from interfering. She has nothing to fear then—*peace, yes, peace alone:* this precious blessing, so advantageous for all people, is dangerous for her. This is *the agreeable and smiling enemy* whom she should mistrust, whom she ought to dread more than *France and her warriors*. Let her secure herself in her true situation, let all her efforts be directed towards her commerce, her navy, and her possessions in the two Indies, and she will soon see her enemy reduced to the necessity of receiving *such commercial laws* as her interest and her situation will dictate to her to prescribe!—You might explain these simple truths to your readers in a hundred different ways, and which you might support by a comparison between the situation of the two nations. Both the warlike and mercantile navy of England are carried to a height beyond any example ever mentioned in history. France furnishes an absolute contrast to this situation; without finances, without credit, with few raw materials, without manufactures, with a declining agriculture: she is without commerce as well as without either *a warlike or mercantile navy*; and, whatever may be said of her, without the means of procuring one. Why then should not Great Britain say to France: "By "the extent of your European conquests which "you have kept, you are become too powerful for us to make peace by restoring to you "any of those we have taken, either from you "or your allies in the two Indies: consequently we will make peace only upon condition, that one of the fundamental bases "shall be, that you and your allies shall, at "no period whatever, have above a certain "number of ships of war:" *then the peace may be both honourable and useful to England*, and without danger to her. If she makes any other, she will soon lose her power in the Indies and her western colonies; for if, forgetting *her true situation, her glory, her interest, and the immense power to which she is raised*; if, in order to obtain a momentary peace, Great Britain restores the Cape of Good Hope, Trincomalé, and Ceylon, to the Dutch, what will be the consequence? Why, *in less than twelve months these possessions will be occupied by French garrisons, which will be voluntarily received by the Dutch, or by the supreme order of the French republic, that domineers over them.*—What must be the consequence that will ensue? Why, 12 or 15,000 French will be carried to the East Indies, both by these ports as well as by the islands of France and Bourbon. In short, if the French should at any time hereafter penetrate into India, *I can venture to predict*, that the English would soon after possess no territorial property there.—But let England not deceive herself! *The natural hatred between the two nations has attained to that degree among the French, which is the cause that republics never forgive.* It is at present then a deadly war *between the two powers*, in which England will come off victoriously, *but by making only a conditional peace*, and preserving the means of causing it to be observed. Moreover, in the treaty which she may some time or other conclude, she cannot and must not forget to have a positive determination concerning the measures she is to take to preserve herself against *the catechism of the French revolution and the catechisers. Upon any other conditions, war is much better for England than peace.*

England is the only power that has a navy capable of defending such a great colony, on which the fate of Jamaica absolutely depends; for *I repeat it to you*, Sir, *to all the colonists, and Great Britain, the fate of Jamaica will follow that of St. Domingo.* Should the latter be re-established, the former will be saved; if it be delivered up to the French, *Jamaica will speedily be destroyed*; and, so far from a powerful empire being established in that island, such as you here speak of, I predict that *all the colonies in the Antilles will be entirely and speedily ruined and annihilated.*

If the East Indies are exposed to the greatest dangers *from a sued for and shameful peace*, the western colonies will be much sooner and more certainly exposed by it, as it would allow the French to re-enter their colonies. In order to convince both you and our readers, particularly those who know that *the regimen of slavery is absolutely necessary in the colonies of the Antilles*, let them read what judicious and informed men, acquainted with the colonies and the interests of France, men possessing great talents, and having the interest of their country at heart, have lately said, in the councils of the republic, respecting the importance of the colonies to France.—After such an acknowledgment, will England furnish France with the means of recovering her losses, in order that she may increase her immense power? If, by their conquest, the French are masters, as to *give law to the continent*, what does there remain for England, in order to balance this new power, but to preserve the empire *of the seas*, which henceforth nothing can deprive her of, *without producing her certain destruction?*

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—If England compares her situation with that of every other power, she will be very careful how she makes a peace that will deprive her of all the advantages of an unprovoked war; *which alone has preserved her from complete destruction*, and procured her those advantages which, as a commercial nation, she could, and ought never, to have expected; advantages *(and I think I have proved it)* which are, a will be more *serviceable to her* than all the co quests of the French will ever be to their public, and which she has purchased at so d a rate; whilst England *is sound in all her pa and is mistress of all the colonies which belo to her enemies*, and thereby mistress of t commerce, that is to say, *of their real pow*

Official Account of the Cape of Good Hope, lately transmitted to this Country.—Opgaaf of the District of Swellendam, March 31, 1801; of Graaf Reinet, December 22, 1800; Cape of Good Hope, 1800; Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, 1798.

Inhabitants.	Men.	Women.	Sons.	Daughters.	European Servants.	Slaves. Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Hottentots. Men and Boys.	Women and Girls.	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Muids of Wheat.	Muids of Barley.	Leaguers of Wine.	Hogs.	Vines.
Swellendam, March 31, 1801																			
Burghers - -	1146	797	1184	1277	—	1345	825	192	163	The number of Hottentots in this district not specified.		7318	51505	134751	13204	7382			
Discharged civil and military servants of the Dutch Company	127																		
Graaf Reinet, Dec. 22, 1800.																			
Burghers - -	1002	716	1121	1219	—	463	411	109	92	3382	3003	4684	81240	782237	9807	4521	1353		
Inhabitants of Swellendam and Stellenbosch having possessions in this - -	121	10	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	108	98	97	9102	42545	116	15			
Discharged civil and military servants of the Dutch company	67	16	23	9	—	15	7	—	—	53	61	122	1077	14477	242	60	7		
Baptized Hottentots - - -	30	15	26	33	—	—	—	—	—	33	27	52	621	5557	78	14			
Cape of Good Hope, 1802.																			
C. Burghers -	2122	1806	1985	2291	398	1137	4292	2611	2357	—	—	14210	33342	61334	—	—	1715½	2234	472
Settlers - -	651	242	224	239	84	613	245	111	85	—	—	472	674	2163	—	—	—	117	31
Stellenbosch -	469	332	502	490	—	2378	1102	—	—	—	—	685	13511	59263	—	—	—	—	30
Drakenstein -	1184	827	1117	1282	—	4774	2287	—	—	—	—	1347	46558	390153	—	—	—	—	284

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COLLECTION OF THE DEBATES IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

On, and relative to, the Preliminary and Definitive Treaties of Peace, between Great Britain and France; the former signed at London, on the 1st of October 1801, and the latter at Amiens, on the 25th of March 1802.

HOUSE OF LORDS *, OCTOBER 29TH, 1801.

LORD BOLTON, in moving the address, adverted to the royal communication of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France being ratified by the respective countries. Of the nature of the ground on which the House then stood, with respect to expressing its sentiments on that part of the speech, his Lordship displayed much constitutional knowledge in commenting; and we understood him to observe, that by their Lordships voting the address he should have the honour to propose, they were not pledged to approve of the specific terms. However, he had to remark, that the truly desirable event in question *gave the most heart-felt satisfaction to every rank and description of people, in every quarter of his Majesty's dominions;* and on this head, too, he had to remark, he should have no occasion to trouble their Lordships with any detail, as the period would come for its regular discussion, and on which occasion he expressed his hope their Lordships would, with joy and thankfulness, unite their voice of approbation. He was perfectly aware that distinct examinations, with respect to measures of that importance, were necessary; and a degree of suspicion on the grounds of such examination, might constitutionally be held. By such investigations alone would a satisfactory opinion be given as to the merits of particular terms, and a knowledge of the probability of such proving advantageous or the reverse, be attained: he therefore could not mean to trespass on the House, by intruding, in the present instance, his sentiments, in detail, on this very important subject; at the same time, he could not refrain from observing, that the termination of the arduous contest in which we were recently engaged, *did not, on our part, proceed in the least from any deficiency in the national resources for continuing the war, or a want of the necessary supplies for that purpose.* Against this consideration they would have to weigh the probability of their being able to maintain advantages commensurate to a protracted expenditure: they would, in considering the important topic of the conclusion of peace, also have to recollect the situation in which the scanty remnants of the independent powers of Europe, which were opposed to France, then stood. With respect to Britain herself, the case was widely different; that noble spirit of loyalty and patriotism which pervaded all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, rendered her superior to any attack which our powerful adversary was capable of making.

LORD LILFORD seconded the motion for their Lordships agreeing thereto. He thought there must exist but one opinion in that House with respect to the leading feature of his Majesty's most gracious speech; namely, the announcing the happy and *glorious termination* of the most arduous contest this country was ever engaged in; a contest equally glorious to the arms of the nation in its progress, and to its councils in its *successful and happy termination.* His Lordship observed, the wise and *vigorous measures* of Ministers had placed the nation in such a state, as that we might truly say,

——"Our castle's strength
"Would laugh a siege to scorn."

It was such as clearly evinced what may be effected by the single operation of British force. Considering the national circumstances in other points of view, their Lordships could not contemplate the prospect with less satisfaction. The blessings of peace were restored; —not through any means of humiliation or national disgrace, but on *terms equally honourable and advantageous:* these we reaped as the well-earned fruit of our exertions under the guidance of the wisdom of his Majesty's councils. Our objects were thus attained, and the real ones of our warfare, namely, the attainment of security for ourselves, and the preservation of our good faith to our allies. Their Lordships had that day the satisfaction of beholding their sovereign in the exercise of his best prerogative, in announcing the return of peace, and with it the increase of prosperity and happiness to his people.

THE DUKE of BEDFORD rose, and observed, that with respect to a peace, generally speaking, he believed there was but one opinion in the House; for his part, he sincerely congratulated their Lordships and the country on the attainment of that invaluable blessing.

HOUSE OF COMMONS †, OCTOBER 29TH, 1801.

LORD LOVAINE, in moving the address, said, he was fully impressed with the importance of the communication they had just received from the Throne. He did not doubt he should be joined by every one in heart-felt congratulations upon the happy events which had been formally announced, events which

* This debate was on the motion for an address, in answer to the King's speech; so much of it only is, therefore, taken as applies to the peace with France, to which subject the King had, in his speech (see Register, vol. i. p. 1.) adverted. The reader will see, in the first volume of the Register, an abridged account of all the debates during the session; but, on the important subject of the peace, it was thought necessary to give this more full and accurate account.

† This debate was on the address, in answer to the King's speech.

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consummated the glory of the British arms, secured the interests, maintained inviolate the honour, and bid fair to increase and consolidate the prosperity of the British empire. In contemplating the *happy conclusion of peace*, he saw every reason to hope for a still further increase of those blessings which had hitherto peculiarly distinguished this kingdom, calculated to meet every wish and desire of the people. In looking back upon those successes which had ultimately led, after a severe struggle, to *the happy event we were now called upon to celebrate*, there was every reason for the most unbounded exultation. Success had crowned his Majesty's arms, both by sea and land, in a long train of victories and triumphs; amongst which he could not sufficiently dwell upon the late glorious success of our arms in Egypt, which appeared to have immediately led to a pacification with the French republic. It would be of course irregular for him to enter into any detail relative to the terms of the peace with the French republic; but he did not doubt, when the preliminary treaty was laid before the House, it would be found that no material interest of the country had been neglected; but that, on the other hand, *every provision had been made which could be considered as necessary to the welfare of the kingdom, or expedient for its security.* He trusted it would be found to be a *glorious termination of the war.*

Mr. WODEHOUSE said, he felt confident in the approbation which, he doubted not, would be awarded to the address by the vote of the House. He joined with sincere congratulation in the general joy expressed upon the subject of a treaty of peace with France, *in which the security of the country was amply provided for, and its interest firmly maintained.* Every one must, he said, feel a considerable degree of *elation* at the *happy* and *glorious termination of a war* which was not begun for the purpose of gratifying the ambition, or extending the territories of Britain, but which she was compelled to commence and carry on during the long period in which we had been fated to continue it, for the purpose of preserving her honour and her interest, and the dearest rights of religion and independence; and which had been thus terminated by a treaty of peace; which, though it could not now be discussed in detail, would, he was convinced, be found adequate to every purpose of honour, of interest, and of security.

Mr. FOX rose, and in a few words expressed his most cordial concurrence in the address to his Majesty upon the happy and long-desired attainment of peace with France. It was an event on which he desired to express his sincerest joy and *exultation*—an event in which the people of England had the greatest cause to rejoice and *exult*; and, for the present, he felt it unnecessary to trespass on the attention of the House beyond this short but sincere expression of his sentiment on the event, and to declare his hearty assent in the address.

Mr. PITT next addressed the Chair: "I rise, Sir," said he, "to express my sincere satisfaction in being called upon, for almost the first time, to concur with the Hon. Gentleman in a vote of the House, which, from all present appearances, promises to be unanimous. I shall not now, Sir, enter at large on the subject of the pacification with the Northern Powers, nor on the preliminaries of peace with France; but when I come to state the grounds of my opinion relative to the Northern Convention, and to those preliminaries; when I come to state *my cordial approbation of them both*, perhaps it will be seen that they arise from considerations of a different nature from those which guide the vote and opinion of the Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox). I behold them, Sir, with *the most exalted satisfaction*; and, to whatever inferior criticisms either of them may be liable, I think that, on the whole, they afford matter of *great joy and exultation* to the country, and entitle the Government to its warmest approbation and most grateful thanks."

Mr. WINDHAM.—"Sir, it is a very painful task to me to declare my sentiments in opposition to those with whom I have long agreed. But as the address proposed to the House does not go to pledge us to any specific approbation of the measure of peace, it is not now my intention to enter into a consideration of the question of the terms; especially, as future opportunity will be presented, when I may state to the House those reasons upon which I found my disapprobation of them. It is not, therefore, my intention this day to give my negative to the proposed address, but to wait for the day of discussion, when I shall go more fully into the subject; at the same time wishing to be understood, that, in agreeing to the motion of to-day, I do not feel myself pledged to support any future motions upon the subject.—This point being secured, Sir, I should be inclined to leave my opinion, and the reasons which are to support it, to be stated in that debate which may be expected shortly to take place, if the declarations of opinions in favour of the peace did not seem to me to require similar declarations on the part of those who find themselves compelled to condemn it. Other reasons also make it necessary to say a word or two even in the present stage of the business. To dissent from any prevalent opinion, to be a solitary mourner in the midst of general rejoicing, to wear the face of sadness while the countenances of others glisten with joy; to be sunk in dejection and despondency, while others are animated with the most brilliant hopes, is to be in a state which every one must be anxious to explain, so far, at least, as to make known the general nature and character of such an extraordinary difference. The House has seen, and can perfectly under-

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stand that those who are united in feeling may, nevertheless, be perfectly opposite in *sentiment*. An instance, Sir, may be seen this very night: the Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox), and my Right Hon. Friend near me, both agree in rejoicing and exulting in the present peace, though, I presume, on reasons widely different. It is my fortune, on the other hand, Sir, to agree with the Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox) in his opinions, but to differ from him wholly in his feelings. I do think, with him, that this is a glorious peace for France; but I nevertheless do not agree in feeling either with that Hon. Gentleman or my Hon. Friends. This, Sir, may serve to explain the cause of that diversity which I unhappily find between my own opinions and those more generally prevalent in the country. If I have not partaken in the rejoicings, it is because I have not been able to convince myself that there are any real or solid causes for rejoicing: it is because I fear, that, before many years shall pass over our heads, this rejoicing will be turned into repentance and bitter sorrow: it is because I dread that the advantages which peace may bring will be transient and unsubstantial, and be followed, at no very distant period, by the commencement of endless calamity and ruin. I have seen all around me bonfires and illuminations; I have heard the joyous ringing of the bells. But, were they the signs of any real good? the effects of any well-founded national joy? or rather, were they not the lights that were to light up our sepulchre, and the knell which was tolling us to our graves? I cannot consent to appear in my wedding-garment, until I know whether the feast, to which I am invited, be really a wedding or a funeral. Sir, I speak in perfect plainness and sincerity, from the bottom of my heart, and with the solemnity of a death-bed declaration (a situation much resembling that in which we all stand), when I declare, that my Hon. Friends, who, in a moment of rashness and weakness, have fatally put their hands to this treaty, *have signed the death-warrant of their country*. They have given it a blow, under which it may languish for a few years, but from which I do not conceive how it is possible for it ever to recover. I feel how very unpleasant it is to deal in predictions, which I who make them most devoutly wish may never prove true. I know also the uncertainty of all human affairs, and am not profane enough to set bounds to the dispensations of Providence; but as far as any hope now appears, any hope which can be rationally acted upon, such as any man would venture to avow, I can see, though anxiously I look for it, no possible means of escape.—There is but one thing which could enable this country to counterbalance the power of France on the continent; and this is our navy, which depends upon our commerce and navigation, as these do upon our colonial possessions. On the other hand, there is but one thing wanting to them to make their empire universal as well by sea as by land; and that is, that they should have our commerce and navigation, and through that, a mean of re-establishing their marine; this is now given into the hands of France, and the consequence seems to me inevitable.—Only one thing more, Sir, I shall notice, which is drawn from me by what has fallen from the Hon. Mover or Seconder, and is, I believe, also to be found in the address. It is the calling of this an honourable peace. I would suggest to the Hon. Gentleman, and all who are to talk in future upon the subject, that the less is said of the honour of the thing the better.—It is besides highly impolitic in the Hon. Gentlemen in another view. They are undertaking more than they are required to do. Much as I think of national honour, esteeming it as I do the very life and soul of the politics of all great countries, I will, for the sake of argument, in the present case, lay it entirely out of the question. I will be content if the Hon. Gentleman will shew me, that this is a *safe* peace. Give me safety, and I will ask nothing more. If, however, my Honourable Friends were driven to it by *fatal necessity*, it must be a sufficient justification. Whether such imperious circumstances existed, we shall hear on the day of discussion. It will certainly be wrong to condemn it prematurely; I shall therefore wait patiently for that discussion, which will clear up the matter to the satisfaction of the House."

Mr. ADDINGTON.—"My Right Hon. Friend will pardon me if I decline going into the discussion of the subject more minutely than the question now before the House immediately requires. His Majesty, in his gracious speech, says nothing more of the preliminaries of peace than merely that copies of them shall be laid before Parliament for consideration. In the address moved by the Noble Lord, there is no such idea held out as that of pledging the House to any approbation of those preliminaries; and indeed it would savour much of presumption to call upon this House to pledge itself in the approval of any measure, before it had an opportunity of taking that measure into consideration. My Right Honourable Friend himself set out with acknowledging the address had no such tendency; and, therefore, he will acknowledge it is premature to anticipate, as he has done, any discussion upon the subject, when he can, at so early a day, have so much better an opportunity of discussing the preliminaries themselves.—My Right Honourable Friend says, that, in order to preserve the safety of our marine, and secure the extent of our commerce and navigation, we ought to have extended our colonial system by refusing to surrender our conquests in the war, *in order to counterbalance the power of France*. But to this I answer, that, *relinquishing what we had conquered was the only pledge for our security; and that it is in preserving our own constitution, and defending our own possessions, and not in the ex-*

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tension of our territories by conquest, that we hold the best sureties for our rights and the extension of our commerce.—My Right Honourable Friend, who, I did imagine, would have been the last to depreciate the finances and resources of his country, has suggested that which is not founded in fact, namely, that the accedence to the treaty of peace, on the part of England, was the result of necessity, and of a want of the means to continue the contest. But, Sir, I disclaim the motive so assigned by my Right Honourable Friend. *I disclaim being a party to any such plea; and I thus publicly declare, that, had it been found indispensably necessary to continue the contest, no deficiency whatever would have been found in the finances and resources of this country: and it would have been the grossest dereliction of my duty to have let such a suggestion pass uncontradicted.*—Many other subjects press on my mind, but I shall not trespass further on the attention of the House at this time; nor by an anticipation of topics that will come more properly for discussion at another day, interrupt the unanimity of this House upon the motion before you."

Mr. SHERIDAN.—"I feel no inclination whatever, Sir, by now rising, to oppose the general wish of the House, to deprecate all discussion of the preliminaries of peace, and to wait till that period when an opportunity will be given to all regularly to enter on the subject. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Windham) who spoke lately from the other side of the House, having stated his unwillingness to enter at present on this discussion, it was not without considerable surprise that I heard him enter so far into that very discussion which he set out with deprecating. I shall certainly vote for the address which has now been moved, because it was not, as usual on such occasions, an exact echo of the speech from the Throne. There were words, Sir, in the speech which, in my opinion, much to the honour of those who moved and seconded the address, are wholly omitted. The speech contained distinctions and characters of the peace, which, if they had been re-echoed in the address, I, for one, have no hesitation in saying, that it could not possibly have received my support. As to the address as it now stands, it does not appear liable to any great objection, and I have no wish to disturb the unanimity of our vote. Notwithstanding the unanimity, however, with which this address is passed, I sincerely believe, Sir, that if this were the time for men to deliver their opinions, if this were the moment when they were to speak out their real thoughts, there never was a period of less real unanimity.—*(A loud laugh.)* The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) has spoken of the peace in terms to which I can by no means agree. *I differ from him in every expression by which he characterized the peace as glorious and honourable.* Still more do I differ from those who contend that it was inexpedient to make peace at all. This, Sir, is a peace which every man is glad of, but no man can be proud of. *(A loud cry of Hear! hear!)* It is a peace *involving a degradation of the national dignity, which no truly English heart can feel with indifference.*"

EARL TEMPLE, agreeing in the general sentiment of waving all discussion of the terms of the peace, expressed his intention to give the address his decided support. He rose only on the present occasion to state to the House that in giving this support, he wished it to be understood that he gave not the smallest pledge of his support of the measure of peace, for he had no difficulty in saying that this was *a measure which he could not possibly approve.*

Mr. JAMES MARTIN expressed his *sincere pleasure at the peace.*

HOUSE OF LORDS*, NOVEMBER 3D, 1801.

LORD ROMNEY rose to move an address, expressing an approbation of the peace, and delivered a prefatory speech, in which, after taking a view of the war, compared with the two former wars, he proceeded as follows:—The treaty before the House secured all the important objects for which the war had been carried on. The settlements of Ceylon and Trinidad, which we retained, are of very considerable importance; the first, both from productiveness and situation, and the second from productiveness and capability of improvement. Besides, in India we have gained signal victories, combining acquisition with security. We have conquered the Mysore, and entirely destroyed the principal friend of France, and the principal enemy of the British name, who, with his father Hyder Ally, has been always either secretly or openly forming projects hostile to England. We have also procured restitution to the allies who continued to adhere to us. We have driven from the Turkish dominions an enemy who had seized the most valuable part of the Sultan's territories, and the granary of his metropolis. To our allies, indeed, during the war, *we behaved with magnanimous liberality.* We supported them as long as our support could render them any useful assistance: when fidelity to us was no longer beneficial to themselves, we released them from their engagements. France had, no doubt, obtained very great addition to her territories, far surpassing any conquests Louis XIV. had achieved, projected, or even conceived possible. But the conquests of France were not the fault of Britain: we could not prevent its gigantic efforts on the continent. If we were to send *five hundred thousand men*

* This debate was on a motion for an address to the Throne, approving of the preliminary treaty.

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to attempt the recovery of the conquests of France on the continent, we should not be able to accomplish our aim. Were we to persevere in a hopeless contest? Our loyal and patriotic country had, with most meritorious firmness and patience, borne all the enormous burdens of this extraordinary war, while they reckoned them necessary for their ultimate security; but when that was once attained, were we wantonly to lavish away our resources, and increase burdens already so grievous? Should we, for an island more or less, not necessary to our security, or the object of the war, go on accumulating debt and aggravating taxes? Among the various classes of spirited and liberal supporters of the war, all severely pressed by its expense, were the country gentlemen, who, having a fixed income, find their means of obtaining the conveniences of life, suitable to their rank in society, much diminished by the increase of prices and of taxes? These, and all others who have been hard pressed by the war, and so cheerfully undergone every difficulty, ought not to be pressed when it is no longer necessary, *when the objects of the contest are obtained.* It has been objected, *that peace cannot be lasting. One great security for its permanence is the interest of both Britain and France.* Both countries have immense capabilities, which in improving to the utmost extent, they may be so far from hurting each other, that they may reciprocally promote their highest commercial interests. It appears, my Lords, to me, that the treaty, of which the preliminaries are concluded, ensures to Britain *security;* and, as far as the uncertainty of all human actions admits, promises *a permanent peace.* I think it our duty to return thanks to his Majesty, and to express our approbation of the treaty." His Lordship concluded with reading his motion for the address.

Lord Viscount Limerick, who seconded the address, said, that in his estimation the preliminaries were most *opportunely* concluded; their tenour was advantageous, and the *whole proceeding highly honourable to the national character!!!!!!* Let the present situation of this country be compared even with that in which she stood *at the last peace,* and the comparison, he averred, would *decidedly be in favour of her present circumstances.* On the former occasion, our finest colonies were rent from the bosom of the parent state. Island after island, and fortress after fortress, were shamefully ceded to the enemy: *that peace was deservedly reprobated by all.* The ministry of that day were prevented from perfecting what they had well begun, being driven from their seats by an unexpected and unnatural coalition. He hoped nothing of that sort, no paltry coalition, would take place in the present day. Recurring to the regular subject, his Lordship repeated, let the situation of the country now be considered, and the contrast marked; see the conduct of Britain and her *successful interference with respect to her allies, Turkey and Portugal.* He believed in regard to those, all that could, had been done. With respect to our late ally, the Prince of Orange, for the interest of whose country and house the war was partly undertaken, his present situation could not fairly be imputed to Britain; the fault lay elsewhere.

Earl Spencer. "My Lords, I know not that I have ever had a more painful duty to discharge, than that in pursuance of which I now offer myself to the attention of your Lordships. It is painful to me not to be able to give my approbation to peace, the ultimate object to the happy attainment of which, for my country, all my endeavours have been, for a series of years, most earnestly directed. It is doubly painful to me to think that my sentiments, my arguments, and whatever impression I shall be able to make on the minds of your Lordships in this address, must be at variance with those of Noble Lords with whom I have so long acted, and whose abilities and virtues I have found so much reason to esteem. The Noble Lord who has just sat down, talked in a tone of triumph of what we have done by this preliminary treaty for our allies. But, my Lords, was it to be supposed that, after the efforts we, and we alone, made to support the Ottoman throne, we should have seen the Turks reduced, by our fault, to a condition in which they bestow even no commercial advantages on us, their deliverers, *but such as must be equally shared with the French, their destroyers?* That the French withdraw their forces from the Neapolitan and Roman states, when these forces are no longer wanted, to be shipped for reinforcements to Egypt, is but a small concession, and a concession which they may retract almost as soon as they shall have executed it. And is it for such gains to our allies that Malta is sacrificed; the Portuguese empire is mutilated; all our acquisitions in the Mediterranean are abandoned? The Noble Lord who seconded the motion, was pleased to speak of the Prince of Orange, as if the misfortunes which left him, in his attachment to our cause, in the condition of an exile without dominions, as if those misfortunes had deprived him of all right to be treated by us with the regard due to an ally. And is this the faith of governments and of princes? are such the dictates of common amity or of public prudence? Is the honour of Englishmen so debased, that they can endure a principle to be uttered with approbation in this august assembly which would have been reprobated with horror even by an Athenian rabble? It might be impossible to compel France and Holland to restore the Prince of Orange to his former dignities and possessions in the Dutch republic; but was there no mean of procuring compensation for his losses? Was he to be treated as if not our ally, merely because his means of serving us were exhausted?

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Oh, shame!—In India what have we done? We retain Ceylon, it is true: but how much do we not, without equivalent, restore? We give the French again a footing on the Indian continent. We restore, in Pondicherry, a place which, by its contiguity to Trincomalé and Madras, cannot but soon become very valuable to them, and very mischievous to us. But we restore also Cochin, on the Malabar coast, a place of so much strength, and so commodious, that the French may soon fill it with troops to annihilate our power in India, and may, from it, carry on a train of intrigues to raise up enemies against us among all the native powers.—It was to confirm the British power, that, in former attempts at negotiation between this country and France, our retaining the Cape was made a primary and indispensable article. Grant that it may be in all other respects of small value; yet, affording a harbour and a place of refreshment on the passage, as capable of becoming a formidable engine in the hand of an enemy, as useful for the refreshment of troops, if not for delay in mercantile voyages, it was certainly of the utmost consequence to be retained by us. It is, in effect, surrendered; and the Cape and Cochin are the keys which we have put into an enemy's hands, in order to the utter destruction of our power in India. In South America, it was not enough to surrender without equivalent, the settlements of Surinam, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, and Curaçoa, but we must sanction a cession of territory on the part of Portugal, by which France must become ultimately mistress of the Brazils. In the West Indies, how many dearly earned possessions are given up for nought! And how have we chosen to preserve precisely the rudest and the least enriched by culture of all the isles we had conquered? Why, my Lords, we have put into the hands of France every means she could desire, in order to rival our naval greatness. *We have given, without equivalent, those conquests with which we should have purchased the restoration of the balance of power on the continent of Europe;* we have deprived ourselves of these new resources for the increase of our trade, and the aggrandizement of our navy, which the war bestowed; and is it for the preliminaries which bind us to all this, that the Noble Lords propose an address of thanks? Let it never be said, *indemnity, security*, were the objects for which we persisted in the war. Where are they? where are now our means to obtain them? Is not the triumph of Jacobinism consummated in this extension of the territories and the power of France? in France's doing every thing for her allies, while for ours we can do nothing? For these and other reasons, my Lords, I must, with whatever reluctance, oppose the motion."

The Duke of Clarence reviewed the train of the war in the operations of the British land forces; rapidly enumerated our successes at sea; explained the advantages of Ceylon and Trinidad, on account of particular harbours, capacious and little known, which they contained; stated that we had done for our allies whatever circumstances would allow; affirmed that Jacobinism was destroyed; and asserted Britain to be still in a relative situation to defend her own liberties and those of Europe.

Lord Pelham, after a high compliment to his noble friend (Earl Spencer), and lamenting the difference between them, entered into a detailed justification of the terms of peace; in doing which he examined the two negotiations that took place at Paris and Lisle, in 1796 and 1797. The first negotiation had broken off, in his mind, properly by the French refusing to agree that we should treat conjointly for ourselves and our allies. In 1797 the situation resembled more that in which the present was made; and he wished to compare the projet which Ministers then gave in, with the preliminaries which his Majesty's present servants had obtained. The Noble Lord just stated the relative situations of the parties at the two epochs, and then said, that as some of the ministers of that day were the most pointed in their disapprobation of the terms now obtained, it was fair to see how far they differed from what they were themselves willing to grant. In the projet of 1797 the Cape of Good Hope, as well as Ceylon and Trinidad, were to be retained. In 1801 the Cape was only to be a free port. Was there such a difference in this as to justify the continuance of war upon account of it? But the difference of our conduct to our allies was an argument. No mention was made in the preliminaries of the Prince of Orange. It certainly was not in our power, by the continuance of war, to replace the Prince of Orange in his power. The turn of events, and the revolution in his country, made it impossible; but the opportunity was not lost of treating for that unfortunate Prince, and the Noble Lord had assured the House that the opportunity would not be neglected. The Prince had a just expectation and confidence in the love and fidelity of his Majesty, whose gracious wishes would be seconded with zeal and promptitude by his ministers. It had been said that Egypt had not been saved to the Porte by treaty, but by conquest. It was immaterial to the discussion by which of the two the integrity of Turkey had been obtained—the fact was so. Naples, at present occupied by the armies of France, was to be restored to its legitimate sovereign; and Malta was to be available to neither of the contracting parties. With respect to the treaties respecting Portugal, when he considered how freely the speeches of Noble Lords were published through newspapers, he must abstain from entering into the particulars at this critical and unseasonable time; he would only say, that Portugal would retain every thing which in reason could be useful to her,

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and would make no sacrifice that could be injurious: she was essentially protected. With respect to the West India islands, he would entreat Noble Lords to say whether any one island, or all of them together, would have been worth the calamity of continuing the struggle, by which the two nations were to exhaust one another, or rather each to exhaust itself? In the East, the overthrow of Tippoo had secured our possessions against all annoyance. We owed his extinction to the war, since it was by the intercepted correspondence we had discovered his intrigues. Ceylon and Trinidad were great and important acquisitions. And was it no conquest to have subdued the erroneous opinions prevalent in England and Ireland, and to have rescued them from the infatuation of French principles? He concluded with trusting that the peace would be found to be substantially advantageous and safe for the country.

Lord Westmeath was fully persuaded that we had obtained the securities of peace: we had consequently established on the firmest basis, those essential qualities which were nearest to his heart, viz. the prosperity and happiness of Great Britain. By the blessings of peace we might *restore trade, improve agriculture*, and *strengthen our constitution*, which had always been the envy of the world. We had also an opportunity of checking the restless ambition of a few factious men, who take a pleasure in disturbing the peace and happiness of mankind. *The time of trouble was now past*, and things would be restored to their *former prosperity and vigour*. Our system of government, instead of being the sport or attack of mad theorists, who wished to overturn the glorious fabric of our ancestors, would, as hitherto, become the admiration of the world, the envy of the universe! By the peace which the Ministers had attained, we might return *to objects of industry and the blessings of peace*. Ireland, instead of being a clog and mill-stone about the neck of Great Britain, would prove an inestimable jewel, and one of the most opulent and important parts of the British dominions. He would, *therefore*, give his hearty support to the motion!!!!!!!!

Lord Grenville, in a speech of great length, and pregnant with argument, entered into the examination of the terms, and into the reasoning of the Noble Secretary, and particularly engaged the attention of the House. We lament that we can only give a mere outline of his train of reasoning.—It would have filled his heart with joy, and covered with cheerfulness the remainder of a life, the best part of which had been devoted to the struggle which was just terminated, if the objects for which we struggled had been obtained; he would not have said a word, if even expediency, much less necessity, could account for the terms; or if it were a question, whether this treaty, because degrading, was or was not to be executed? he would be silent; because, although bad, and perhaps unsafe, God forbid that the national faith, once plighted by the Sovereign, should be violated! He was convinced that it would not be productive of advantage, but the contrary; that it would not redound to the national character, but to humiliation, and even degradation. The rest of this treaty was a question of terms; and it must be inquired on what basis the negotiation was carried on. The status quo ante bellum was not applicable to the two parties, nor practicable in the case. The basis of the uti possidetis was the ground; and every departure from that basis must be severely examined. To enable the House to do this, they must examine the condition and relative state of the two countries. The Noble Lord in this examination made ours a brilliant state, and such as entitled us to high terms in every quarter of the world. France had acquired inordinate power on the continent of Europe; but every where we had made also brilliant acquisitions; Egypt, Malta, Minorca, Porto Ferrajo, all the keys of the Mediterranean, were ours: in the West Indies, every thing that was valuable, except St. Domingo and Guadaloupe. In South America we had an empire, an empire equal in value to the mother-country, Surinam, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice. What a source of power and wealth! In the East Indies also we had every thing without the possibility of a rival; and all these we were entitled to bring forward either as equivalents for which the French should surrender their acquisitions in Europe, or which should serve as a counterbalance to their increased power. But the Noble Lord chose to treat the question by the argument ad hominem. This was not a dignified course. He would have disdained such a defence; but he would meet him on it. He would shew that in infinitely better circumstances, they had made terms infinitely worse. At that time the people of England were dejected and depressed. The stoppage of the Bank; the falling off of our allies; the mutiny in the fleet; the tumults at home, all tended to lower the tone, and paralyse the strength of the nation: but even the terms proposed were comparatively more advantageous. The Cape, as well as Ceylon, was secured. The Cape, whatever it may be to your commerce, is essential to you as a military post in war. Your recruits, if sent from Portsmouth to Trincomalé without a rest, would be recruits for the hospitals, not for the field. In the projet of 1797, nothing was to be conceded for the allies of Britain. For Portugal there were stipulations safe and intelligible; she was neither to pay in territory, in commerce, or in money. For the Prince of Orange there was a stipulation for full and complete indemnity, as well as for those attached to him. The Noble Lord said, this might be negotiated for yet; but why

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leave it to chance? From the bottom of his soul he regretted more the loss of honour in the abandonment of that unfortunate Prince, than in the loss of territory. We owed to his attachment, and to the orders which he gave, the capture of many of those settlements which were now delivered up. He had trusted to a nation that had betrayed him. He alluded again to the limited guarantee of the integrity of Portugal, and said that he understood the surrender of the post at the mouth of the river of the Amazons, as most important to them. He knew they viewed it as a most delicate and critical position. To us it was likely to be materially injurious in the hands of France. It may open to the republic the possession of the Brazils; it will give them another military station, which may be most injurious to our possessions in India. They were told of the destruction of Tippoo by the vigour of Lord Wellesley; but still our dominion in the East was to be annoyed and exposed by the surrender of Cochin and Pondicherry. They had no plea to demand Cochin. Driven totally from India, they could ask for it only as a point d'appui for annoyance. We might as well have asked for the garrison towns of the Netherlands. It would afford them the means of a dangerous diversion, whenever they should stir up the Northern Powers of India against us. It left us for ever dependant on their good faith, on the good faith of France! In the West Indies he conceived that the certain resources and produce of Martinique are infinitely more valuable than the mere speculation about Trinidad. He found it was already the opinion of the West India gentlemen, that the cessions there would make a much greater force necessary to the protection of Jamaica and our other islands; so that the peace would not tend to diminish, but increase our danger. In the Mediterranean every thing was possessed, and every thing, he said, was surrendered. Malta, which was impregnable while our sailors and soldiers remained the same as they now are, is to be put into a third hand. He would not inquire what hand; but he might suppose it to be a power with whom we might hereafter have questions to settle, and to whom the possession of this post might be most hostile to us. In these preliminaries much was wanting of what was yet to be settled; a great fault; for by this we had, before the definitive treaty, all the evils of a naval armistice. Our blockade of their ports was taken off. They might procure supplies; they might distribute their forces; and if they refused to adjust points of great importance, we were disarmed. We could have no hope of bettering the articles. There were many points omitted, or stated darkly. The Newfoundland fishery, so beneficial to us, was to be new regulated, which must be beneficial to them, because every thing about it was in our favour before. With respect to Naples, the French troops were to evacuate the territory; but what stipulation for not returning? they might withdraw for exactly three days; that is, to their Cisalpine republic, which is just sixty miles from Naples, and upon any pretext march their 40,000 troops back in three days to resume their station; upon which a memorial would, no doubt, be presented to the British court, full of complaints against the treachery of the Neapolitans. Whether, after telling us that it was not worth while to continue the war on other grounds, they would renew it for this aggression, he could not tell; but this was not an impossible case. The Noble Lord on the woolsack had said, that this day it was a question only of cessions of territory to France: in his opinion we had ceded fully as much commerce as territory. He held a paper in his hand to shew, that by this treaty we had ceded more territory, and infinitely more valuable, beyond all calculation, than when we ceded the thirteen colonies of America by the peace of 1782. We were told, we could have made no more impression on France by continuing the war. What further impression could she make on us? *If the threat of invasion terrified us into peace, France will always have it in her hands with tenfold more power, as it will come from so many more points. You cannot reckon on the probability of peace for any long period.* Under the monarchy of France, we never could calculate for more than ten years of repose: but you have to dread also the principles and the tenets of revolutionized France, dignified by success. There was not a Jacobin who did not rejoice in this peace, and they would soon feel the danger of the lustre which this peace gave to these tenets. There was one paragraph in the King's speech which on this account he applauded, namely, that in which there was mention of increased military establishments and increased expense. There must be so to a very great degree indeed, and increased vigour of every sort, for nothing else could give us a chance for salvation from the impolicy of this peace. They should have his support in all such measures; not a hollow and a hostile support, but cordial and earnest. Firmness and vigour alone could save us, not only in our measures against the treason of foreigners, but against the sedition of subjects. In this spirit alone they ought to look their situation in the face. By improper concessions, the outworks of the constitution had been given up; but still it might be possible by vigour and exertion to shew that there were men determined to defend to the last the main body of the citadel.

The LORD CHANCELLOR entered into a defence of the peace, in reply to the arguments that had fallen from the last Noble Lord. He was firmly persuaded that the war had been carried on until it became hopeless to proceed any further. The parliamentary character of the war was this: it was undertaken to guard the country against the effect of principles and

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practices which had been propagated and carried on by persons combined together for the very purpose of overturning the constitution. With this object in view, the war was attended with success, because those principles no longer existed to any extent that could be attended with danger. In advising his Majesty to make peace, he would perish sooner than he would sacrifice any of the essential interests of his country; but when he said that, he must not be understood to vapour in praise of the peace, *as if it was a very honourable one.* His principal object had been the attainment of a *secure and lasting peace.* The Noble Lord's observations with regard to Portugal were not well founded; and, whatever consequences might arise from the new arrangements with regard to her American territory, it was an evil which could bear no proportion to that of continuing the war. He would not continue the war with a view of getting rid of the war. There were many things which he might have thought necessary to be insisted upon, but which circumstances prevented him from doing. He thought the circumstances under which this country had entered into the war, might have imposed upon him a necessity of requiring that a competent provision should be made for the illustrious House of Orange; but he did not in his conscience think he would have been justified in hazarding the success of the treaty by insisting on such a condition; and therefore thought it would be wiser to leave it as a subject for future arrangement. With regard to what fell from the Noble Lord, as to the importance of the Cape of Good Hope, he confessed he had himself heard seamen and statesmen say, that it was a place of the first consequence. So far as it served for a harbour to our shipping on their voyage to India, it was of some consequence. This advantage was still to continue; but he would ask, on what grounds could the cession of this port be a matter of regret? Was it because the place had been fed at a most enormous expense, *from which this country was now* HAPPILY *relieved?* He would not then say any thing about the value of this place as a free port; but if we had no other object in carrying on the war, than that of determining whether *a certain point of land, at the extremity of Africa,* was to belong to Great Britain or to Holland; and considering, at the same time, that *since this place got into our possession, no less a sum than one hundred and twenty-five millions had been spent,* and that another year would take away thirty millions more, *without this country being one whit nearer the object in view,* he had no hesitation in declaring which course he should pursue. The Noble Lord had found fault with the cession of territory, and a port that had been made in the Mediterranean; and asked, what was to become of our fleets that were sailing in that sea? What would the Noble Lord have said on this subject, had he consented to make peace in 1797, when neither Malta nor Minorca were in our possession? If he conceived the occupation of them on the part of Great Britain as necessary to the security of this country, how could he have supposed it possible for England to make a secure peace when we did not possess those islands? As to Minorca, he did not think the occupation of it at all necessary to our security: and as to Malta, if we considered the facility with which it became an easy acquisition to France, it must appear that our security with regard to that port must be increased with the difficulty of the French being able to take possession of it again, while under the guarantee of a third power. *With respect, therefore, to Malta, we were evidently in a better situation than we would have been, had peace been concluded in 1797!!!!!!* As to our ships in the Mediterranean, if they had nothing else to do but to sail round that ocean, he thought it by no means an useful employment. There was no use in keeping a naval station there, if we could not command the commerce of that sea, particularly so, if the French had taken possession of Naples and Portugal, as they might have done. As to the West India islands, he could assure their Lordships, that if he could have got Martinique, he would have retained it for this country in preference to Trinidad. If, therefore, it had not been in his power to have obtained what he liked best, what alternative was there? *Nothing but that of spending thirty millions more, in order that he might be able to ask himself that day twelvemonths how many more years were to pass away before peace could be made!!!!* If any Noble Lord maintained that peace ought to be rejected, when proposed on the terms of the treaty then before the House, he would ask him, on what terms such Noble Lord would consent to a peace? He knew there were some Members in both Houses, who thought it necessary to go on with the war until the ancient monarchy of France should be restored. He would not then enter into the question how far that was a desirable object; but let it be ever so desirable, he would ask how it could be done? If the present government of France was an evil, how was it to be removed? It could not be done without a great coalition of the European powers; and even when the combination did exist, it was able to effect nothing. If, on the other hand, he had said he would not agree to a peace unless France restored all the territory it had seized on the continent of Europe, and France refused to comply, *he should, by holding out on that point, consider himself as guilty of a criminal waste of the blood and treasure of his countrymen.*

LORD RAWDON (EARL of MOIRA) said, that a peace at any price was become absolutely necessary; that the peace was a hollow and precarious peace, as a Noble Lord had termed it, inadequate to what, in our present situation, we were entitled to expect, *he could not*

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admit. In order to decide upon this point, it was necessary to examine the relative situations of the French republic and Great Britain; and here he must take notice of an implication drawn from a metaphor made use of by the Noble Secretary of State (Lord Pelham), which was not warranted by the metaphor. That Noble Lord had compared the two countries to two parallel lines, which ran even together; but the fact was, there was nothing like a parallel in their two comparative situations or characters. France was an extensive continental power, and the maintenance of her greatness depended altogether on her army. Great Britain was an insular and a maritime state, and her security rested on her navy. Looking at the acquisitions and conquests of each country, glorious as our victories confessedly had been by sea and land, and especially in the last brilliant campaign, owing to the unparalleled valour, intrepidity, and skill of our brave officers and commanders in both services, and the undaunted firmness and courage of our seamen and soldiers, Great Britain stood in a state of *inferiority* in point of *strength* and aggrandizement compared to the French republic. To ascertain, therefore, the value of the cessions that it appeared, from the preliminaries on the table, Ministers had made to the French republic for the purchase of peace, and to see whether they were necessary sacrifices or not, let Noble Lords weigh our acquisitions against the acquisitions of the republic. Were all the islands we had taken in the West Indies equally important with the acquisition of Savoy? Undoubtedly not; and yet Savoy was only a part of the immense territories which the army of France had conquered, and which the French government had united to its ancient possessions, and made part of its dominions. To negotiate a peace with any prospect of effecting it, Ministers must necessarily accommodate the terms according to the relative situations of the two countries, and a precise reciprocity of cession on a pertinacious contest for the uti possidetis, was out of the question where *a weaker power had to treat with a stronger*. The reasoning of the Noble Lord, as his Noble and Learned Friend had so well observed, would not only serve to make any early peace impracticable, but to render the attainment of peace hopeless at any period, however distant. He, for one, his Lordship said, rejoiced sincerely that peace was effected; he gave Ministers credit for having made the best peace which, under the existing circumstances, they were able to obtain, and it should have his cordial support.

The EARL of WARWICK expressed his satisfaction that the country had been restored to peace, because he knew that it was highly necessary to put an end to the difficulty and distress that all ranks felt, but especially the labouring class of the people, who by their labour could barely obtain a subsistence. At the same time he must confess that the preliminaries appeared to him by no means adequate to the expectations that the glorious successes of the country entitled us to entertain. But what he most regretted was, that it did not appear that we had been able to keep our faith with our allies, or to obtain the smallest pledge of security for the *permanency and safety of the peace*.

LORD MULGRAVE said, he had risen to have addressed their Lordships before the Noble and Learned Lord had left the woolsack, but he rejoiced that he had given way as the Noble and Learned Lord had *in fact* anticipated most of the arguments which he *meant to have offered*; he should not, therefore, have to intrude many observations on their Lordships. No Noble Lord, he thought, who had yet spoken, had hinted a doubt that the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon were possessions of infinite value to our commerce, and our power as a maritime state: there remained only therefore to consider the cessions we had made to the French republic. It could not be expected that we were to hold all our acquisitions in the West Indies when peace was negotiated. With regard to Minorca, experience shewed, that, though of no intrinsic value, it would always be in the possession of a state most powerful at sea. In the war of 1754, the French conquered it, and took possession. In the war of 1778, they took it, but ceded it at the peace of 1783. In the present war we had again taken it, and in the present preliminaries we had again ceded it. Neither that, however, nor the island of Malta, were of material consequence to us but in time of war. With regard to Cochin, the holding of it was important or not, according to circumstances. While we were masters of the Mysore country, Cochin might remain in the possession of any other power, without the least danger to us. The Mysore in hostile hands, Cochin would be of infinite importance to us. Much had been said by his Noble Friend about the Cape of Good Hope, and had laid great stress upon its value. Though he had never seen the Cape himself, yet he had heard from professional men, *that it had been greatly overrated in this country; that it was an expensive, unproductive settlement, and that it was to be maintained ever since we obtained possession of it, at an enormous expense to this country*. Let their Lordships conjecture what his surprise must have been, when he heard his Noble and Right Hon. Friend of his (Mr. Dundas) had declared in another place, that if a man should be found bold enough to dare to propose the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope, he ought to lose his head.—Speaking of the army in Egypt, he said, that their conduct there alone would entitle them to immortal fame, and those that have outlived the

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of Alexandria, might say with our Henry V. in Shakespeare's words, speaking of the battle of Agincourt,

"He that shall live this day, and come safe home,
"Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,
"And rouse him at the name of Crispian:
"He that shall live this day, and see old age,
"Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
"And say, To-morrow is St. Crispian."

The DUKE of BEDFORD said, he came to the House with a thorough conviction that the preliminaries of peace were entitled to his support, and therefore should vote for the address.

The BISHOP of ROCHESTER said, he could not agree to the motion that had been made. He was aware how awkward it was for him to rise from the bench on which he sat, to appear to be the enemy of peace, since it became those of his profession, preachers of the Gospel of Christ, to recommend concord and harmony among men. He was not the enemy to *peace*, but he was an enemy to the *semblance*, the *counterfeit*, and the *pretence* of peace, which contained in it *the germs of future war*, and possibly *ruin and destruction to this country*. The preliminaries on the table he considered to be a mere semblance, a counterfeit, and a pretence, of the description he had just stated. He should be heartily glad to have given his support to a peace that was *honourable* and *advantageous* to this country, and *likely to be safe and permanent*. His Lordship joined in asserting, that good faith with our allies, especially Portugal, had not been adhered to, and concurred with every part of the argument which had, he said, been so ably urged by his Noble Friend (Lord Grenville), and to the great points of which, he denied that any thing like an answer had been given. The Bishop condemned the mode of defending the preliminaries, by considering the value and importance of the island of Malta separately, or that of Minorca and the other cessions: to judge of the merit or demerit of the cessions, the whole must be regarded collectively. Was it right to yield the entire sovereignty of the Mediterranean to the enemy; to open a door to them in India, to yield up the Cape, and give them back their islands in the West Indies, which they considered as the more valuable, from having been cultivated by British industry and British capital? Look at all this mass of cession, and weigh it against the advantages of *a precarious and hollow truce*, and then the House would be able to decide with judgment and exactness. Having exposed the country to so much danger, he hoped the King's Servants would meet it with vigorous measures; and above all, that they would not rescind those salutary statutes that had preserved peace and tranquillity, and kept down the factious and seditious, the repeal of which had been much hinted at by Noble Lords on the other side of the House. He said, he would not at that late hour fatigue himself, and tire the patience of the House, by going into the full detail that he came down prepared to go into on the subject; indeed, the clear and comprehensive manner in which his Noble Friends, the Noble Earl in the blue riband, and the Noble Lord near him, had treated every part of the subject, precluded the necessity of his doing so. Before he sat down, his Lordship said, he must declare, upon his honour, that these were his genuine sentiments respecting the preliminaries, and that he never had delivered them before. He said this, because he had learned that he was suspected of having written *some letters which had appeared in the newspapers, on the subject*. He highly approved of many of the sentiments and opinions contained in those letters, but he neither wrote them, nor was privy to the writing of them *.

The BISHOP of LONDON said, he would detain the House for a few minutes only, being anxious to be heard, lest their Lordships should be led to conclude *that all the Reverend Bench were of the same opinion*, with regard to the preliminaries of peace, with the Right Reverend Prelate who had just sat down. He was satisfied with the peace, BECAUSE [*because*] after *nine years war*, and *two of famine*, in which the people had suffered such severe distress, *repose was absolutely necessary to the country to recover its resources, and renovate its strength*. NOT *that he thought our resources were exhausted, or would not be adequate to a continuance of the war, had such a circumstance unfortunately been necessary!!!!!!!* but that he thought was not the case, because we appeared to have carried our successful arms by sea and land, to every quarter of the globe in which the French republic was vulnerable. It would, *therefore*, be an useless waste of money and blood to continue the war *without an object*. For *these* REASONS the Bishop said, he would give the address his cordial support.

EARL FITZWILLIAM said, after the sentiments respecting the war which he had repeatedly delivered in that House, he could by no means consent to give a silent vote on the present occasion; but at that late hour he would endeavour to compress his observations as much as possible. It had, his Lordship said, been imputed to him, that he was unwilling to agree to any peace made with republican France; but that was not his sentiment. There might be conditions of peace to which he could readily agree to give his support, but they must be widely different from those upon the table. He could not but regard the peace that Ministers had made, in the same light in which it had been viewed by the Noble Lord who sat near him (Lord Grenville), viz. that of *a bol-*

* Mr. Cobbett's Letters on the Peace, the last of which was published on the 3d of November.

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low and precarious truce, that carried with it no symptoms of security or permanency. His Lordship proceeded to argue in support of this assertion at considerable length, according with the Noble Lord near him in most of the observations he had made, which had not been answered, although so many Noble Lords had spoken in praise of the preliminaries under consideration. He rested much of his reasoning on the terms of the projet tendered at Lisle in 1797, contending that they were more favourable to Great Britain, considering the then relative situation of the two countries, than the conditions that had now been obtained, which were disgraceful and humiliating in the extreme; and *the exultation which the people in general had manifested on first hearing that peace was made, had appeared to him to be extremely suspicious, and to have been the effect of momentary delusion, which would vanish as soon as the people should return to their reason, and calmly reflect on the importance of the cessions and sacrifices that we had made, and the comparative insignificance of the cessions of the French republic.*

The EARL of WESTMORELAND said, the peace, such as it was, was a desirable one for Great Britain, and that it had been made at a happy moment. He concluded with declaring that he would give his vote for the addreſs.

EARL ST. VINCENT said, the preliminaries, he was convinced, were equally honourable and advantageous to this country; and the share he had *the honour* to have had in advising them being acceded to, *he should ever consider as the pride of his life.* By the peace, the preliminaries of which were under consideration, we had obtained two of the most valuable islands in the whole habitable globe, considered either in a political or a commercial view. On many other accounts, which he would not at that late hour attempt to detail, the peace was a fit subject of *exultation*, and not of sorrow and regret.

LORD NELSON rose to speak a few words respecting a point or two, in regard to which no one of their Lordships could, perhaps, speak with more information than himself. And first, with regard to Minorca, an island of little value to us, as at too great a distance from Toulon to serve as a station to watch the fleets of France that put to sea from that port. To speak next of Malta; when the Noble Earl sent him down, the Mediterranean was in the hands of the French; and on his return from the battle of Aboukir, he thought it his first object to blockade it, because he deemed it an invaluable piece of service to rescue it from the hands of the French. In any other point of view, he could assure their Lordships that Malta was of no sort of consequence to this country. It was true it contained a most extensive and commodious harbour, with a strong fortification, which would at least require 7000 soldiers to man the works. By the preliminaries, that was to be put into the possession of a third power; and he repeated it, that in any hands but those of the French it became immaterial to us. With regard to another point, the Cape of Good Hope, when the Indiamen were heavy ships, it might have been found useful for them to touch there and refit; but now, since the India ships were coppered like our men of war, and swift sailers, it frequently happened that they sailed out to India without touching at any port whatever. He had himself been there, and he considered it *merely a tavern on the passage*, which served to call at, and thence often to delay the voyage. While the Dutch held it, you could buy a cabbage there for twopence, but since it had been in our hands a shilling was obliged to be paid for a cabbage. It produced little that made it worth holding, and it could not be maintained but at an enormous expense; he therefore thought, that, considering the present situation of our territories in India, *his Majesty's Ministers had acted with* PRUDENCE *and economy in giving up the Cape*, and making it a free port.

The MARQUIS of BUCKINGHAM expressed the pain he felt at being obliged not to give a silent vote, but at that late hour of the night to have occasion to rise. He would, however, be as short as possible, and forbear entering into that detail, which, had he risen earlier in the day, he should have felt it his duty to go into. He lamented sincerely that he could not give his consent to the preliminaries on the table, because he thought them highly humiliating and disgraceful to this country. In the first place he held them to be dishonourable, inasmuch as they did not keep faith with our allies, but left them exposed and unprotected. Portugal in particular was most shamefully abandoned; and he could assure the House that the treaty with France, of which they had heard and seen so much, that there could be no doubt of its authenticity, although they had it not parliamentarily on their table, had been ratified since the 1st of October, the day on which the preliminaries were signed. By that treaty with France, this country was all but excluded altogether from her former commercial intercourse with Portugal; and if it were true that the cloths of France were to be received as those of the most favoured nation, our manufacturers of woollen cloth would soon taste the bitter fruits of this peace, for they would not easily forget that Portugal, if not now our greatest customer for our woollen cloths, was certainly our oldest customer. So much, therefore, for the good faith of the peace. With regard to the security of the peace, there was nothing stipulated, but we were left to depend solely for its security on the bare word and honour of the person now holding the government of the French republic. What was there in the character or con-

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duct of that person which should give us any just and reasonable hopes, that he would not take the earliest, the first favourable opportunity of breaking the peace that offered? In what instance had he shewn the milk of human kindness so much as to lead us to rely on his abstaining from fresh hostilities, as soon as he felt it his interest to recommence the war against us? Had he never betrayed a rooted jealousy towards this country, an implacable revenge, and a deep-lodged hatred? Was his milk of human kindness so superabundant and overflowing as to wash from his remembrance all his past animosity towards us? Since the signing of the preliminaries the intrigues of the French had negotiated a private peace between the republic and the Porte, and prevented the latter from feeling a just and grateful sense of the manifold support and assistance we had afforded it (greater assistance he would venture to say than had ever been afforded the Porte by any European power), and prevented it from making those returns to which we were entitled. So much for the good faith of the First Consul of France in the first instance. Let their Lordships remember that by this treaty we had conceded every thing that would aid the French republic to recover its commerce and restore its marine. We had given to the First Consul "*a giant's strength, and* "*we might be assured he would use it like a* "*giant.*"

The EARL of CAERNARVON said, that it was not his intention to detain their Lordships long; it was however difficult on so important a subject to give a silent vote; "I shall not, however (said the Noble Earl), trespass on your Lordships' time by following a singular rule laid down by the Noble and Learned Lord upon the woolsack, who will not admit as reasonable, any disapprobation of the preliminaries of peace under our discussion, *unless the objector will undertake to furnish a new* PROJET *for a better peace.* I shall, however, take leave to exercise my parliamentary duty, which is that of a censor, called upon from the Throne, to approve or disapprove, not as a Chancellor, to advise his Majesty in the exercise of his prerogative, especially on a subject which his Ministers have already pledged his honour to carry into execution by a definitive treaty; nor will I be impeded by another curious assertion and maxim of the Learned Lord's, that the question has already been decided by Parliament in 1797, in the shape of the projet for peace of that year, approved by Parliament; and that no Noble Lord has a right to disapprove of the present articles of peace, if any former Parliament has sanctioned terms, in the Noble Lord's opinion, worse than those now in discussion. I am not inclined to consider parliamentary precedents as sacred, nor at all times implicitly to subscribe to their justice and wisdom, particularly in a question of this nature, which must be decided on its own peculiar merits, and cannot possibly have an exact parallel in past times; periods, ever so little removed from the present moment, must vary in circumstances, which will defeat the application of any precedent; the opinion of Parliament varying in persons, or subjects varying in circumstances, ought not to have the slightest weight on future parliamentary deliberation; and it would be a tedious and useless waste of your Lordships' time, to canvass the consistency of particular Lords, instead of discussing the subject on its own grounds. If there were no other difference between the two periods alluded to by the Learned Lord, than the mutiny in the fleet, it would be sufficient to annihilate all comparison; and indeed it is so difficult to find two remote periods exactly corresponding at all points, that, even in the present existing moment, the Noble Lords who argue on the same side, concurring in their approbation of the same articles of peace, do not concur in the relative situation of the two negotiating countries at this instant. *The Noble and Learned Lord says, that it is a necessary peace; he places us at the feet of France, suing for peace, and he laments that more advantageous terms could not be obtained. Other Noble Lords, speaking with ministerial information, assert that the country never stood higher; that our resources are unexhausted; that we have treated for a peace, in an hour of triumph, upon equal terms; and they defend the peace, as a safe, honourable, and adequate peace.* The Noble and Learned Lord has felt that nothing but *necessity* could justify a peace so inadequate and dishonourable; and if the other Noble Lords have truly stated the *flourishing* state of the country, the terms must appear *dishonourable* and *insecure.* The Noble Marquis (Buckingham) has expressed his opinion of the instability of the proposed peace, by doubting (on the supposition that the French seamen had been returned) whether the preliminaries would ever reach a definitive confirmation. I confess that I feel no apprehension, that France will not wait till the definitive treaty has put her in possession of all the advantages of this peace; but when we have restored to France, without equivalent, all that she had lost in nine years of war, and to her allies, all that we had taken from them, with small exceptions, and disgracefully submitted to the uncompensated plunder of our friends and allies, *she may then pursue against this country any object which her policy or insatiable ambition may dictate, and her augmented power may enable her to execute.* We are called upon to approve the preliminaries of a peace, which, the moment it is put into execution, will place us in a worse relative situation than at the moment of its signature, or in any period of the war; and we must then depend on the good faith of a nation, not conspicuous for that virtue, and generally esteemed our natural enemy, and trust that she will not avail herself of her advantages. Some Noble

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Lords have silenced all their apprehensions, by persuasion that this peace *will have left us no bone of contention; it is a singular argument, for the surrender of every thing valuable, that we shall enjoy the beggar's security, who* CANTAT VACUUS CORAM LATRONE. *Two articles retained by us in this unequal peace, may be objects of future hostility, and meant only as temporary concessions; or the present or future ruler of France may again adopt the maxim,* DELENDA EST CARTHAGO, *before the rest of Europe have recovered their exhausted strength.* The Noble and Learned Lord, in his defence of his necessary peace, puts a question on each individual article, whether it was an object worth the continuance of a bloody war, and the annual expenditure of millions, *as if each separate article required a separate war,* and its pursuit the *separate expenditure of millions,* as it may require *separate discussions on its utility.* The Noble and Learned Lord, who uses a question for an argument, may be answered by his own question applied to France: *Is each separate article worth to her a separate war and the expenditure of millions?* The Learned Prelate (Rochester) truly observed, that the terms of peace were composed of all the articles, and could not be considered but as one, good or bad peace, taken conjointly. Those who have considered the peace as a necessary peace, have only considered the state of this country, and have shut their eyes to the state of France. I scarce know any single object worth the expenditure of blood and treasure of a long war, and yet other circumstances in the relative situation of two countries, may make war necessary; if this peace was desirable to us, was it not equally desirable to France? It may be reasonably imagined that France was as fatigued and exhausted with the war as this country, and ready to purchase peace upon equal terms. The fact, I am persuaded, was so, and that peace, more adequate, safe, and honourable, might have been obtained, had not our negotiators ineffectually surrendered the interests of the country. Every article in the preliminaries is concession on our side, and advantage to France and her allies; *and so much is left for discussion in the definitive treaty, that the principal effect of the preliminaries will be to shew how much disposed we are to renounce every thing for peace.* In the article respecting Portugal, nothing is obtained for her; we sanction the terms which France has imposed upon her, by reference to her existing situation, and we may, for aught we know, approve of our own exclusion from the ports of Portugal, which was understood to form an article of that treaty. The comfort given to us by the Noble Lord, that we may be better by the definitive treaty, and cannot be worse than now fixed, is as fallacious as his former reasoning; for the same observation is as just, and I fear will be more effectual, in the mouth of France, that they also may be better by the definitive treaty, and cannot without folly be worse; and then all the undecided point probably be influenced by the same pre nant influence which dictated the preli ries; and it is impossible, under these ci stances, that I should approve the preli as (under the existing circumstances) adequate, and honourable, or that it w duce such a peace, as the speeches fr Throne have from the commencement war till this hour held out to the country.

LORD HOBART said, that, with reg *the Cape, it could only be kept at an e expense to this country; that it had alre us a million of money;* that we had, on o taking possession of it, imported home corn we found there, hoping to sup country, and that the consequence h that we had since, even during the scarcity, been obliged to re-export corn Cape, to preserve the settlement from ing. As to any necessity for ships to there in their passage to India, he den exist. He had himself known a fleet teen Indiamen sail from Madras home, out touching any where; and if in war squadron of his Majesty's ships were India, and on the voyage stood in water, they might take it in at the Verd islands, at Madagascar, and at other islands.

The question was then put from the sack, and the House divided,

Contents, 94——Proxies, 2
Non-contents, 10——Proxies, 0

List of the Non-contents.

Marquis of Buckingham,	Earls Spe
Earls Pembroke,	Cae
Warwick,	Lords Gre
Fitzwilliam,	Gw
Radnor,	Bishop of Re

HOUSE OF COMMONS *, NOVEMBER 3.

SIR EDMUND HARTOP moved the a he said that he could not repress his a hope, that as the sentiments of the peop out doors were universally and unanim approbation of the peace, so would th timents of those whom he had now the h to address.—He said, the cause of fi one great object of the war was the co-operation on the part of our all consequence of which has been, that our enemy has been able to add extens her dominions by territories wrested fr neighbours, it became expedient for us, *all existing circumstances,* to enter into n tions for peace; for, deserted as we w all our allies, we had no room to hope should be able to force her back with limits of her ancient boundaries. But unparalleled events of the last glorio

* This debate was on a motion for an a the Throne, approving of the preliminary

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paign, amidst the victorious and brilliant achievements of our arms, we have beheld the pacific councils of his Majesty's Ministers so attached to the restoration of tranquillity as not to be shaken by the splendour of our successes, not to be stimulated to a renewal of the contest in another campaign, where so much more of the national blood and treasure must have been exhausted in *an useless pursuit*. No; but, on the contrary, his Majesty's Ministers, wisely considering the second great object of the war no longer attainable, and considering the honourable advantages we had acquired in the struggle, formed the resolution of treating for a peace; and in forming the preliminaries, to secure the interests of those allies who had maintained their faith with us to the last extremity.—Having then preserved through the whole of this arduous contest the integrity of our own dominions; having maintained *through every vicissitude the strictest faith towards our allies;* and having shewn that no ambition of extending our territories could induce us to prolong a war by refusing to surrender even a part of our conquests as a price of security to those allies, we have held forth to Europe an illustrious example of honour, of justice, and of faith, worthy of admiration and example, and highly advantageous to our reputation and our interest, which he held to be inseparable.

Mr. Lee said, that the question he wished to ask, with respect to the good policy of the peace, was, whether we had obtained our objects in the war? In his mind we had, completely, in the preservation of our constitution, and the defence of our territories; and if we had so far succeeded in the Cape of Good Hope as to make it a neutral port, he would ask, was it worth while to risk another campaign for the chance of effecting a better alternative, whatever was the probability of success? In such an attempt, if we could not succeed in our purpose with all the great powers in Europe in our alliance, was it now probable that we should singly succeed against France, who had shewn herself able to resist the world in arms? *He thought not; but was convinced the best security we had for the permanence of peace, was, because France and England, the two greatest powers in the war, have approved it, and had both been considerable gainers by the contest.* One great objection heretofore to the conclusion of peace, was the great instability of the French executive power; but in his mind this was one of the best sureties for it now; and whether that great colossal power was permanent or crumbled to pieces, we ought not to interfere with its internal policy. The present Chief Consul amused the people of France with an idea that they enjoyed a free republic, while, in fact, he himself possessed more absolute power over them, than all the Bourbons ever had done; but the people of France were satisfied with it, and no form of government ever was established in France since the revolution, that promised so much stability. But what security was there for peace between any two nations the moment it became the interest of either to violate it? He recollected to have heard the saying of an Emperor of Morocco, in proposing to make war, and being told that it was a violation of faith to break peace, he answered, "I break it because it is my interest." Such was the language of the savage monarch. He suspected that he had spoken in plain, blunt terms, the liberal language and principles of the modern courts of Europe.—The blood and treasure which had been exhausted by England in this war was no more than our duty to posterity demanded; and if the expenses were considered, the national debt was increased no more than 170,000,000*l.* more than it stood at the conclusion of the American war, with this difference, that we had then no such prospect of its reduction as the admirable sinking fund established by the Right Honourable Gentleman who lately and for so many years presided over the finances of this country had given. By this fund, he said, that in little more than *seventy-three years*, supposing a *permanent peace*, the whole of the debt would cease to be a burden on the people of England.

Lord Levison Gower, after *disapproving* of the terms of the peace, said that he was *not* disposed to give a vote against it. Peace was an object for which he was *heartily joyful*, and he was not now prepared peremptorily to assert that it could have been obtained on better terms. The peace, such as it was, had excited universal joy throughout the country; and *having himself witnessed this joy, he could not consent to vote against it*, though he had thought it his duty *to throw out these observations to the House.*

Lord Hawkesbury rose, and addressed the House to the following effect:—"Sir, I rise at this early hour of the debate, in consequence of the observations which have fallen from my Noble Friend, and in order to explain, I trust, to the satisfaction of Gentlemen, the motives which induced his Majesty's Ministers to enter into a negotiation with the French republic, and to conclude the preliminaries of that treaty submitted to-night to the consideration of the House. The very reasons urged by my Noble Friend against the nature and terms of the treaty, tend, in my opinion, most directly and strongly to evince their propriety and claims to the approbation of the country, and to the sanction of Parliament. He has undertaken to compare the projet as proposed by Lord Grenville at Lisle with the articles of the present adjustment; a mode of proceeding unwarranted by the fair consideration of both in their various relations: and he has ventured to assimilate things, between which no comparison can exist. I state

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in positive terms, that they cannot be compared; for no man will venture to deny that Lord Grenville would have been glad to have taken less from the government of France than he demanded at that period of the negotiation. After nine years effusion of blood; after contracting an increase of debt to the amount of nearly two hundred millions; after the indefatigable and uninterrupted exertions of the country; but at the same time, after a series of the most splendid achievements and unexampled successes, there is not a man in the kingdom who must not admit that peace was a most desirable attainment, was the object of his sincerest wishes and most ardent desires. But notwithstanding the hope and zeal with which all must have looked and laboured for the restoration of tranquillity, *I solemnly disclaim the plea which has been set up by some persons, the plea of overruling necessity.* I am persuaded, that such a cause for the conclusion of the preliminary treaty will not be traced to any thing like satisfactory grounds. I am desirous that his Majesty's Ministers should, in the adoption of that measure, be tried by those reasons in which the war originated, by which it was carried on, and which were found to exist when the contest ceased. In saying thus much, I am, Sir, aware that the peace, however eligible, however adequate to the relative state of this country and of France, however it can be justified upon the principles of sound policy, is not free of all evil, of all chance, of all risk or danger. But let me ask, what event has taken place in the recollection of all who hear me, or what event may yet take place, in accounting for which it has been or will be possible to remove every objection? Under all the circumstances in which we were situated, I maintain that the treaty is honourable and advantageous; and the question now for the decision of the House is, whether his Majesty's Ministers have been to blame or not? In the consideration of this question, Gentlemen will not, I am persuaded, lose sight of the relative state of the two countries, nor hesitate to examine whether better terms could have been obtained. Some persons object to the peace, because they contend that the end of the contest is not gained. They argue that the war was undertaken with the view of destroying republicanism, and of interfering in the internal affairs of France, for the purpose of stopping the progress of the revolution. *I maintain,* on the contrary, *that the destruction of republicanism was not its object; and that no interference in the internal concerns of France was intended.* Such statements I absolutely disclaim; and declare, on the contrary, that the country was forced into the war by the conduct of France. It was she who interfered in the affairs of other nations; who took part and direction in the internal regulations of all countries; who, both openly, and by her agents and intrigues, propagated disaffection, sedition, anarchy, and revolt. The revolution was a torrent so dreadful and violent in its origin and progress, that no man, or set of men, could be so sanguine as to entertain a hope of checking its rage and impetuosity: but if we had opposed it even in its fatal and almost irresistible course with some success; if we had, even when there existed but a very faint prospect of a favourable issue to our labours, rendered it less dangerous in its effects than it would otherwise have been; if we had, at least, changed its direction, and made it flow in a channel less harmless to the general happiness and interests of the world, I trust, Sir, that some acknowledgment is due to the wisdom, vigilance, and perseverance of Government, as well as to the spirit and exertions of the country. It is indeed impossible to look at the present state of France without being convinced that we have at least effected this important change; a change which is manifest to the most superficial observer, in the manners, the opinions, the habits of the people of France. Let those who pretend to doubt the justice of this observation look to the state of France as it was in 1793, and to the state of France as it is in 1801! Let them take the trouble of comparing the striking and almost incredible alteration which has taken place in the manners, opinions, and habits to which I have alluded, and then give me a candid answer! If after this comparison, if after all that has been done, I am called upon to deliver my opinion with respect to the moral evils of peace, I must say I feel, under all the circumstances of the present moment, that they are certainly less than on any former occasion. With regard to the continuance of hostilities, there are two considerations by which we are to be regulated: the first is, whether we possessed the power of forming another coalition against France; and the second, if we continued the war, what harm could France do to us, and what harm could we do to France? The first coalition had failed; the second coalition had equally failed; and had we any satisfactory grounds to make us desirous of framing a third, and hazarding another experiment of the same nature? What was the chance, what was the probability of forming a new coalition in the least degree likely to be of service to the powers of the continent, or to this country in particular? It was, I will venture to assert, altogether impossible to find in Europe the elements of such a combination of force directed to the attainment of one grand end. Were they to be found in the Empire of Germany? Were they to be found in Prussia? *Were they to be found in Russia?* I ask then, what was the prospect of success that could be derived from a third confederacy against France? And if, therefore, it be evident that no coalition could be formed, I ask, what object could we possibly have, under that point of view, in the further prosecution of hostilities? As to any harm which France could do to us, or which we could

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do to France, I believe it does not require many words to shew to the satisfaction of Gentlemen, that a cessation of any thing like serious and decisive aggression had taken place. Where and in what manner was it possible for us, with our immense superiority by sea, to affect France by striking a fatal blow? The fact was, that *neither power could affect the other.* These remarks, Sir, I have made with a view of shewing the inefficacy of any new coalition against the French republic, as well as the inefficacy of the continuance of the war between her and this country. In discussing the preliminary articles of peace, there are three considerations which press strongly upon my mind, and which I am sanguine enough to hope will not be deemed destitute of weight; I mean the *time*, the *tone*, and the *terms* of the treaty. And first, with respect to the time at which the treaty was signed. It was concluded under a just impression of your success; it was concluded at a moment when your triumphs were complete. Such a time was worthy of the country to accelerate the important work of pacification. Would it have been prudent, would it have been consistent with political wisdom, to have pushed matters to an extreme point? It was, on the contrary, in the hour of victory that it became the spirit and magnanimity of the Government, and the people, to listen to the voice of peace; and if the terms appeared advantageous, I have fair grounds to presume, that a more glorious opportunity could not present itself. In speaking of the tone in which the peace has been concluded, it is sufficient for me to observe, that it is marked with a tone of dignity and independence; that the honour of the nation has been preserved, and that every idea of humiliation has been resisted with success, both with respect to ourselves and our allies. When I come to an examination of the terms of the treaty, I must disclaim the support, and condemn the opinions of those who have been accustomed to undervalue the resources of this country, and to extol those of the enemy. The circumstances under which we were, as opposed to the enemy, have been essentially different, and it is in that difference that the best reasons for the concluding a peace will be found. But first, Sir, it may not be improper to call the attention of Gentlemen to our conduct towards our allies; and particularly to the strict maintenance of that good faith for which we have been so eminently distinguished. The first power which I have occasion to mention is the Ottoman Porte, whose territories and dominions are to be restored and maintained in their integrity, as they were before the war. An instance of our generosity, as well as of our good faith, must not however be passed over; I allude to the release which we gave to those powers connected with us, from express and positive stipulations, when they were exposed by the necessity of the moment to danger, from continuing faithful to their engagements. To Portugal every protection has been given, consistent with our strength, and with her interests; and in the case of Naples we displayed a magnanimity which we might have been well justified in omitting. Naples was called upon by France to exclude our shipping from her ports; but she went further, and joined in an alliance which would have warranted on our part a declaration of war: yet with sufficient grounds to justify to Europe and to our own conscience such a measure, what was our conduct upon that occasion? We interfered in her favour, and obtained the restoration of her dominions and territories, and the re-establishment of her independence. In the case of Portugal, our conduct had not been less exemplary. To the Ottoman Porte we were under peculiar obligations; and of all our allies she remained faithful to us to the last. To her we evinced proofs of the most inviolable attachment; for we obtained for her, without sacrifice, not only the restitution of all her dominions and territories in their integrity, but we also obtained the renunciation of France to acquisitions which threatened not only her independence, but existence. France had ceded Venice to Austria; Austria had, in return, ceded the Ex-Venetian islands to France. These islands, which from their situation might have been productive of the most serious danger to the Ottoman Porte, have been abandoned by the French republic, and their independence recognised. Thus, Sir, you have obtained by the treaty all that could be obtained for your allies, and not only preserved your good faith inviolate, but manifested your generosity where it could not be expected. There are indeed two other powers of which it may be proper *to take notice;* the Stadtholder and the King of Sardinia. It is obvious that we were not bound by any obligation of strict faith towards them; yet I can safely state that every thing which this country could do for them has been performed. An arrangement with respect to the former had, at our instance, been carried on at Berlin; but that arrangement had, from various causes, been withdrawn. In favour of Sardinia we had also interfered, although she had given up the coalition, and entered into an offensive alliance with France.—Having noticed the manner in which we have uniformly and honourably displayed our good faith, I now come to the question of acquisition, as it should be fairly taken with respect to the power and resources of a country. And here let me observe, that the spirit of acquisition may *be strained beyond its proper limits.* It is not of this country alone that I am speaking; for the principle will, if properly scrutinized, *apply with equal force to France. I contend, that an increase of power does not take place in proportion to the increase of acquisitions.* That this doctrine applies no less to France than to this country, is justified by *the opinion of men*

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well qualified to form an estimate of the strength and resources of nations; and we accordingly find it supported by Dumourier and Carnot. I think it unnecessary to enter into any detailed reasoning to shew, that the principle applying to the continent is equally true with respect to the acquisition of colonial power. In looking to the state of our settlements in the West Indies, I do not see any cession made by us which can be the subject of regret; nor is there in the East Indies any possession given to France which ought to be viewed with jealousy. The possessions in which she is to be reinstated in that quarter, are not calculated for the purposes of aggression; and if she were formidable in the force and extent of her naval resources and power, the island of Mauritius would, under every consideration, afford a more dangerous point of attack against our empire in the East. But it is maintained, that we give up by the treaty another possession of great importance to our foreign concerns and to our commercial prosperity. I allude to the island of Minorca, which I do not consider as an acquisition. Let us, in order to form a clear judgment, reflect upon our conduct with respect to that island in former wars; and I believe I shall not incur the charge of presumption in delivering this opinion. We have always acquired that island whenever we pleased, and we have always lost it at the conclusion of peace. By relinquishing it then after the war, we avoid the expense of preserving it in peace; and if the situation be advantageous to us in war, we can always make ourselves masters of it. Of Malta I speak with less confidence, which, from its situation, and its almost impregnable state, is certainly of considerable political importance in the Mediterranean: but giving up this point, as far as it relates to political weight and influence, I must observe that Malta is *no source of trade and opulence*; and that if it be considered as connected with the prosperity of the Levant trade, its importance in that respect will be greatly diminished. The Levant trade may, like many other topics of commercial speculation, be highly valued; but it is, as far as it relates to this country, next to nothing. Gentlemen will give me credit for this statement, when they hear that the whole of the British manufactures exported to the Levant, during the war, does not exceed the sum of 112,000*l.* and this is to be taken out of the aggregate exports of twenty-four millions. The trade of Great Britain is nothing when compared to that of other countries to the Levant. It is chiefly supplied by the south of Europe, and it must remain with the southern countries, from the nature of its articles, and the facility of communication and intercourse. With respect to the north of Europe, it has certainly been principally in the possession of the Dutch, yet the Dutch have had no settlement in the Mediterranean. Why, then, it may be asked, did the Dutch succeed in cultivating this particular branch of trade? I answer, Because their policy was much wiser than ours; because v prevented ships with forged bills of hea from entering our ports, and made all ves coming from the Mediterranean perform qu rantine; because we equally prohibited landing both of sound and bad goods. T Dutch, on the contrary, gave them air within their ports, separated the good fr the bad merchandise, and allowed the imm diate importation of the former. Thus th occupied almost the whole of the northern tr to the Levant; and this was so strongly by us, that about two years ago it was jud expedient to repeal these laws, in order to courage a system of trade which the Du converted to their own profit, although t possessed no port in the Levant. After c sidering what has been given up by the tr it remains for me to say a few words on t possessions which we are to retain; a what I have, Sir, to offer on the subject Ceylon and Trinidad, I hope I shall no thought to overrate these two islands, wh call them the two great naval stations of parts of the world to which they belong. C lon, in every point of view, cannot be highly appreciated. It contains ports so c cious and secure, that the whole of the and commerce of Great Britain might with ease and safety in them. It is also native productions of immense value, holds out a position to which our Indian might retire, if necessary, and defy the att of the united force of the world. Th very object, which above all others we from our duty and interest prefer, w gained by this treaty. Trinidad is also a station of very considerable importance, ing not only a secure retreat for our nav so very productive and so healthy, as duce us to select and appropriate it to selves in preference to every other pos in that quarter. Thus, Sir, considerin results of the war; considering all ou possessions with our acquired territo say, if the term glory is not to be into the account by some Gentlemen we have at least made an honourable *(A loud cry of Hear!)* I say, if it in all respects as advantageous as you wish, it cannot, however, be denied t is *honourable*. Let it be compared wi last five treaties of peace which have made; and then when all the circum are duly weighed, let Gentlemen form mate of its merits. Let it be compare the treaties of Ryswick, of Utrecht, of la-Chapelle, of Paris, and of Versailles let it be remembered that the relative this country with that of the contracting both at these periods and at present, be fairly canvassed. By two of these *the country gained nothing*. I need scarcely tion those of Ryswick and Aix-la-Ch By that of Versailles we lost very consid for we were deprived of our American nies and some valuable possessions.

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only by the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and that of Paris in 1763, that we gained any thing. Yet if we compare tht treaty of Utrecht with the present treaty, the latter will be found *by no means inferior, either in point of advantage or in the promise of stability.* The severity of the conditions rendered the former the source of bitterness, and the cause of subsequent contention. France had been every where defeated, and found no consolation in continental victories, while in the present war she triumphed over all the great powers of the continent. She makes the present treaty after a series of unexampled successes; and though some persons may not pronounce it as glorious as that of 1713, or as surprising as that of 1763, yet, taken together in all its objects and effects, it may be justly considered as advantageous to Great Britain as either of them. It may be argued that we obtained Minorca and Gibraltar by the peace of Utrecht; yet whatever reliance may be placed on these advantages, I believe neither of them can be deemed superior to the possessions of Ceylon and Trinidad. By the treaty of Paris, France gave up Canada, and Florida was ceded by Spain; yet with all that extent of territory, I am strongly inclined to think that they were not real acquisitions. I now ask fairly, whether the peace given by Government to the country, compared with every former peace, is not as honourable to the character of the country, and as advantageous as circumstances could allow? With respect to the negotiation at Lisle, I am at a loss to conceive the consistency of persons who could sign the one and not sign the other. The question, Sir, for our consideration is, not a peace in which the powers of the continent take a leading part, but a separate and naval peace between Great Britain and France. I will not, however, assimilate the two proceedings, for it would be comparing a first projet with an ultimate peace. In the projet we only required Ceylon, Trinidad, and the Cape; but the Noble Lord says, we have since obtained several important possessions. I grant we have, but we have been deprived of others, amongst which we have to reckon the island of St. Domingo, where we had some of the most valuable points and strongest holds. The only power we then stipulated for was Portugal, yet nothing was attempted at that time to what has been effected now. There is no comparison whatever between the two periods and the outlines and substance of the negotiations. In discussing the terms of this peace, I am aware that the great power of France ought to be considered in a general scale, which will make them appear less advantageous, and there is no man who regrets the circumstance more sincerely than myself. Yet the increase of that power is, perhaps, not altogether so vast as it may appear at first sight, *if we take it in proportion to the increase of the other principal powers of the continent.* Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have had a very considerable addition by the division of Poland; and *the first power in particular* has augmented in a superior degree doth her extent of territory and her population, by the annexation of Venice to her dominions. *In appreciating the power of France, we must consider the diminution sustained by her commerce, the ruin of her manufacturers, and an incalculable loss of wealth*; while, if we consider the real increase of the substantial power of Great Britain, *it will be found in proportion to the continental increase of France.* Under this impression, allow me, Sir, for a moment to consider the possessions of Great Britain as they were previous to the war; and first, in taking an estimate of the exports of British manufactures to our old West India islands for the last three years of peace, I find them amount to 2,185,000*l.* while they are not less during the three last years of war than 3,561,000*l.* Our imports from the same quarter were, during the same periods, 3,877,000*l.* in peace, and 5,101,000*l.* in time of war. I also find, by referring to the proper documents, that our exports to the East Indies were, during the three last years of peace, 3,183,000*l.* and during the last three years of war 5,617,000*l.* The amount of our exports to the United States of America is still more surprising, making in the same periods of peace 3,694,000*l.* and in the same periods of war, no less than 6,232,000*l.* With respect to the continent of Europe, the total of our exports was in the first instance 1,530,000*l.* and in the latter 2,545,000*l.* From these statements, respecting which, authenticated as they are, there cannot exist a doubt, it appears, that the commerce of this country, as applied to our old possessions, has been nearly doubled in some instances, and has had in all an augmentation of one third. I beg, Sir, to press this the more, as it is necessary to consider the increase of our trade with the decrease of that of France. In calculating the power of both countries, as it should possess weight in the general scale, it is but fair to enter into a comparison of their respective navies; and here the best and most candid mode that presents itself is to take them as they stood at the commencement and the end of the war; on the 1st of February 1793, and on the 1st of October 1801. On the 1st of February 1793, the British navy consisted of 135 sail of the line, and 133 frigates; and on the 1st of October 1801, it comprised 202 sail of the line, and 277 frigates. The navy of France was, at the commencement of the war, composed of 80 sail of the line, and 66 frigates; and at the conclusion, it consisted of 39 sail of the line, and 35 frigates. This disparity is so striking and extraordinary, both in the navy and commerce of the two countries, that it must be attended with the effects I wish to point out in the relative situation of general affairs. It has indeed been said, that France will give her whole attention to recruit her navy, and I give full credit to the assertion. She will, no doubt, wish and exert herself to

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accomplish an object so very desirable for the accumulation of political power; but I cannot help observing, that, whatever her efforts may be, there are two points in the arduous task, which are well entitled to our consideration. The first is, *the number of years she must be employed in building ships to make her naval establishment equal even to what it was*; and the second is, the number of ships necessary to be built, in order to enable her to enter into a competition with this country. All who examine this subject thoroughly will have no objection to give to France a great many years, and afterwards to take the chance of a war with her. We shall not be employed in building of ships, but *in making seamen*. It is with the increase of our commerce that our navy will always increase. France will, no doubt, make great exertions for the purpose; but whether a contest will take place in the course of *eight or ten years*, I am confident that we shall be enabled to renew it with *more advantage than we began it in the late war!!!!!* One of the reasons which induced me to entertain this opinion, arises from a conviction that *the country will possess all its ardour and spirit*, a lively recollection of all its brilliant exploits, and a just confidence in the extent of its resources and finance. I have one question to put to every man who hears me, and that is, whether peace could be concluded upon safer and more honourable terms? We accepted the situation which we have the honour of filling, when the country was involved in war with almost every power of Europe; we had to contend with France, Spain, Russia, and the rest of the Northern Powers. The convention concluded with them will, I trust, be considered as a fair acknowledgment of our maritime rights; and with that acknowledgment it is ardently to be hoped, that the complete restoration of peace and harmony will take place. Since that event, a peace with France has been effected. I do not wish to say that it has been brought about by any extraordinary means; but I can say with confidence for my colleagues and myself, that nothing has been neglected, nothing left undone on our part, in exertion, in perseverance, and in moderation, to give to the country that blessing of which it was *so much in want*, and for which it is so eminently indebted to *its own admirable spirit and patriotism*, and to the zeal and gallantry of its soldiers and sailors. We have been engaged in a most tremendous contest; but we have come out of it with honour and advantage. The situation of Europe, and that of Great Britain, may still appear critical; yet I hope that in a sound system of policy, consisting in a mixture of firmness and moderation, will be always found a counterpoise to every danger, and a remedy for every evil. I beg pardon, Sir, for having so long trespassed on the indulgence of the House, and shall not trouble them with any further observations."

The Hon. Thomas Grenville said, that those who opposed the peace had been represented as frantic people, who contended that the restoration of the French monarchy should be the *sine quâ non* of peace. This charge, however, could by no means apply to him, because he had never entertained such an idea. Gentlemen, therefore, who advanced the charge had gone farther than they were warranted to go. As to the right of interference in the affairs of France, we had surely a right to interfere for the purpose of preventing that enormous aggrandizement, which was big with danger to ourselves. This had ever been considered, by our wisest statesmen, as an object of the first importance to this country. Whenever a peace had been concluded between two contending parties, it followed, of course, that one party had the superiority over the other, which it was fair and proper to exert for the purpose of ensuring advantageous terms, such terms, at least, as should place the country which accepted them in a state of security. And he hoped that the spirit of the English would ever lead them to resist, with energy and decision, terms of a different nature, fraught with dishonour, and big with humiliation.—But while he disclaimed the wild notions which had been falsely imputed to him, he hoped he should never be found amongst those faithless watchmen of the state, who should seek to lull the people into a false security and a treacherous repose, but ever act with such as should endeavour to rouse them to a just sense of existing danger, of a danger which threatened them with ruin, with annihilation.—It had been the practice of some of the public papers to accuse those who condemned the peace, of being hostile to his Majesty and to his Majesty's Government. He, however, had no hostility to his Majesty, nor yet to the Ministers; but no dread of misrepresentation should ever deter him from giving his sentiments, freely and fully, respecting a measure which appeared to him calculated to increase our danger instead of diminishing it. He felt it his duty to oppose it; and he would contend, that both in the present treaty, and in the convention with the Northern Powers, Ministers had assumed an humble tone, which would lead to consequences dangerous to the existence of the country.—The Gentlemen who had that night supported the peace, had purposely dissembled the real object of the war. He had ever considered it as a war for *indemnity* and *security*. The enemy had threatened the existence of our liberties and our constitution. To preserve them, then; to prevent the diffusion of principles subversive of all the bonds of civil society; to obtain indemnity for the expenses which we had been compelled to incur, and security for the future, was the real and avowed object of the war. Ministers had thrown our successes aside; they seemed to have forgotten our victories, and to have lost sight of our conquests. But the

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allection of those victories and those con-
sts would remain to heighten and to aggra-
e the reflections that must arise from the
emplation of our sacrifices. To have been
torious, and yet to have treated as a van-
shed nation, was a galling and a mortify-
reflection to a British mind. It implied,
eed, a contradiction of terms, and a confu-
n of ideas, which no acuteness could recon-
; no strength of understanding dispel.—
e Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) had begun by
ing, that the present period was very dif-
nt from that at which the former negotia-
took place; that we had originally opposed
principles of France, but latterly we had
osed her power. But in his opinion both
to the same end; and if the power of
nce threatened the existence of this coun-
it was as much our interest and our duty
ppose that power, as it was to oppose her
ciples, when exerted for the same purpose.
Grenville then entered into a comparison
the terms of the present treaty with the
s which were offered to us at Lisle; and
rly shewed that the latter were far prefer-
e to the former. It had been said, that the
eral language of the country in respect of
peace was, that it was such a peace as
y man was glad of, but no man proud of.
he hoped and suspected, that this was an
grammatic expression, and not a true pic-
. For *if Englishmen could rejoice at a bad*
e, at a peace of which they could not be proud,
tional character was totally lost —Though
supporters of the peace had prudently for-
e to insist on its *glory*, they still persevered
epresenting it as *honourable*. But in what
was it *honourable?* The Noble Lord had
nded, and truly contended, that time and
mstances were necessary considerations in
conclusion of a treaty; but he was at a loss
erceive the wisdom of that policy, which
ld reject better terms in a moment of dis-
, and accede to worse, in the hour of vic-
and confidence: there might be a shew of
nanimity in such conduct, but was it wise,
it politic, was it compatible with the real
ests of the country?—Let us see in what
ect it was honourable, as it relates to our
s; how far their interests have been con-
ed. Ministers have assumed great credit
hemselves for their conduct towards our
s. What has been done for them? Turkey
the only power which could be truly said
e in alliance with us. It was said that the
grity of the Sublime Porte had been se-
ed. But is that her opinion? does she feel
re? A week after this stipulation for her
rity, a week after this extraordinary in-
ce of our magnanimity had been displayed,
rkey preferred the guarantee of her enemy
that of her ally, and chose to negotiate for
self. As we had compelled the French to
cuate Egypt, both the security of Turkey
our own required that we should have re-
ed in our possession some strong fortress,
risoned by British troops. Without this
precaution, what was there to prevent the French from returning to Egypt? At the very moment when we magnanimously stipulated for the evacuation of that country, there was not a French soldier remaining in it, thanks to General Hutchinson, whose military skill, whose firm perseverance, and whose manly courage could only be exceeded by his modesty), who was not a prisoner to our gallant, persevering, and victorious army. As to the integrity of Naples, that was as insecure as Turkey; for, though the French troops had evacuated a part of the Neapolitan territory, what was to prevent them from returning, especially, as they retained possession of the Cisalpine Republic? "I wish to know what is to prevent the French who evacuate Naples to-day, Monday, from re-entering it on Wednesday, the distance from the Cisalpine Republic not being more than sixty miles?" Such is the situation, such the security, such the integrity of Naples. In casting our eyes over the map of Europe, we look in vain for the kingdom of Sardinia. The territories of his Sardinian Majesty live only in our memory. In the Mediterranean, he had only the little island of Sardinia left, for the security of which, he was solely indebted to the protection of our fleet; a protection which he would lose the moment the definitive treaty should be signed. The next of our allies, the integrity of whose dominions exhibits an illustrious proof of our magnanimity, is Portugal. On this subject he had endeavoured to obtain information; but he had not been sufficiently successful to speak with decision on it. He adverted to the treaty of Badajos, and to the cession of a portion of the Portuguese territory in the Brazils; and he asked whether it was to be understood that our treaty with France sanctioned that cession? Portugal, like Naples, had been secured by us, in the integrity of her possessions; and our magnanimity on this occasion had been loudly vaunted by the noble lord, because those two powers had formed separate treaties with the enemy. But were not those treaties the effect of compulsion on the one hand, and the result of conquest on the other? Should we have been justified in declaring war against Portugal and Naples for yielding, against their will, to dire necessity? If no blame, then, attached to Portugal, if she ought really to be considered as our ally, as no human being could suspect her of possessing the ability to resist her enemy, there could not be the smallest reason for any diminution of our attachment to her. How have we provided for her security? The preliminary articles will tell us how. Mr. Grenville then took a large bundle of papers out of his pocket, but begged the House not to be alarmed, as he only meant to read about half a dozen lines. He then read the following articles of the preliminary treaty. V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose dominions and possessions shall be secured in their integrity such as they were before the war. VI. The territories and possessions of his Most Faithful Majesty shall also be maintained in their integrity. France, as far as any treaty can bind her, has concluded a peace with Portugal;

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but on what terms? She has taken from her Olivenza and the adjoining territory, which Spain had long coveted; and for which nothing more was requisite than to express a wish, in order to obtain it from France. France, at the same time, took for herself a portion of the Brazils, which gave her the command of the river Amazon and the whole of the adjacent coast. Mr. Windham quoted Monsieur de la Condamine, in order to shew the advantage which France would derive from the possession of this tract of country; in addition to what she already enjoyed in the proximity of Dutch Guiana. Is this the mode of guaranteeing the possessions, of securing the integrity of a faithful ally? If integrity and dismemberment be synonimous terms, then, indeed, the assertion may be true. In allusion to the term honourable, which the noble lord has absurdly applied to the peace, every man must feel that no peace was safe that was not honourable, and that no peace was honourable which was not safe; but, unfortunately, this peace was neither safe nor honourable: nor could any peace be honourable, which gave us territories that did not belong to the power by whom they were given. The conduct of our government in the negotiation at Lisle was very different: they did what was wise and proper to attain peace for the good of the country, They selected certain points of importance, which it was necessary, for the preservation of that honour, to insist upon. He was surprized to hear certain expressions which had fallen from the noble lord, relative to the acquisitions we had made by the present peace, which he contrasted with Lord Malmesbury's projet, the wisdom of which he extolled. We should have been fully justified in the retention of Ceylon, the Cape, and Cochin, for the more effectual defence of our eastern empire. When we look at the cessions which we have made, we should find the conquests we had retained comparatively trifling. His mind was not at all satisfied with the situation in which the Cape was left by the treaty. We had ceded a port which might become a great annoyance to our trade. The Cape furnished a military station of vast importance in the event of a sudden war, not preceded by a proclamation. The Marquis Cornwallis, in his return from India, had strongly pressed the necessity of retaining Cochin, and the Cape; or if only one of them could be retained, the Cape in preference to Cochin.—Though Ceylon was an important settlement, Cochin, on the western side of the peninsula, was one of the strongest military frontiers in India. In the event of a war, a fleet might sail from the Cape and arrive at Cochin before any person in India could know of its arrival, and before any person in England could be apprized of its sailing.—He might possibly be told, that our merchantmen were advised to avoid the Cape; that the importance of that settlement was not so great as was represented; and that our ships might touch at the Brazils.—The settlement which the French had acquired in the Brazils, would, in that case, give additional importance to France. The Cape and Cochin were insisted on by Lord Malmesbury, at Lisle, as points from which we would not accede; and these were now given up, from that want of vigour, spirit, and prudence which mark our negotiations. An attempt had been made to represent the Levant trade as unimportant to this country. But our manufacturers, he conceived, would tell a far different tale. Was it true, that Malta was unimportant;—that fortress which had sustained a blockade of nearly two years?—It could not be seriously contended.—To rescue Malta and Egypt from France is deemed an object of primary importance; but when it is considered expedient to give them up, their importance suddenly vanishes, and they become trivial and insignificant. No part of the treaty of peace, nor any thing connected with it, excited so much astonishment in his mind, as our treatment of the house of Orange, except the defence of that treatment. Britain was formerly bound by a solemn treaty with that house. He understood some private arrangement was making, between France and Prussia, relative to that subject. But the Prince of Orange was not to be thrown as an outcast on the world, by those for whom he had sacrificed his all. Where would have been the difficulty in introducing an article in the preliminary treaty, similar to one which was prepared at the negotiation at Lisle, which stipulated for the restoration of the whole property of the House of Orange, or the full value of it in money. There could be no objection to this; but we wanted the spirit, the vigour, or courage to support an ally, who had been so unfortunate as to be an enemy to France! —Though he did not think the peace of 1783 was either glorious or honourable; yet he would recommend it to the gentlemen to read the preliminaries to that treaty, and compare them with the present. Let the cessions made then be compared with the cessions made now; and, though he thought the former a bad peace, which presented nothing but defeat and humiliation, yet would the latter be found infinitely worse in itself, and unfortunately more dangerous in its consequences. The present peace was not honourable, in respect of our allies; nor was it necessary to be made. Mr. Addington had indignantly disclaimed the plea of necessity. Although a difference of opinion existed as to the terms of the peace, no one would contend that we were reduced to the necessity of making a peace, dishonourable to our allies or unsafe to ourselves. He contrasted the terms of the peace of Utrecht, and of the peace of 1763, with those of the present peace; shewed the vast increase of power which France had acquired now, and the consequent increase of danger to ourselves. The noble lord had contended, that our danger did not accrue from the existence of republican principles in France, but from the extent of her power, that, in this respect, things had changed. Admitting such to be the case, could any man view the present power of France, and consequently, our present danger, without shuddering? In the event of a war, notwithstanding our stipulations, all the ports and fortresses in the Mediterranean

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would be seized by France, and shut against us. She will monopolize its commerce in time of peace, its power in time of war. Acting upon such a principle of negotiation, or rather of sacrifice, and let the definitive treaty be completed, and he would desire to know whether it would not place us in a state of war with France in twelve months? Could peace be good if its duration were so short? It would reduce us to the necessity of dismantling our navy, and of disbanding our army and our volunteers; it had deprived us of all the military points and stations; and, notwithstanding all our exertions of economy, what would be our state, if France, in the course of twelve months, should take us unprepared, and direct her whole power against us! He called upon the House to reflect seriously on our situation; and to ask themselves what state we should be placed in if France should so declare war against us? Did they not believe, that such a war must shake our country to the very center! Feeling, as he did, that the peace was neither honourable to our allies, nor safe to ourselves, he should give his decided negative to the motion.

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, that upon a subject of such importance, he could not reconcile it to his feelings to give a silent vote; he would therefore, with the permission of the House, shortly state his reasons for concurring in the motion before the House. The first question that presented itself for the consideration of the House was, whether, taking every circumstance into consideration, it would be consistent with sound policy for England to have continued the war? He consideted this war to have been entered into on the part of Great Britain purely for the purpose of defence, and though, in all respects, the war had not answered to our wishes, yet Great Britain had the honour of having acted, throughout the whole of this eventful contest, in the most disinterested manner: she had not only poured forth her blood and treasure in defence of her own independence and constitution, but she had offered to Europe the means of preservation. From causes which it was unnecessary to state, the confederacy of powers upon the continent was dissolved, and therefore it became necessary for Great Britain, either to carry on the war alone against France, or to make peace with that state, if it could be done upon terms consistent with the safety and independence of this country. In deciding upon the question of the safety of this country by the peace, it would be vain to deny *that France had attained a degree of power, which could not but create uneasiness in the mind of every thinking man.* It was absurd to contend that Great Britain, with a navy all-powerful as it was, could affect France upon the continent, unless assisted by a confederacy of continental states; we were therefore under the necessity, as he had before stated, of continuing the contest without the hope of making any serious impression upon France, or of concluding a peace upon fair and equitable terms.—His lordship then entered, at considerable length, into an examination of the preliminaries, which he contended were *as favourable as we could look for* in the present state of Europe; and that by them Great Britain *had not only maintained her own security*, but had, with that generosity and good faith which always marked her conduct, stipulated for the integrity of her allies.

LORD TEMPLE could not help disapproving of the concessions which ministers had made, as dangerous to the safety, and degrading to the honour of England; no security having been retained to counterbalance the immense territorial acquisitions of France. He apprehended much from the exultation with which the tidings of peace seemed to have been received by the disaffected; their hopes appeared to revive; and a party of degenerate Englishmen, he saw with regret, was to be found, mean enough to drag the coach of General Lauriston, the bearer of these tidings, through the streets of London, with cries of "Long live Buonaparté." It was an afflicting prospect, and augured ill to the country: but it was in some degree encouraged by the conduct of ministers; for he understood it to be a fact—if not so he should wish it to be contradicted—that Citizen Lauriston was accompanied from France by a person who had been twice sent out of this country under the alien act; that on his arrival at Dover, this person being recognized by the proper officer in that port, he refused him permission to land; but Citizen Lauriston threatening if he did not he would return to Paris with the preliminaries, the officer, afraid of taking the responsibility upon himself, suffered him to land and proceed to London, and he was actually in the coach with Citizen Lauriston, when dragged through the streets. His lordship added, that he was informed ministers had not the spirit to take notice of the exceptionable person alluded to—an unhappy omen of what this country had to expect from an intimate connexion with France, particularly under such ministers. He professed that he opposed them from no factious motive; he thought them undeserving the confidence of the country, and the preliminaries on the table convinced him they were. He was aware that he should not be seconded in his objections to the terms of the proposed peace, by those who were in the habit of opposing the conduct of administration; but he did not wish for their support. He who should declare his pleasure at the peace, "*because it was glorious to the enemy*," was not the connexion he would court; *it was a sentiment which could not dignify the patriot or the Englishman*—he should shrink from it with abhorrence; *the man who employed it should be carefully avoided, and his principles guarded against.* The peace which was supported upon such motives, must be *hollow* and *suspicious.*

MR. BANKS considered the question to be, whether the present treaty was better for the country, than a prolongation of the war. The terms, perhaps, may be considered, by moderate men, as good as could, under all the circumstances, be fairly expected. He would accept the hope which was held out to the nation. France had subdued all the alliances made against her on

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the continent, and we could have no further expectations from a confederacy. We could no longer expect any coalition which could materially preserve us from the continental powers. He could not conceive how thosewho disapproved of the terms proposed in the treaty at Lisle could condemn these. He could now entertain no hopes of any thing which could proceed from internal commotions in that country. It must not be forgotten, that our situation was so much worse since the year 1797, as we had since sustained all the hardships and expense of a state of warfare; we stood now in need, not of war, but of peace and tranquillity. Should we proceed in the war, we should make France realize the character given it, of a military nation. Suppose, for a moment, that we could obtain better terms; that we might, for instance, retain the Cape of Good Hope, and some of our other conquests, but he would ask, whether these were objects of sufficient magnitude to continue the war even for one month? He, for one, relied not on any terms of treaty, but on the vigour and nerve of the country to sustain itself in every situation. He wished for peace to be made in the spirit of peace; and wished the House seriously to consider, that suspicion on the one side could not fail of engendering distruct on the other.

Mr. PITT said, that upon a subject in itself of such importance and one upon which it was unfortunately his lot to differ from some with whom it had been his happiness to have been connected by the strictest ties of friendship, for the greater part of his life, he was anxious to deliver his sentiments before the attention of the House, and his own powers, should be exhausted by fatigue. In considering the question, whether these terms should be accepted or rejected, there was one proposition which he might lay down, with, he believed, but little danger of contradiction, and that was, that now for some time past, all rational, all thinking men, had concurred in an opinion, that whatever their wishes might have been, whatever hopes might at different periods of the war have been entertained, yet, that after the events which had taken place on the Continent of Europe, the question of Peace or War between Great Britain and France became a question of *terms* only [there was a cry of *Hear! Hear!* from the opposition benches]: in laying down this proposition, to which gentlemen seem to assent, he desired not to have it admitted in words, and rejected in substance. After the conclusion of the peace between France and the great continental powers, after the dissolution of the confederacy of the states of Europe, a confederacy which he had supported to the utmost of his power, and with respect to which he still retained the same sentiments; after the dissolution, however, of that confederacy, it became merely a question of the terms to be obtained for ourselves, and for those allies who still remained faithful to us, and to their own interests. In saying this, he was aware that he differed from many, of whose judgments he had the highest opinion, and whom he both loved and honored; but it was the firm conviction of his mind, and it was his duty both to the House and the public, fully and candidly to state his sentiments upon the subject. When he said, that the question of peace or war between this country and France, was a question of terms only, he wished to be understood as being more anxious about the general complexion of the peace, as affecting the character of this country for good faith, honour, and generosity, than he was about any particular acquisition that might be made, or any specific object that might be attained. In considering the terms that ought to be accepted, it would be necessary to inquire, in the first instance, what would be the expense of continuing the contest, what were the difficulties with which it would be attended, and what hopes could be entertained of its ultimate success. It was undoubtedly the duty of every government, in negotiating a treaty of Peace to obtain the best possible terms, but it was sometimes difficult to know how far particular points might be pressed without running the risque of breaking off the negotiation. For his own part he had no hesitation to declare that he would rather close with an enemy upon terms short even of the fair pretensions of the country, provided they were not inconsistent with the honour and security of the country, than continue the contest for any particular possession. He knew that when he had the honour of a seat in His Majesty's Councils, if it came to a question of terms, and if the pacific disposition of the enemy corresponded with ours, he for one should have acted upon that principle; and knowing that to be his own feeling upon the subject, he should neither act with fairness nor candour, if he did not apply it to another administration. He did not pretend to state to the House, that this peace fully answered all his wishes, but the government had undoubtedly endeavoured to obtain the best terms they could for the country; and he was ready to contend, that the difference between the terms we had obtained, and those of retaining all which we had given up, would not have justified Ministers in protracting the war. He was anxious upon this subject to speak plainly, because it was one on which he ought to have no reserve, either with the House or with the country. What the terms were to which this country ought to look in the present state of Europe, had been, in his opinion, most accurately and most ably described by his noble friend (Lord Hawkesbury). The principle upon which administration acted, and in which he perfectly concurred with them, was, that in selecting those acquisitions which we wished to retain, it was our interest not to aim so much at keeping possession of any fresh conquest which we did not materially want, but to endeavour rather to retain those acquisitions which, from their situation, or from other causes, were best calculated for confirming and securing our ancient territories. The object which must naturally first present itself to every Minister, must be to give additional vigour to *our maritime strength*, and security to *our colonial possessions*. *It was to them*

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we were indebted for the unparalleled exertions which we had been enabled to make in the course of this long and eventful contest; it was by them that we were enabled, in the wreck of Europe, not only to effect our own security, but to hold out to our allies the means of safety, if they had been but true to themselves. In thus considering the subject, it was necessary to look to the leading quarters of the world in which we were to seek for this security. It was evident that our acquisitions were all in the Mediterranean, in the East and in the West Indies. Those who thought that this country ought to retain all its acquisitions, would of course consider any cession made by us as incompatible either with our safety or with our honour. But those who did not go that length, would agree with him in thinking, that when we were to give back a part, and retain a part of our conquests, it was our duty to consider which of them were the best calculated to promote the two great leading objects to which he had before alluded, and if it should appear upon examining the present treaty of peace, that in two out of the three quarters which he had mentioned, viz. in the East and West Indies, we had retained such possessions as were the best calculated to effect the security of our ancient possessions, we had, every circumstance considered, done as much as could be expected. Without under-valuing our conquests in the Mediterranean, and the gallant achievements by which they had been effected, especially the capture of Malta, and certainly no man was less inclined to undervalue them than he was; yet it must be admitted by every man acquainted with the real interest of this country, that compared with the East and West Indies, the Mediterranean is but a secondary consideration; indeed, this was a proposition so obvious, that it was unnecessary for him to enter into any arguments upon the subject. Of the importance of the Levant Trade, much had formerly been said, volumes had been written upon it, and even nations had gone to war to obtain it: the value of that trade, even in the periods to which he had alluded, had been much exaggerated; but even suppose these statements to have been correct, they applied to times when the other great branches of our trade, to which we owe our present greatness and our naval superiority, did not exist; he alluded to the great increase of our manufactures—to our great internal trade—to our commerce with Ireland, with the United States of America, with the East and West Indies; it was these which formed the sinews of our strength, and compared with which the Levant trade was trifling. In another point of view, he admitted the possessions in the Mediterranean were of importance to enable us to co-operate with any continental power or powers, with whom we might happen to be in alliance. He agreed with his noble friend (Lord Castlereagh), that when there was not a powerful confederacy on the continent in our favour, this country, with all its naval superiority, could not make any very serious efforts on the Continent; but in the case of such a confederacy, much undoubtedly would be done by the co-operation of the British navy in the Mediterranean. But at the present moment, and situated as Europe at present is, we ought not, upon any one principle of wisdom or policy, to prefer acquisitions in the Mediterranean to the attainment of the means of giving additional security to our possessions in the East and West Indies. It was upon this principle that he heartily approved of the choice which Ministers had made, in preferring our security in the West Indies to any acquisitions we might have made in the Mediterranean; because he considered it as a rule of prudence which ought never to be deviated from, not unnecessarily to mortify the feelings or pride of an enemy—[*There was a cry of 'Hear! Hear!' from the Opposition*].—Gentlemen, from their manner, seemed to think he had not always adhered to that maxim; he would not interrupt his argument by entering into a personal defence of himself, but whenever gentlemen were inclined to discuss that point, he was perfectly ready to meet them, giving them the full benefit of any expressions he had ever used.—Supposing the events of the war to be equally balanced, and in negotiating for one of two possessions, both of equal value, but that our possessing one of them would hurt the feelings, or mortify the pride of the enemy more than the other, he should think that a justifiable reason for selecting the other: he did not say this from any affectation of sentiment, or peculiar tenderness towards the enemy, but because an enemy would not give up such a possession without obtaining from us more than an equivalent. *Upon this principle, he hoped the House would concur with him in thinking, that we ought not to insist upon retaining the Island of Malta.* If our object had been to retain any possession which had formerly belonged to the enemy, and which we had captured from them, with the view of adding to the security of our old dominions, then Malta did not come under the description, because it was not an ancient possession of the enemy, but had been acquired by him, unjustly, from a third power. It therefore appeared to him more consistent with wisdom and sound policy, rather to put Malta under the protection of a third power, capable of protecting it, *than by retaining it ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy.* The other possession which we had acquired, and upon the propriety of retaining which much had been said, was Minorca. With respect to this island, he perfectly concurred in the opinion of his noble friend (Lord Hawkesbury), that it would always belong to the power who possessed the greatest maritime strength; the experience of the four last wars proved the justice of this observation, for Minorca had regularly shifted hands according to the preponderance of maritime strength in the Mediterranean.—In time of peace, Minorca was a possession of no great importance or utility; in time of war, it could be of no use whatever, unless we possessed a maritime superiority; and if we did possess that superiority, experience had shewn, that it would probably fall into our hands. Upon these

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grounds he, for one, would not have advised much to be given in another quarter for the purpose of enabling us to retain the island of Minorca; doubting, as he did, whether in time of peace, it was worth the expense of a garrison. He thought, therefore, that we were justified in looking to the East and West Indies for the possessions which it was our interest to retain, but he could not help expressing his regret, that circumstances were such as to prevent us from retaining a place as important in many points of view as the Island of Malta; he lamented also, that it was not possible for us to have made a more difinitive arrangement respecting its future fate; but unless we had been prepared to say that we we would retain it ourselves, he did not know any better plan that could be adopted, than to make it independant both of England and France. In turning his attention to the East Indies, he certrinly saw cause for regret, because the opinion he had been taught to entertain of the value of the Cape of Good Hope was much higher than that expressed by his noble friend. He knew there were great authorities against him; but on the other hand, from what he heard from a noble Marquis (Cornwallis), and from a Right Hon. friend of his, who had long presided over the affairs of India, he was induced to think the Cape of Good Hope a more important place than it had been represented on this occasion. But thinking thus highly as he did of the Cape, he considered it as far inferior indeed to Ceylon, which he looked upon to be of all the places on the face of the globe, the one which will add most to the security of our East India possessions, and as placing our dominions in that quarter in a greater degree of safety than they had been from the first hour that we set our foot on the continent of India. An Hon. Friend of his on the other side of the House (Mr. T. Grenville), had lamented that we had not stipulated for the retention of *Cochin*, and stated, that in the former negotiations, Lord Malmesbury had been instructed to insist upon its remaining in our possession. How far Lord Malmesbury was instructed to insist upon, or recede from certain points contained in that projet, he did not feel himself now at liberty to state, but he believed no man would be inclined to say, that it must of necessity be an ultimatum, because it was contained in a projet. Indeed, one of the complaints which we had made against the French upon that occasion, was, that they wanted us, contrary to every diplomatic form, to give in our ultimatum first. He knew that it was the opinion, at that time, of a noble Marquis, to whom he had before alluded (and who had rendered such essential services in India; but he was wrong in particularizing India, for there was scarce a quarter of the globe in which this country had not derived important advantages from the exalted talents and virtues of that noble person who was now about to receive the last reward of his services, in putting the finishing hand to a treaty which would *give peace to the world* after a war in which he had had so large a share in averting from this country the dangers which threatened the most valuable part of our possessions), that the retaining of Cochin was necessary to the security of our Indian dominions. But the noble Marquis, he was sure, did not now retain the same opinion, because its importance then depended upon its being a frontier post, to secure us from an enemy whom we had since completely destroyed. It would not surely be contended for a moment that the power of Tippoo Sultan was entire, and when there was a direct road from his dominions into ours, that Cochin was not of infinitely more importance than it could be now when his dominions were in our possession. He did not wish to give a ludicrous illustration of this argument; but he was really so much astonished at what had been said upon this point, that he could not help stating a case which appeared to him directly in point with the present. If we were to look into the ancient periods of our history, when Scotland was a separate kingdom, hostile to us, and in strict alliance with France, the town of Berwick upon Tweed was a place of the greatest importance to us as a fortified frontier post; but surely it could not be said to be of equal importance now, when Scotland and England were united into one kingdom. This parallel did not appear to him to be exaggerated; and if Cochin was of no importance as a military post, he was inclined to think that its commercial value was not very great. As to the advantages we must derive from the possession of Ceylon, it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon them—they were too obvious not to be felt by every body. With regard to the Cape, he before stated his opinion of its value; but if we could not retain it *without continuing the war, he thought Ministers had acted wisely in giving it up*, upon the terms they had, because, in point of value, it was inferior to Ceylon and Trinidad. He now came to the consideration of our situation in the West Indies, and he was decidedly of opinion, that of all the islands which the fortune of war had put into our hands in that quarter, *Trinidad was the most valuable—he should prefer it even to Martinico!!!*—undoubtedly, as a protection to our Leeward Islands, it was the better of the two; but in point of *intrinsic value*, *Trinidad was the more important*. As to its value as a post from which we might direct our future operations against the possessions of Spain in South America, it must be felt by every one to be the best situated of any part in the West-Indies. He had always been of opinion that it came to be a question merely of terms between England and France, that we ought to retain the possession of one of the great naval stations in the West-Indies, because our great want in that quarter was a naval port. The four great naval stations were Guadaloupe, Martinico, St. Lucia, and Trinidad; and of those Trinidad and Martinico were the best, and the *former* the *better* of the two!!!—He would now trouble the House shortly upon the subject of our allies. With respect to the Porte, we had done every thing we were bound to do—nay, more—we had *compelled the French to the evacuation of Egypt*, and had

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stipulated for the integrity of her dominions. There was another object which we had obtained, and to which he did not think as much importance had been given as it deserved.—He meant *the establishment of an infant power, viz. the Republic of the Seven Islands*, which would perhaps have otherwise fallen under the dominion of France: this certainly was an acquisition of great importance for this country, *not inferior perhaps to the* POSSESSION OF MALTA ITSELF!! The only answer he had heard upon this subject was, that there had been a treaty concluded between France and the Porte, by which the evacuation of Egypt was stipulated for; but it could not be for a moment doubted that it was to the exertions of this country, and to the brilliant achievements of our army and navy, that the evacuation of Egypt must be attributed; and if France had by a diplomatic trick taken the advantage of this in two treaties, that could not derogate from the merit of this country. With regard to Naples, we were not bound to do any thing for her. She had even desired to be released from her engagements to us, but she was compelled to do this by an overruling necessity, and the government of this country, in its conduct towards Naples, had not only acted in conformity to its own interest, and that upon large and liberal grounds, in endeavouring to repair the fortunes of an ally, who had given way only to force. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Grenville) had argued, that we ought to have guaranteed to Naples her dominions, because, from the contiguity of the Cisalpine Republic to Naples, the French may, in pursuance of the treaty, evacuate their territories one day and re-enter them the next; but if, from the situation of Europe, the present stipulation could not effect the security of Naples, it must be obvious, that any guarantee would be equally unavailing. With regard to Sardinia, the same observations were applicable, for we were not bound to interfere for her, unless it was to be maintained that we were to take upon ourselves the task of settling the affairs of the continent. But if we were unable to settle the affairs of that part of the continent, which was in our own neighbourhood, with what effect or propriety could we attempt it in Italy? *He was ready to grant we ought to have claimed Piedmont for its sovereign, but could we have obtained it?* Could we have procured its restoration unless we could have disposed of the king of Etruria, unless we could have the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, and driven the French from the mountains of Switzerland?—Unless we could have done all this, it would have been in vain to restore the king of Sardinia to his capital, surrounded as he would have been by the French, and by their dependent and affiliated republics.—As to Portugal, every body must lament her misfortunes. But if it was right in her to ask to be released from her engagements to us, and if it was right in us to consent to it, then clearly we were absolved from any obligation to her, because an obligation which is put an end to on the one side, can, upon no fair reasoning, be said to continue on the other. As to the cession of Olivenza, it certainly was not of any great importance; but much had been said about the territory which France had obtained from Portugal in South America, and a considerable degree of geographical knowledge had been displayed in tracing the course of rivers; but gentlemen should recollect, that a South American and an European river were materially different, for when you were talking of the banks of a river in South America, it was in fact very often little less than the coasts of an ocean. It had been said, "You affect to guarantee the integrity of Portugal, but it is only after France and Spain have taken every thing they wished for." But this again was not correct. The treaty of Badajos certainly did not give to France all she desired, because France, by a subsequent treaty, extorts another cession of still greater importance to her. What happens then? Portugal has given up this second portion of her territory by force, when you interfere and cancel the second treaty, and bring them back to the stipulations in the first. To you, then, Portugal owes this difference in the limits of her South American empire, and to her you have acted not only with good faith, but with *dignified liberality*. The only remaining ally was the Prince of Orange; from our ancient connexions, from our gratitude for the services of the House of Orange at the period of the revolution, from his connexion with our sovereign, we could not but take a lively interest in his fate, *and we had shewn it by our conduct*; he was not to be told of the guarantee of the constitution of Holland, without re-calling to the recollection of the House, the efforts we had made to defend, the unparalleled exertions we had made to restore him to his dominions. Even on the present occasion his interests had not been neglected; we did interfere for him, and we were told that his interests were at that time the subject of negotiation, and that *he would receive an indemnity*. Even if we were to take that upon ourselves, it ought not to stand in the way of a great national arrangement. Thus stood the case with regard to our acquisitions and to our allies. But it has been said, that we ought to have obtained more; that we ought to have obtained something to balance the great increase of power which France had obtained—that we have given France the means of increasing her maritime strength, and, in short, that we have *signed the death-warrant of the country*. Now, in the first place, *if we had retained all our conquests, it would not have made any difference to us in point of security*. He did not mean to say, he would not have retained them all if he could, but they were no more important, than they would give us a little more or a little less of colonial power, and only tended to promote our security by increasing our finance. But would the acquisition of all these islands have enabled us to counterbalance the power which France has acquired on the Continent, they would only give you a little more wealth; but a little more wealth would be badly purchased by a little more war; he should think so, even if we could be sure that one year's more war would give it to us; particularly when

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it was recollected how many years we had now been engaged in this contest. In speaking however about our resources, he would take upon himself to state (and he hoped the House would give him credit for some knowledge upon the subject), that if any case of necessity should arise, or if our honour should require another contest, we were far, very far indeed, from the end of our pecuniary resources, which, he was happy to say, were greater than the enemy, or even the people of this country themselves had an idea of. For the purpose of defence, or for the security of our honour, we have still resources in abundance, but they ought to be *kept for these purposes, and not lavished away in continuing a contest, with the certainty of enormous expense.* You might sit down in a worse relative situation than you are at present, *your object not obtained, your security not effected.* —As to the general point, *we could not now think of balancing the powers on the Continent*; it was undoubtedly right, that if the French had conquered much, we ought also to endeavour to retain much; but in treating with France, we were *not to consider what France had got from other countries, but what was the relative situation between us and France.* Gentlemen had talked of the *uti possidetis*, but France had not insisted upon that principle in her treaties with the powers on the continent;—she had not retained the possession of all she had conquered, and consequently we could be justified in insisting upon that principle. He admitted, that if a country had increased in power and territory, faster than its natural rival, for, without speaking hastily, he must consider France in that character, that might justify the engaging in a confederacy to bring him back to his antient strength; but if he had been able to dissolve that confederacy, that would, perhaps, be the worst reason in the world why, when we came to make peace with him, we were to expect the more favourable terms. It would be but *bad reasoning* if one power was to say to another, *you are much too powerful for us, we have not the means of reducing that power by force, and therefore you must cede to us a portion of your territories in order to make us equal in point of strength.* Gentlemen might undoubtedly *wish* this, but that which regulated wishes would not regulate *action*, many things might be *prayed* for, but were hardly to be *expected*. But he did not see that we were giving to the enemy all this colonial wealth and maritime power which had been represented; what you give back is not only smaller than what you retain, but much of it is in a ruined state. He was therefore inclined to think, that for many years at least, we should have the colonial trade, and that too increasing in extent and value.—That we should not have been justified in asking for more he did not mean to assert, but that we should have got more, *or that we ought to have continued the war to increase our possessions, was a proposition to which he could not give his assent.* Allusions had been made to former opinions and language; upon this subject he should only say, that peace having been restored between England and France, forbearance of language, and terms of respect, were proper, but it would be affectation and hypocrisy in him to say he had or could change his opinion of the character of the person presiding in France, until he saw a train of conduct which would justify that change. He would not now occupy the attention of the House by entering into a discussion of the origin of the war; the unjust aggression which was made upon us was established by recent evidence, but it was unnecessary to enter into it now, because upon that subject the opinion of the House and of the country was fixed. The great object of the war on our part was defence for ourselves and for the rest of the world, in a war waged against most of the nations of Europe, but against us with particular malignity. Security was our great object; there were different means of accomplishing it with better or worse prospects of success, and according to the different variations of policy occasioned by a change of circumstances, *we still pursued our great object, security.* In order to obtain it, we certainly did look for the subversion of that government which was founded upon revolutionary principles. We *never at any one period said*, that as a *sine qua non* we *insisted upon the restoration of the old government of France*,—we only said, *there was no government with which we could treat*: this was our language up to 1796; but *in no one instance did we ever insist upon restoring the monarchy*, though, he did not hesitate to acknowledge, that it would have been more consistent with the wishes of ministers, and with the interest and security of this country. He was equally ready to confess, that he had given up his hopes with the greatest reluctance, and he should, to his dying day, lament that there were not, on the part of the other powers of Europe, efforts corresponding to our own for the accomplishment of that great work. There were periods during the continuance of the war in which they had hopes of being able to put together the scattered fragments of that great and venerable edifice; to have restored the exiled nobility of France, to have restored a government, certainly not free from defects, but built upon sober and regular foundations, instead of that mad system of innovation which threatened, and nearly accomplished the destruction of Europe.—When this became unattainable he gave up his hopes, but we had the satisfaction of knowing, that we had *survived* the violence of the revolutionary fever, that we had seen the extent of its principles abated:—We had seen Jacobinism deprived of its fascination; we had seen it stripped of the name and pretext of liberty; it had shewn itself to be capable only of destroying, not of building, and that it must necessarily end in a military despotism; he trusted this important lesson would not be thrown away upon the world.—There were times during the war in which government hoped to be able to drive France within her ancient limits, and even to make barriers against her further incursions; but in this they were disappointed; *it became then necessary, with the change of circumstances, to change our objects; for he did not know a more fatal error*

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than to look only at one object, and obstinately to pursue it, when the hope of accomplishing it no longer remained. If it became impossible for us to attain the full object of our wishes, wisdom and policy both required that we should endeavour to obtain that which was next best. In saying this, he was not sensible of inconsistency, either in his former language or conduct, in refusing to treat with the person who now holds the destinies of France, because, when he formerly declined treating with him, he then said, that if events took the turn they had since done, he had no objection to treat with him. He would now add, but very little more to what he had said.—*He could not agree with those gentlemen who seemed to think that France had grown so much stronger in proportion to what we had, and these gloomy apprehensions seemed to him to be almost wholly without foundation.* This country always was, and he trusted always would be, *able to check the ambitious projects of France, and to give that degree of assistance to the rest of Europe which they had done upon this occasion*, and he wished it had been done with more effect. But when the immense acquisitions which France had made were taken into consideration on the one hand, it was but fair on the other, to consider what she had *lost in population*, in *commerce*, in *capital*, and in *habits of industry*; the desolation produced by convulsions such as France had undergone, could not be repaired even by large acquisitions of territory. Comparing therefore what France has gained with what she has lost, *this enormous increase of power was not quite so apparent as some gentlemen on the other side seemed to apprehend.* When he took into consideration the immense *wealth of this country*, and the natural and legitimate growth of that wealth, so much superior to the produce of rapacity and plunder, he could not but entertain the hope, founded in justice and in nature, of its solidity. This hope was strengthened by collateral considerations, when he looked to the great increase of our maritime power, when he contemplated the additional naval triumphs we had obtained, when he looked to the brilliant victories of our armies obtained over the flower of the troops of France, troops which, in the opinion of many, were invincible—when he reflected upon these glorious achievements, though he could not but lament our disappointment in some objects, he had the satisfaction of thinking that we had added strength to our security, and lustre to our national character. Since the treaty which had taken place at Lisle, we had increased in wealth and commerce. But there were two important events which had given the greatest consolidation to our strength, he alluded to the destruction of the power of Tippoo Sultan in India, who had fallen a victim to his attachment to France and his perfidy to us. It had frequently been observed, that great dangers frequently produced in nations of a manly cast of mind, great and noble exertions. So when the most unparalleled danger threatened the sister kingdom, the feelings of a common cause between the people of both countries had enabled them to overcome prejudices, some of them perhaps laudable, and all of them deep-rooted, and led to that happy union, *which adds more to the power and strength of the British Empire, than all the conquests of one and indivisible France!* These were consolations which he wished to recall to the recollection of those who entertained gloomy apprehensions about the strength and resources of Great Britain. If any additional proofs were wanting to prove her ability, to protect her honour, and maintain her interest, let gentlemen look to the last campaign, and they would see Great Britain contending against a powerful confederacy in the North; they would see her fighting for those objects at once, in Egypt and in the Baltic, and they would see her successful in both. We had shewn, that we were ready to meet the threatened invasion at home, and could send troops to triumph over the French in the barren sands of Egypt, before a man could escape from Toulon to reinforce their blocked up army.—We had met the menaced invasion by attacking France on her own coasts; and we had seen those ships which were destined for the invasion of this country, moored and chained to their coasts, and finding protection only in their batteries. These were not only sources of justifiable pride, but grounds of old security. Whatever might be the future object of the Chief Consul of France, he knew not, but if it was to exercise a military despotism, he would venture to predict, that he would not select this country for the first object of his attack; and if we were true to ourselves, we had little to fear from that attack, let it come when it would. But though he did not entertain apprehensions, yet he could not concur with those who thought we ought to lay aside all caution; if such policy were adopted, there would indeed be grounds for most serious apprehensions; he hoped every measure would be adopted which prudence could suggest, to do away animosity between the two countries, and to avoid every ground of irritation by sincerity on our part. This, however, on the other hand was not to be done by paying abject court to France. We must depend for our security only upon ourselves; but if the views of France corresponded with our own, we had every prospect of enjoying a long peace *He saw some symptoms that they were*, but upon this he had no certain knowledge; but he would never rely upon personal character for the security of his country. He was inclined to hope every thing that was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared otherwise. He concluded by giving assent to the motion.

Mr. Fox began by saying, that he never gave his vote with more heart-felt pleasure than he should give it to night. He adverted shortly to the manner in which the mover and the ministers had spoken of the peace, and confessed, that if the word *honourable* had been introduced, *he should not have declined assenting to the motion* on that account.

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What pressure upon France could have made her consent to better terms? The noble lord had said, with great accuracy, and it was that part of his speech which he admired the most, that with respect to the unsatisfactory state of the continent, nothing gave him much hope of mending it. It might be true that France could not hurt this country. Not hurt it! The invasion of Great Britain he had always treated as chimerical, but there were many other points which he should not now discuss. Yet was any man so fond of the union, so wildly satisfied with the measures that had been adopted, that he would say the danger arising from the French being in Ireland would not be greater, than would be the danger arising from the English being in France? The only question then was, whether by pressure of war, we could prevail upon France to cede Malta and the Cape? Could we prevail upon her by pressure upon her colonies? that had been already done. By pressure upon the territory of France? that was absurd. By pressure upon her finances? Here he could not help admiring ministers for not introducing into the discussion that jargon of the ruin of the French finances; of their being in the jaws and gulph of bankruptcy. They had too much good sense to do it. He came now to the question, whether the war should be continued, or whether these terms should be accepted? A noble lord, who sat on the same side with him, had talked of the peace, as a capitulation of our safety, but yet he discovered that that noble lord begged to be understood as not prefering another year of war to this complete surrender. These expressions, therefore, he could not help considering as little more than oratorical exaggeration. For his own part he had believed himself to be the last person who could bear the thought of another year of war; yet he found now that he was really warlike, compared with that noble lord. Though he could not, however, go so far as he did, yet, still, he could not contemplate another year of war, without dread and horror. He would ask gentlemen, what had been the state of the poor for two years? What had been seen in every parish? Each poor man forced to depend upon alms and charity. Charity did he call it? One of the worst parts of the present times was, that charity lost its nature; that the necessity was irresistible; the industrious and dissolute were forced to be relieved in the same manner. Should he be told that this was not connected with the war? Have not the events of this year, proved that connexion? There had been an abundant harvest, which he knew had produced a reduction in the price of grain, and also, but not in so great a degree, in the price of other provisions. But before the peace they had begun to rise again, probably because the fall had been too great. But as soon as peace came, the fall had been greater than it had been before.—*Could any man doubt, under such circumstances, that it was better for the people to eat than that we should possess the Cape, or even Malta?* He would now ask gentlemen, whether they ever remembered an event *that had occasioned such general and unfeigned joy?* But, perhaps, he should be told, that that joy was greater among the lower classes.—Be it so. It then proves, that plenty in their minds was connected with peace. Mr. Fox now alluded to the preliminaries as they related to France; he said that if the object of the war was to restore the *antient, accursed despotism of France, it would be an additional recommendation of the peace that the war had failed of attaining that object.* He took a view of the consequences that would have been produced upon Europe, had the coalition for the restoration of the Bourbon family succeeded. The consequences would have been, a perpetual guarantee amongst all kings, against all people who might be oppressed by them in any part of the world. He entered next into an historical view of the effects that such a guarantee would have produced in the time of Charles the First, and at the period of the revolution; he expressed a difference of opinion with Lord Hawkesbury upon the earlier periods of the war, and upon the causes of it. He contended that such terms as had been obtained might have been obtained at a much earlier period; he took a view of the different negotiations that had been entered into with France, in each of which negotiations we might have obtained as good, if not better terms. When the last offer to treat was made by Buonaparté, in 1800, we were told to pause. We had paused from 1800 to Oct. 1801, and this pause had cost us 70 millions, five times as much as all the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns. Mr. Fox proceeded now to charge the old administration with being the cause of the aggrandisement of France. *He expressed a belief that the present government of France would be less hostile to this country than the old*, and he argued against the idea of our commerce being injured by the rivalship of the French. As to the union with Ireland, he did not wish now to enter into the merits of it; time would best shew whether it was likely to strengthen the connection between both countries. He had heard of a mixture of delicacy and firmness in the government of Ireland. He would be glad to know what delicacy there was in the burnings and massacres? The noble lord had been incautious in the selection of his words, he had spoken of indulgencies to be granted to the people in consequence of the peace. Was the substitution of common law for martial law, or the constitution of the Habeas Corpus to be considered as an indulgence? He for one should not receive these much wished for measures as indulgencies, but as rights. He concluded with saying, that he could not help lamenting that the peace had not been made earlier. A better peace might certainly have been had seven years since.

Mr. ADDINGTON observed, that after the able arguments that had been advanced in favour of the question, it was difficult to find any topics that had not before been alluded to. It had always appeared to him, as well as to many others, that *the duty of negotiation commenced*

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when all hopes of continental aid in checking the power of France were at an end. His predecessors had been of this opinion, and had twice sought a negotiation, though their efforts had been unsuccessful. As soon, therefore, as His Majesty had been graciously pleased to deliver the authority of the country into the hands of the present ministers, they had thought it necessary *to follow the same example.*—They had commenced a negotiation, and their efforts had been *crowned with success.* A comparison had been made between the terms which were proposed at Lisle, and those which had now been agreed upon; but it should be recollected, that since the negotiation at Lisle, the national debt of this country had increased no less than an hundred and fifty millions. At that negotiation it was proposed to restore to France and her allies all that had been taken from them, a measure that must have been more dangerous to us at that time than it could be at present, because Tippoo Sultan was then in force, and in connexion with France. In the Mediterranean, we did not then stipulate for the establishment of *the republic of the Seven Islands*, which now form a barrier to Turkey on the Eastern side. In the West Indies we were in possession of Cape Nicola Mole and Jeremie, in addition to our other conquests; them we agreed to give up, keeping only the Cape and Trinidad. Upon the whole, he was decidedly of opinion, that the terms now obtained, were more favourable for the country than those proposed at Lisle. He then entered into an examination of the present articles, which he contended were calculated very much to effect the security of our Eastern and Western possessions. To those who wished to continue the war *for the purpose of reducing the power of France*, he wished to state, that another campaign could not be made *at a less expense than forty millions*, and a perpetual annuity (except for the operation of the sinking fund) of two millions per annum, in addition to their other burthens. *Even* CERTAIN SUCCESS *would not have been worth such a price!!!!!!* He perfectly concurred with his noble friend in thinking that we ought *to watch with care* any tendency to *increase* the colonial system of this country. He was *by no means satisfied* of the *wisdom* of those whose object seemed to be to *prevent* France from becoming a *commercial power*; he wished to see France possessed of commerce, he wished to see her possessed of interests which would make her conscious of our maritime power. He wished to see her possessed of interests which, in the case of an unfortunate rupture, we might have the means of attacking. A right hon. friend of his used to say, that in this contest we had gained all which we had not lost, but in concluding this treaty we had acted with the greatest honour and good faith to our allies; we had preserved all our ancient dominions, and had made important acquisitions both in the East and in the West. Independant of all this, an arrangement had been made with the powers of the north, by which our rights had been fully recognized and secured; and finally, that great and most beneficial measure, the union with Ireland, had been carried into effect....We had closed the contest with *consolidated power* AND WITH AUGMENTED MEANS, which he was convinced would make the power of this country *equal to that of France.* He was ready, however, to acknowledge, that it depended upon the wisdom of government and of that House, whether this peace should be a curse or a blessing. On the part of the King's present ministers, he could only say, that the peace which had been made honestly, should be kept faithfully. No encouragement should be given to any person, whatever their character might be, to subvert the present government of France. It would require the utmost caution to accomplish all the objects which they had in view, they must adopt a conduct of caution, of prudence, and of jealousy. *And he was bound in candour and fairness to state, that it would be necessary to provide new means of security, such as were never before known in time of peace.* If he were asked whether this was founded upon a suspicion of the sincerity of the enemy, he would answer, No; but he could not look upon the Map of Europe, without being convinced that such was the conduct which their duty prescribed to them. The system to be adopted must be one plainly directed to the security of the country; not calculated to promote patronage or to excite jealousies. He flattered himself that when the subject came to be investigated, it would not be found difficult to adopt a system of defence which would be found fully adequate to the security of the country. He could not help expressing, upon this occasion, his sense of the danger to which this country would be exposed if proper measures were not adapted for its security. There were many other points necessary to be provided for, but which it was unnecessary to enter into at present; nor would he now have troubled the House with his sentiments, but for the imputation which had been thrown out against him for keeping an improper silence.

The address was carried without a division.

November, 4th. 1801.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR EDMUND HARTOP brought up the address *.

MR. HENRY LASCELLES said, that having constantly given his vote for the continuance of the war, he would briefly state his reasons why he voted in favour of the peace.

MR. WINDHAM, † Sir, In the present stage of this business, and in a house so little numerous, I

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* The address which was voted the day before.

† This speech is copied from the pamphlet. The notes are taken from the appendix to the pamphlet.

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am not disposed to take up the subject in the way in which I should have wished to consider it, had I been able with tolerable satisfaction to myself, to deliver my sentiments in the debate of last night. Something, however, I wish to say, founded in a great measure on what then took place.—All that I heard, and all that I saw, on that occasion, tends only to confirm more and more the deep despair in which I am plunged, in contemplating the probable consequences of the present treaty.—Notwithstanding some lofty talk which we heard of dignity and firmness, and which I shall be glad to see realized, and a happy quotation, expressive of the same sentiments, from my honourable friend not now present (Mr. Pitt), the real amount of what was said, seems to be little more than this:—that France has, to be sure, the power of destroying us, but that we hope she will not have the inclination;—that we are under the paw of the lion, but that he may happen not to be hungry, and, instead of making a meal of us, may turn round in his den, and go to sleep.—This is not stated in so many words: but it will be difficult to shew, that it is not the fair result of the arguments.—That I should have lived to see the day, when such arguments could be used in a British House of Commons!—that I should have lived to see a House of Commons, where such arguments could be heard with patience, and even with complacency!—The substance of the statement is this. We make peace, not from any necessity actually existing, (my honourable friends, with great propriety, reject that supposition) ‡, but because we foresee a period, at no great distance, when such a necessity must arise; and we think it right, that provision for such a case should be made in time.—We treat, or, to take at once the more appropriate term, we capitulate, while we have yet some ammunition left. General Menou could do no more. General Menou could do no more in one sense; but in another he did, I fear a great deal more:—a point to which I must say a word hereafter;—he did not abandon to their fate those whom he had invited to follow his fortunes, and to look up to him as their protector. Both, however, capitulated; and upon the plain and ordinary grounds of such a proceeding, namely, that their means of resistance must soon come to an end, and that they had no such hopes of any fortunate turn in their favour, as to justify a continuance of their resistance in the mean time. The conduct of both in the circumstances supposed, was perfectly rational: but let us recollect, that those who stand in such circumstances, be they generals, or be they nations, are, to all intents and purposes conquered! I know not what other definition we want of being conquered, than that a country can say to us, "we can hold out, and you cannot; "make peace, or we will ruin you:" and that you, in consequence, make peace, upon terms which must render a renewal of hostilities, under any provocation, more certainly fatal than a continuation of that war, which you already declare yourselves unable to bear.—If such be the fact, we may amuse ourselves with talking what language we please; but we are a conquered people. Buonaparté is as much our master, as he is of Spain or Prussia, or any other of those countries, which, though still permitted to call themselves independent, are, as every body knows, as completely in his power, as if the name of department was already written upon their foreheads.—There are but two questions,—Is the relation between the countries such, that France can ruin us by continuing the war? and will that relation in substance remain the same, or rather will it not be rendered infinitely worse, by peace, upon the terms now proposed?—If both these questions are answered in the affirmative, the whole is decided, and we live henceforward by sufferance from France.—Sir, before we endeavour to estimate our prospects in this new and honourable state of existence, I wish to consider for a moment, what the reasonings are, that have determined our choice, as to the particular mode of it; and why we think that ruin by war must be so much more speedy and certain, than ruin by peace. And here I will take pretty much the statement given by the honourable gentlemen who argue on the other side.—I agree, that the question is not, whether this peace be good or bad, honourable or dishonourable, adequate or inadequate; whether it places us in a situation better or worse, than we had reason to expect, or than we were in before the war. All these are parts of the question, and many of them very material parts; but the question itself is, whether the peace now proposed, such as it is, be better, or not, than a continuation of hostilities?—Whether, according to a familiar mode of speech, we may not go farther and fare worse?—Whether, to take the same form in a manner somewhat more developed and correct, the chances of faring better, compared with the chances of faring worse, and including the certainty of the intermediate evils, do not render it advisable upon the whole, that we should rest contented where we are.—This I take to be the statement of the question, on the present, and on all similar occasions: nor do I know of any addition necessary to be made, except to observe, that in estimating the terms of peace in the manner here proposed, you are not merely to consider the physical force, or pecuniary value, of the objects concerned, but also the effect which peace, made in such and such circumstances, is likely to have on the character and estimation of the country; a species of possession, which, though neither tangible nor visible, is as much a part of national strength, and has as real a value, as any thing that can be turned into pounds and shillings, that can be sold by the score or hundred, or weighed out in avoirdupoise. Accordingly a statesman, acting for a great country, may very well be in the situation of saying,—I would make peace at this time, if nothing more were in question, than the value of the objects now offered me, compared with those which I may hope to obtain: but when I consider what the effect is, which peace, made in the present circumstances, will have upon the estimation of the country; what the weakness is which it will betray; what the suspicions it will excite; what the distrust and alienation it will produce, in the minds of all the

‡ It would have been too much to have urged the plea of poverty in a country, which was at that moment exciting the envy and jealousy of all the world by its exorbitant wealth.

N. B. These notes are taken from the appendix published with this speech.

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surrounding nations; how it will lower us in their eyes; how it will teach them universally to fly from connexion with a country, which neither protects its friends, nor seems any longer capable of protecting itself, in order to turn to those, who, while their vengeance is terrible, will not suffer a hair of the head to be touched, of any who will put themselves under their protection:—when I consider these consequences, not less real, or permanent, or extensive, than those which present themselves in the shape of territorial strength or commercial resources, I must reject these terms, which otherwise I should feel disposed to accept, and say, that, putting character into the scale, the inclination of the balance is decidedly the other way.—Sir, there is in all this nothing new or refined, or more than will be admitted by every one in words; though there seems so little disposition to adhere to it in fact.—If we refer to the practice of only our own time, what was the case of the Falkland Islands and Nootka? Was it the value of these objects, that we were going to war for? The one was a barren rock, an object of competition for nothing but seals and seagulls: the other a point of land in a wilderness, where some obscure, though spirited, adventurers had hoped that they might in time establish a trade with the savages for furs. Were these, objects to involve nations in wars? If there was a question of their doing so, it was because considerations of a far different kind were attached to them,—considerations of national honour and dignity; between which and the objects themselves, there may often be no more proportion, than between the picture of a great master, and the canvas on which it is painted.—If I wished for authorities upon such a subject, I need go no further than to the honourable gentleman, [Mr. Fox,] who has recurred to a sentiment, produced by him formerly with something of paradoxical exaggeration, (though true in the main), namely, that wars for points of honour, are really the only rational and prudential wars in which a country can engage. Much of the same sort is the sentiment of another popular teacher, JUNIUS, who, upon the subject of these very Falkland Islands, says, in terms which it may be worth while to quote, not for the merit of the language, nor the authority of the writer,—though neither of them without their value,—but to show, what were once the feelings of Englishmen, and what the topics chosen by a writer, whose object it was to recommend himself to the people: "To depart, "in the minutest article, from the nicety, and "strictness of punctilio, is as dangerous to na-"tional honour, as it is to female virtue. The "woman who admits of one familiarity, seldom "knows where to stop, or what to refuse; and "when the counsels of a great country give way "in a single instance, when they are once in-"clined to submission, every step accelerates the "rapidity of their descent!"—We are not therefore, according to the present fashion, to fall to calculating, and to ask ourselves, what is the value at market of such and such an object, and how much it will cost us to obtain it. If these objects alone were at stake, I should admit the principle in its full force; and should be among the first to declare, that no object of mere pecuniary value could ever be worth obtaining at the price of a war: but when particular points of honour are at stake, as at Nootka or the Falkland Islands (without inquiring, whether in those cases the point of honour was either well chosen, or rightly estimated); and still more, where general impression, where universal estimation, where the conception to be formed of the feelings, temper, power, policy, and views of a great nation are in question, there to talk of calculating the loss or profit of possessions to which these considerations may be attached by their price at market, or the value of their fee-simple, is like the idea of Dr. Swift, when he is comparing the grants to the Duke of Marlborough, with the rewards of a Roman conqueror, and estimates the crown of laurel at two-pence.—The first question for a great country to ask itself,—the first in point of order, and the first in consequence,—is this: is the part which I am about to act consonant to that high estimation which I have hitherto maintained among the nations of the world? Will my reputation suffer?*—whether that reputation relate to the supposed extent of its means, to the vigour and wisdom of its counsels, or to the uprightness of its intentions. If, in any of these ways, the country is to sustain a loss of character; if the effect of what is proposed be to render it less respected, less looked up to, less trusted, less feared; if its firmness in times of trial, its fidelity to its engagements, its steady adherence to its purposes through all fortunes, are to be called in question; it must be a strong necessity indeed, stronger than any which I believe to exist in the present instance, that ought to induce it even to listen to counsels liable to be attended with any of these consequences. It must be a weighty danger, that, in the scales of a great country, can be allowed to balance the loss of any part of its dignity. What then shall we say of a country, which, abandoning from the outset every con-

* The answer to be given to this question, in the case of the present treaty, will be best ascertained perhaps by recurring to what happened when the terms of the treaty were first declared. It was some time before any body could be found to believe them. The first reporters, when they stated that every thing was given up, except Ceylon and Trinidad; that Demerary, Cochin, the Cape, Malta, all were gone; were treated as persons who were joking, or who were themselves the dupes of some idle joke put about by the opposition. Nobody could believe that the terms of the treaty were in reality such as that description represented them.

On the continent, where the speculations are apt to be more refined; after some time given to disbelief, the difficulty was solved by the supposition of secret articles. 'Some great advantages were to be secured to Great-Britain of another kind:' 'Buonaparté was to abdicate:' 'Louis 'the XVIIIth was to be restored:' &c. &c. It never entered the thought of any one, that the state of things was finally to prove, what it appeared in the first instance; and that from mere impatience of contest, from sheer impotence of mind, Great-Britain had thus suddenly stopped in her career, dropped down as in a fit, and, abandoning all her means of defence, was rolling herself in the dust at the feet of her adversary, regardless of what in future was to become of her, and looking to nothing but such temporary respite, as, 'the satiate fury' of the foe, or some feeling still more degrading to her, might happen to yield.

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sideration of this sort, will not wait till it becomes insecure by ceasing to be respectable, but becomes unrespectable by ceasing to be secure? Which drops at once at the feet of its rival? Which begins by a complete surrender of its security; and suffers fame, character, dignity, and every thing else, to go along with it?—Whether such is the situation of this country, we shall judge better by taking a short view of the terms of the proposed peace. The description of these is simple and easy:—France gives nothing, and, excepting Trinidad and Ceylon, England gives every thing. If it were of any consequence to state what in diplomatick language was the basis of this treaty, we must say, that it had no one basis; but that it was the *status quo*, on the part of England, with the two exceptions in its favour, of Ceylon and Trinidad; and the *uti possidetis*, with the addition of all the other English conquests, on the part of France. But what may be the technical description of the treaty, is, comparatively, of little importance. It is the result that is material, and the extent of power and territory, now, by whatever means, actually remaining in the hands of France. The enumeration of this, liable indeed in part to be disputed, but upon the whole sufficiently correct, may be made as follows:—In Europe.—France possesses the whole of the Continent *, with the exception of Russia and Austria. If it be said, that parts of Germany, and the Northern courts of Denmark and Sweden are not fairly described as being immediately under the controul of France, we must balance this consideration by remarking, the influence which France possesses in these governments, and the commanding position which she occupies with respect to Austria, by the possession of Switzerland an Mantua, and those countries, which have be considered always, and twice in the course of t present war, have proved to be the direct in into the heart of her dominions. In Asia, Pon cherry, Mahé, Cochin, Negapatam, the Spice Islan In Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, Seneg —In the sea that is enclosed by these three co tinents, which connects them all, and furnishes us in many respects our best and surest comm nication with them,—the Mediterranean,—eve port and post except Gibraltar, from one end of to the other *, including the impregnable and i valuable port of Malta; so as to exclude us fro a sea, which it had ever before been the anxio policy of Great-Britain to keep in her hands,—a to render it now, truly and properly, what it w once idly called, the Sea of France.—In the We Indies, St. Domingo †, both the French and Sp

* This position will not be thought to have become less commanding by the completion of an event, which, lost as this country is to all feeling of its situation, does seem to have produced some slight sensation, namely, the extinction of the Cisalpine Republick, and the reproduction of it under the new form and title of the Italian. Those who before doubted, to what degree Buonaparté was master of Europe, may find here wherewithal to settle their opinion. It is not the mere assumption of so much new territory, or of so much new dominion at least, over a territory already dependant; nor the new danger arising from thence to Austria; (either of them circumstances, that in former times, would have set the Continent in a flame,) but what the state must be of the powers of Europe, whoever they are, when they can sit quiet spectators of this proceeding, without daring to stir a step to prevent it. The assumption of this territory, though it be only a change in the form of the dominion exercised over it, must by no means be consideredas of little importance. As has been well observed, (*vide* Cobbett's Register, Vol. I. page 114.) the use to be made of a country, in any state of independence, however nominal, is by no means the same, as when that country is placed at once in the hands of the governing power. France is mistress, it is true, of Spain and Prussia, and of Holland, Switzerland, Genoa, Tuscany, and all the South of Italy: but not to the same degree of the two former countries, as she is of the others; nor of the others, in the same manner as she is of the new Italian Republick. There may be a difference of several weeks.

* Among the posts and ports included in t description, we must not omit to particularize Island of Elba, with its port, Porto Ferrajo. T little island, small in extent, but not small in co sequence, and rendered nobly conspicuous at close of the day, by the last parting rays of Brit glory, which fell upon it, was supposed by the p visions of the treaty of Luneville to have be left indirectly only in the power of France; in much as it was expressly stipulated, that it wa form part of the territories of the new king Etruria,—a king made by France; in the wan ness of her malice, and as a mockery of the ancie sovereigns of Europe. The possession of Island, however, in this way was not thought s ficient; and therefore, that nothing might wanting to mark that perfect contempt of g faith which has never failed to be manifested the Republick in all her transactions with co countries, Elba was to be obtained by a sec treaty with the King of Spain,—the chief of t house of which the King of Etruria was a me ber. The consequence was, that when Austria the treaty of Luneville, and England in the l preliminary treaty, thought that they had left t island, such as it had always been before, part parcel of the dutchy of Tuscany, they found it, their great surprize, rising up against them, a separate possession in the hands of France, re to be employed for the more easy subjugation Naples, and for whatever other purposes Fra might have to prosecute in that quarter of t world.—It is not easy to conceive an instance more contemptuous imposition on one side, nor more forlorn and pitiable acquiescence on t other.

† Great doubt seems to be entertained at t moment, whether France will or will not suc obtain possession of St. Domingo; and great ex tation to be felt in consequence by those, who few months ago, upon the ground that the co quest of St. Domingo, by France, was necess for the security of our own islands, had consent to so extraordinary a measure as the sending out immense armament, from the enemy's ports, the interval between the preliminary and the finitive treaties. The probability is, that Fra will succeed, so far at least as to keep possessi of part of the island: but should she not, that the terrors affected to be felt at the establishm of a black empire, will return with ten-fold fo

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nish parts, Martinico, St. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curaco.—In North America, St. Pierre and Miquelon, with a right to the fisheries in the fullest extent to which they were ever claimed; Louisiana, (so it is supposed,)* a word dreadful to be pronounced, to all who consider the consequences with which that cession is pregnant, whe-

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for the blacks will remain masters,—and masters after having tried their powers in a regular contest with European troops,—not to mention the hostility which they may well be suspected to conceive against us, who after various treaties and negotiations, the nature of which may require hereafter a little examination, finally lent our assistance to the sending out a force, intended for the purpose of bringing them back to slavery. Should the other event happen, and France obtain possession of St. Domingo, it may then well be a question, how long we shall remain in possession of Jamaica. So little can ordinary men enter into that profound scheme of policy, which would give to your enemy at a peace, or even before peace was concluded, what you had yourself been attempting to acquire during the war, at the expense of more than ten thousand men, and probably of twice as many millions of money.

* What is here supposed is now found to be the fact. By a secret treaty settled with Spain, on the 21st March, 1801, but not to be declared till after peace with England, or till ministers should be found, who previously to peace would suffer France to do what she pleased, Spain cedes to France the possession of Louisiana, and with it, as is supposed, that of the two Floridas. It is impossible to pretend that this event was one which could not have been foreseen. It was foreseen by the treaty of Utrecht; it was foreseen by the fears of every reflecting American; it was pointed out to the people of America, nearly six years ago, not only as an event likely to happen, but as likely to happen in the very mode which we have now seen. (Vide Cobbett's Register, Vol. I. page 199.) Putting foresight out of the question, the fact must have been known, had the ministers here either dared to question France, or instead of allowing France to negotiate for her allies, insisted on treating directly with those powers themselves.

Dreadful is their responsibility, by whom these precautions have been neglected, and by whom these things have finally been suffered to happen. But the crime or madness of those who have caused these evils, is less to us than the evils themselves. France has hitherto reckoned her progress by states and kingdoms: she may now count by continents: she has established herself in the new world. By the possession of these countries, placed as they are, and combined with those which before belonged to her, she will hold, as by a sort of middle handle, the two great divisions of this quarter of the globe, and will brandish these continents like the blades of that tremendous instrument, which did such signal service in the patriot hands of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The consequences of this acquisition in one of the two hemispheres (North America) are well detailed, in different parts of the work above referred to. (See p. 44, 199, 253, and 265.) France planted now in the same continent with the United States, cutting them off from some of their richest districts, extending her settlements behind them, gradually but not slowly, till the mouths of the Mississippi shall be united with the sources of the St. Lawrence, will soon make them feel the want of that security which they have hitherto derived from an intervening ocean: and against a new and unconsolidated mass of states will finally effect that, which it required only ten years to accomplish against the old and well-compacted governments of Europe. In the mean-while we may employ ourselves in considering, what is likely to be her controul over the conduct of America as respecting this country; what the danger to Canada, and to that portion of our trade, which is carried on with those countries; what the effect of a French establishment in Louisiana and the Floridas, joined to what France will have in St. Domingo, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, upon the whole of our West-Indian interests and possessions.

But it is on the other side, and towards the South, that the scene is most awful; where we behold the whole wealth of the new world lying exposed in goodly prospect, and France, with no other point to settle than the moment when it may suit her convenience to take possession of it. Buonaparté, established in Louisiana, has as ready an access to the treasures of the Spanish mines, as any banker has to his strong box. Thanks to those who have given him the key of them. The wealth of Spain will from henceforward, directly and immediately, and with no necessity for any intermediate process, be the wealth of France: and let no man flatter himself with the hope, that it will become in her hands, what it was in those of its former possessors, the means of enfeebling strength, and relaxing industry and exertion. In succeeding to the riches of Spain, there is no ground to hope, that France will succeed to her weakness or folly. She will better profit by the example of her predecessors, and will keep her wealth in a due and perfect subordination to the higher and dearer interests of her ambition. Her mines will be only the storehouse of her power. She will see, in these dark repositories, nothing but a magazine of future wars; which, like winds from the cave of Æolus, will rush forth to sweep the earth, and level whatever may yet be found to oppose the final accomplishment of her wishes.

Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.

An open boat in the Bay of Biscay, with all the storms of heaven raging for its destruction, does not present an image of more unequal contest, than Great-Britain struggling with a power, which combines against her the old world and the new; which, to the force of nearly the whole continent of Europe, to something in Asia, to much in Africa, and more in the West-Indies, adds the naval resources of the continent of North America, and the wealth of the Spanish mines.

All these latter dangers, be it remembered, are created solely and exclusively by the peace. While war continued, these resources could never have gone to the enemy; they might, at any moment when necessity had been pressing, or hope in Europe had become extinct, have been secured to ourselves. The fear of this was probably the cause which preserved so long to Spain and Portugal the nominal independence which they have

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ther as it acts northward, by its effects upon the United States, or southward, as opening a direct passage into the Spanish settlements in America.—In South America,—Surinam, Demerary, Berbice, Essequibo, taken by us and now ceded;—Guiana, and by the effect of the treaty, fraudulently signed by France with Portugal, just before the signature of these preliminaries, a tract of country extending to the river Amazon, and giving to France the command of the entrance into that river. Whether, by any secret article, the evils of this cession will prove to have been done away, time will discover.* In fact, (be that as it may,) France may be said to possess the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements upon that continent. For who shall say, that she has not the command of those settlements, when she has the command of the countries to which they belong;—*cum custodit ipsos custodes?* She has, in truth, whatever part of the continent of South America she chooses to occupy; and as far as relates to the Spanish part, without even the necessity, a necessity that probably would not cost her much, of infringing any part of the present treaty.

Such is the grand and comprehensive circle to which the New Roman Empire may be soon expected to spread, now that peace has removed all obstacles, and opened to her a safe and easy passage into the three remaining quarters of the globe. Such is the power, which we are required to contemplate without dismay! under the shade of whose greatness we are invited to lie down with perfect tranquillity and composure! I should be glad to know, what our ancestors would have thought and felt in this situation? what those weak and deluded men, so inferior to the politicians of the present day†, the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Somers, the King Williams, all those who viewed with such apprehension the power of Louis XIV.; what they would say to a peace, which not only confirms to France the possession of nearly the whole of Europe, but extends her empire over every other part of the globe. Is there a man of them, who would not turn in his coffin, could he be sensible to a twentieth part of that which is passing, as perfect matter of course, in the politics of the present moment?—But to all these mighty dangers we have it seems one great security to oppose; not that degrading and bastard security to which I have before adverted, and to which, I fear, I must again recur,—that France is *lassata* if not *satiata*; that having run down her prey, she will be content to spare it, and be willing for awhile to leave us unmolested; —but a rational, sober, well-founded security, applicable to the supposition that she may not be wanting in the will to hurt us, but will happily not possess the power. This great security, we are told, is our wealth. We are, it seems, so immensely rich, our prosperity stands on so sure and wide a basis, we have such a pyramid of gold, so beautifully constructed, and so firmly put together, that we may safely let in all the world to do their worst against it; they can never overturn it, and might spend ages in endeavouring to take it to pieces. We seem to consider our commercial prosperity, like those articles of property, timber, marble, and others of that sort, which, however valuable, may be safely left unguarded, being too weighty and bulky to be carried away.—Sir, the first circumstance that strikes one in this statement, is, that odd inconsistency, by which a country that makes peace on account of its poverty, is to rest its whole hope of security in that peace, upon its wealth. If our wealth will protect us, it is a great pity that this discovery was not made long ago; it would have saved us many years of painful struggle, have kept in our hands a great additional portion of these very means of protection, and have lessened considerably the dangers against which such protection is wanted. But wealth, I fear, abstracted from certain means of using it, carries with it no powers of protection, either for itself or others. Riches are strength, in the same manner only as they are food. They may be the means of procuring both. But we shall fall into as great a folly, as in the fable of Midas, if we suppose that when we

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enjoyed. But these advantages (we shall be told) could only be obtained by war; and war is ruin—Not exactly indeed to every country; because to France it has proved the means of empire and greatness; and even in Great-Britain, up to the period of the ninth year of war, the progress of ruin did not seem to be very alarming. We shall know, before long, what the efficacy is of that provision, which grave and sober men have made for the happiness and safety of their country, in peace.

* There is no chance that the evils of the peace in this respect will be done away, whatever may become of the particular cession here alluded to. Between the boundary settled by the treaty of Madrid and the boundary now contended for, in whatever treaty this latter is to be found, the difference is so small as hardly to be worth disputing. Either will give to France the command of the river Amazon. In this view the French may possibly concede the point: unless indeed the assurances given by our ministers, that they meant to do so, may be a reason with them for maintaining it.

† There have always been, in the House of Commons, some half-dozen or dozen sensible men, who having found out, that Great-Britain was an island, have been of opinion that all continental connexions are injurious, and calculated only to fill the pockets of those, who, in return for English guineas, had nothing to give but the valour and military talents of their subjects. As the progress of reason is slow, this party had remained for a century or more in a very obscure minority, opposed by all who for their wisdom or talents, or supposed knowledge of public affairs, had figured at any time in the history of the country. But oppressed as the party had long been, they have lived to see the day, when their opinions are at length triumphant; and when the ministers of the country, with the full approbation of Parliament and of the nation, are settling a treaty of peace upon a formal recognition of their principle, and declare in substance, that Great Britain has no longer any concern or interest in the affairs and situation of the Continent. It is only unfortunate, that time has not yet been given to evince the truth of this principle by experience. When it shall be seen that the renunciation of foreign connexions, and retreat into our insular resources shall have produced no harm, but that, on the contrary, the power and prosperity of Great Britain shall have risen higher than before, then will this doctrine have received its full and final confirmation.

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have laid down our arms, and surrendered our fortresses, our wealth, alone, can afford us any protection. I cannot, therefore, for my own part, understand what is meant by this, unless it be, that by superiority of capital, and priority of market, of which I allow the effects to be immense, we might, if things were left to themselves, in a fair competition, in a fair race, still keep a-head of our competitors, in spite of all the multiplied advantages which France will now possess. This might be so; though it is by no means clear that it would. But the competition will not be left to its natural course.* This game will not be fairly played. Buonaparté is a player, who, if the game is going against him, will be apt to pick a quarrel, and ask us, if we can draw our swords.—And here, perhaps, it is time to remark the singular fallacy, which has run through all the reasonings of gentlemen on the other side; that, namely, of supposing that in discussing the present question, the peace, such as it is, is the state which is to be contrasted with the continuance of the war.—They forget, or choose that we should forget, that this peace may, at any moment, at the mere pleasure of the enemy, be converted into a new war; differing only from the other, by the ground which we in the mean-while shall have lost, and the numerous advantages which the enemy will have acquired. There is not the least reason why this treaty, if the enemy should so please, should be any thing more than a mere piece of legerdemain, by which they shall have got possession of Malta, have established themselves in all their new colonies, have, perhaps re-entered Egypt, have received back twenty or thirty thousand seamen, and have otherwise put themselves into a situation to re-commence the war, with new and decisive advantages. If they do not immediately take this course, it will be, simply, because they will hope to succeed as well without it; or, because they choose to defer it till a more convenient opportunity: the means will, at every moment, be in their power.—Two suppositions are, therefore, always to be made, and two comparisons to be instituted, when we talk of the merits of this peace; 1st, That the enemy will choose to adhere to it; or, 2dly, that they will break it: and the two comparisons to be formed in consequence are, 1st, The comparison between a continuation of the war and a state of peace, such as peace will be under the present treaty; and 2dly, a comparison of the war, so continued, with such a war as France may revive at any moment after the present treaty shall have taken effect.—What the condition and feelings of the country would be, in this latter case, namely, that of a renewed war, I need hardly point out. The dread in fact of what they would be, will operate so strongly, that the case will never happen. The country will never bear to put itself in a situation, in which the sense of its own folly will press upon it in a way so impossible to be endured. At all events, with its present feelings and opinions, the country never can go to war again, let France do what she will: for, if we are of opinion, that war, continued at present, must be ruin in the course of a few years, what do we suppose it must be, when, to replace us where we now are, we must begin by the recovery of that list of places which the present treaty has given up? France, therefore, will be under no necessity of going to war with us; and nothing but her own intemperance and insolence, and an opinion of our endurance and weakness, beyond even what they may be found to deserve, can force upon us that extremity. She has much surer and safer means of going to work; means, at the same time, sufficiently quick in their operation to satisfy any ordinary ambition:—she has nothing to do but to trust to the progress of her own power in peace, quickened, as often as she shall see occasion, by a smart threat of war. I cannot conceive the object which a judicious application of these two means is not calculated to obtain. A peace, such as France has now made, mixed with proper proportions of a seasonable menace of war, is a specific, for the undoing of a rival country, which seems to me impossible to fail.—Let us try it in detail.—Suppose France, by an arrangement with that *independent* power, Spain, similar to the arrangement which, in violation of the treaty of Utrecht, produced the surrender of Louisiana, and of the Spanish half of St. Domingo,* should obtain the cession (which would be in violation of no treaty) of all the Spanish settlements in America: would you consider that as an occasion of war? Suppose Portugal, the integrity of whose possessions is in some sense or other guaranteed to her, but who is not prevented, I presume, by that guaranty, from parting with any of them that she pleases, should choose, in kindness to France, to make over to her any of those settlements which she, Portugal, still retains,—would that, again, be a cause of war? By these two ways, without the infraction of any treaty, without any act which could be construed to be an aggression, much less which we should be inclined to treat as such, might France render herself completely mistress of the continent of South America. Is there any commercial claim, then, that France could set up, any commercial regulation which she could introduce, either in her own name, or that of her allies, of a nature the most injurious and fatal to our commerce, which we should make a case of resistance, and think of magnitude enough to involve the nation in another war?—The augmentation of her marine, to which professedly she means to direct all her efforts, and the increase of her establishments to any amount that she pleases; these are objects which it would be perfectly ridiculous to talk of, or to suppose that we should make the subject even of the most friendly remonstrance. Indeed, according to the modern doctrines of not interfering in the internal concerns of another country, I do not understand upon what pretence the arma-

* See *Etat de la France*, by Hautrive, a work published at Paris, in 1800, immediately under the direction of the French government, and universally understood to be intended as a sort of manifesto of their sentiments. See also the various regulations introduced for the prohibition of our manufactures, even in the interval between the preliminary and definitive treaties.

* A few weeks before the above discourse was delivered, this would have been a mistake: for the treaty of Utrecht equally provide against the cession of any of these settlements, as against the cession of St. Domingo: but it is one of the distinguishing characters of the late preliminaries,—and a most alarming one it is—that contrary to the almost uniform practice, they revived no former treaties; so that the treaty of Utrecht, as respecting this country and France, may be now considered as abrogated.

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ment of a state can ever become a subject of representation, since nothing surely is so completely an internal concern, as what any nation does with its own military or naval forces, upon its own soil, or in its own harbours. But setting aside these smaller objects, suppose France was to re-invade Egypt; was, without waiting even for the form of a surrender from the Order, to take forcible possession of Malta; was to land a body of troops in Greece, and either that way, or by succours to Paswan Oglow, was to overset the government of the Porte; would you be able, on any of these occasions, to satisfy those by whose opinions it is now the fashion to guide the counsels of states, that an interest existed sufficiently strong to call for the interference of this country, to prevent the mischief, much less to redress and vindicate it when done? Why, Sir, we know that in the present state of opinions and feelings, and upon the principles on which the present peace has been made, not only no one, but hardly all of these put together, would drag the country into a renewal of hostilities, though, as is evident, its very existence might depend upon it. The consequence is, that France is our mistress; that there is nothing she can ask, which she must not have; (she has only to threaten war, and her work is done;)—that all the objects of interest and ambition which France can have in view, lie open before her, to be taken possession of whenever she pleases, and without a struggle: her establishments will accumulate round us, till we shall be lost and buried in them; her power will grow over us, till, like the figures in some of Ovid's Metamorphoses, we shall find all our faculties of life and motion gradually failing and deserting us:

——*Torpor gravis alligat artus;*
Mollia cinguntur tenui præcordia libro.

If, in this last extremity, we should make any desperate efforts and plunges, that might threaten to become troublesome, and give us a chance of extricating ourselves, she will call in the aid of her arms, and with one blow put an end at once to our sufferings and our existence.—Sir, are these idle dreams, the phantoms of my own disordered imagination? or are they real and serious dangers, the existence of which no man of common sense, let his opinions of the peace be what they may, will attempt to deny? The utmost that any man will pretend to say, is, that he hopes, (and so do I) that the evils apprehended will not happen; and that, great as the risk may be, he thinks it preferable to those risks, which would attend a continuation of the war. None but the most weak or inconsiderate, if they are not disaffected, or absorbed and lost in the sense of some immediate personal interest, will feel, when they shall well understand the subject, that there is any cause of joy or rejoicing. Here it is then, that I must advert again to that topick of consolation, (miserable indeed must our state be, when such are our topicks of consolation,) to which, in order to make out a case not perfectly hopeless, we are willing to have recourse and which, more I believe than any reliance upon our wealth, does really support us, in the situation to which we are reduced. This is the idea, that from some cause or other, from some combination of passions and events,—such as no philosophy can explain, and no history probably furnish an example of,—the progress of the Revolution will stop where it is: and that Buonaparté, like another Pyrrhus,—or rather like that adviser of Pyrrhus, whose advice was not taken,—instead of proceeding to the conquest of new worlds, will be willing to sit down contented in the enjoyment of those which he has already.—Sir, the great objection to this hope, to say nothing of its baseness, is its utter extravagance. On what possible ground do we believe this? Is it in the general nature of ambition? Is it in the nature of French ambition? Is it in the nature of French revolutionary ambition? Does it happen commonly to those, whether nations or individuals, who are seized with the spirit of aggrandizement and acquisition, that they are inclined rather to count what they possess, than to look forward to what yet remains to be acquired? If we examine the French Revolution, and trace it correctly to its causes, we shall find that the scheme of universal empire was, from the beginning, that which was looked to as the real consummation of its labours; the object first in view, though last to be accomplished; the *primum mobile* that originally set it in motion, and has since guided and governed all its movements.—The authors of the Revolution wished to destroy morality and religion. They wished those things as ends: but they wished them also, as means, in a higher and more extensive design. They wished for a double empire; an empire of opinion and an empire of political power: and they used the one of these, as a means of effecting the other. What reason have we to suppose, that they have renounced those designs, just when they seem to touch the moment of their highest and fullest accomplishment? When there is but one country, that remains between France and the empire of the world, then is the moment, when we choose to suppose that all opposition may be withdrawn, and that the ambition of France will stop of its own accord.—It is impossible not to see in these feeble and sickly imaginations, that fatal temper of mind, which leads men to look for help and comfort from any source rather than from their own exertions. We are become of a sudden great *hopers*. We *hope* the French will have no inclination to hurt us:—we *hope*, now Peace is come, and the pressure of War, as it is called, taken off, that the French Empire will become a prey to dissensions, and finally fall to pieces;—we *hope*, that the danger to have been apprehended from the example of the Revolution, is now worn out; and that Buonaparté, being now monarch himself, will join with us in the support of monarchical principles, and become a sort of collateral security for the British constitution. One has heard to be sure, that *magni animi est separe*; but the maxim, to have any truth in it, must be confined, I apprehend, to those hopes which are to be prosecuted through the medium of men's own exertions, and not be extended to those, which are to be independent of their exertions, or rather, as in the present instance, are meant to stand in lieu of them.—Of this description are all those expectations which I have just enumerated; one of which is, that the French will fall into dissensions.—Why, Sir, they have had nothing else but dissensions from the beginning. But of what avail have such dissensions been to the safety of other countries? One of their first dissensions was a war of three years, called the war of La Vendée; in which, according to some of their calculations, the Republick lost, between the two sides, to the number of 600,000 souls. This was surely pretty well, in the way of dissensions. Yet when did this in-

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terrupt for a moment, even if it might in some degree have relaxed, the operations of their armies on the frontiers, and the prosecution of their plans for the overthrow of other countries? As for changes of government, they have been in a continued course of them. Since the beginning of the Revolution, the government has been overturned at least half a dozen times. They have turned over in the air, as in sport, like tumbler pigeons;—but have they ever in consequence ceased their flight? The internal state of the country has been in the most violent commotion. The ship has been in mutiny;—there has been fighting in the waist and on the forecastle:—but in the midst of the confusion somebody has always been found to tend the helm, and to trim the sails; the vessel has held her course. —For one, therefore, I have no great confidence in the effect of these internal commotions; which every day become less and less likely, in proportion as the power of the present government becomes more confirmed, and as the people of France become more and more bound together by the common feeling of national glory, and by the desire of consolidating the empire which they have seen established. Such commotions may undoubtedly happen, and may of a sudden, when it is least expected, bring about some change favourable to the world. But it is curious to hear these chances gravely brought forward, as the best foundation of our hopes, and by those too, who a few weeks ago, while the war continued, would never hear of them, as entering at all into calculation. It seems, that the chapter of accidents, as it is called, which could do nothing for us in war, may do every thing for us in time of peace. Whereas I should have thought just the contrary; that chances, such as are here intended, were not only more likely to happen in war, but, what is a little material, might then be better improved and turned to account. While war subsists, while armies are ready to act, while confederacies are in force, while intelligences are going on, while assistance may be lawfully and avowedly given, every chance of this sort may, if properly improved, lead to consequences the most decisive. In peace, all that fortune can do for us, falls dead and still-born. Nobody is ready, nobody is authorized to move a step, or stretch forth a hand, to rear and foster those chances, however promising, which time and accident may bring forth. It is not an answer to say, that such never *have* been improved. In regulating plans of future conduct, we must consider not what men have done, but what they may and ought to do. The only rational idea that I could ever form of resistance to that power, which unresisted must subdue the world, was, that it must be the joint effect of an internal and an external war, directed to the same end, and mutually aiding and supporting each other. All the powers of Europe could not subdue France, if France was united; or force upon it a government, even were such an attempt warrantable, really in opposition to the wishes of the people. On the other hand, no internal efforts, unassisted by force from without, seemed capable of rescuing the country from the yoke imposed upon it, so long as the several factions that governed in succession, could find means of securing to themselves the support of the armies. We are now required to believe, that what has hitherto failed to be performed by both these powers together, is to be effected by one alone: and that with respect to any hope of a change of government in France, the war that has been carrying on for nine years has proved only an impediment!—Such is the state of our hopes and opinions on that side.

But we have another hope, founded on rather a contrary supposition, namely, that Buonaparté, now that he is a King himself—and a King he is so far as power can make one,—will no longer be an encourager of those absurd and mischievous doctrines, which, however they may have helped him to the throne, will be as little pleasing to him, now that he is fairly seated there, as to any the most legitimate Monarch. Sir, I agree, that Buonaparté, like other demagogues and friends of the people, have deluded and gulled the people sufficiently to make them answer his purpose, will be ready enough to teach them a different lesson, and to forbid the use of that language towards himself, which he had before instructed them in, as perfectly proper towards others. Never was there any one, to be sure, who used less management in that respect, or who left all the admirers of the French Revolution, within and without,—all the admirers of it, I mean, as a system of liberty,—in a more whimsical and laughable situation. Every opinion for which they have been contending, is now completely trodden down, and trampled upon, or held out in France to the greatest possible contempt and derision. The Honourable Gentlemen *on the Opposition Benches* have really great reason to complain of having been so completely left in the lurch. There is not even a decent retreat provided for them.—But though such is the treatment, which the principles of "the Rights of Man," and of the "Holy Duty of Insurrection," meet with in France, and on the part of him who should be their natural protector, it is by no means the same, with respect to the encouragement which he may choose to give them in other countries. Though they use none of these goods in France for home consumption, they have always a large assortment by them ready for foreign markets. Their Jacobin Orators are not to be looked for in the clubs at Paris, but in the clubs of London. There, they may talk of *cashiering Kings*, with other language of that sort: but should any orator more flippant than the rest choose to hold forth in that strain, in the city where the Great Consul resides, in the metropolis of liberty, he would soon put him to silence, in the way that we see adopted in the sign of the Silent Woman. Buonaparté, being invested, in virtue of the Rights of Man, with despotick power, can afford to sanction the preaching of those doctrines in other countries, of which he will not suffer the least whisper in his own. While he is at the head of an absolute Monarchy in France, he may be the promoter and champion of Jacobin insurrection every where else. The abject as well as wicked nature of Jacobinism in this country, which, while it would rebel against the lawful authority of its own government, is willing to enslave itself to France, finds no difficulty of allowing to him these two opposite characters: and I know no reason why we should suppose him disinclined to accept them.—I must confess, therefore, that I see as little hope for us on this side, as I do on the other. In fact, if I could belive, in spite of all probability, that there was any remisson of that purpose, which has never yet ceased for an instant,—the purpose of destroying this country,—such belief, however produced, must be instantly done away by a view of the conduct of France, in the settlement of

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this very treaty. There is not a line of it, that does not either directly point to the destruction of this country, or, by a course a little circuitous, but not less certain, equally tend to the same object. What can France want with any of the possessions which she has compelled us to surrender, but with a view of rivalling our power, or of subverting it, or of removing out of our hands the means of controulling her further projects of ambition?—Of the first sort are all her stipulations for settlements in South America and the West-Indies: of the second, her demand of the Cape and Cochin; and of the last, that most marked and disgraceful condition on our part, the surrender of Malta. What upon earth could France have to do with Malta, but either as a means of humbling us in the eyes of all the world, by the surrender of it, or of depriving us of a port in the Mediterranean, that might stand in the way of designs which she is meditating against the countries bordering upon that sea? The miserable pretexts which are formed to palliate this surrender, and the attempt to cover it, in part, by the show of delivering that fortress to the Order, though much the greater part of the Order are now living in the dominions of Buonaparté, and many of them actually serving in his armies, are wholly insufficient, either to conceal our shame, or to disguise the purpose of the French in making this demand. But the circumstances of the negotiation, not less than the treaty resulting from it, shew, in another way, the folly of those hopes, which are founded upon the supposed intentions or characters of the persons with whom it is made. It does not augur very favourably for the intentions of a party in any transaction, that there appear in every stage of it the clearest proofs of duplicity and fraud.—What do we think of the artifice, which signs a treaty with us, guaranteeing the integrity of Portugal; but previously to that, at a period so late, as to make it sure that the knowledge of the transaction shall not reach this country in time, signs another treaty, totally altering the nature of that guaranty? What shall we think of the candour and fairness, which in a treaty with us, proposes, as a joint stipulation, the evacuation of Egypt, at a time when the proposers knew, though we did not, that every soldier of theirs in Egypt was actually a prisoner to our troops? Where was their good faith to the Turks, when, in the same circumstances, they knowing the fact and the Turks not, they took credit from the Turks for this very evacuation? Why, Sir, it is a fraud upon a level with any of those practised at a lottery-office. They insure the ticket, at the moment when they know it to be drawn. And are these the people, to whose generosity and forbearance, to whose good intentions towards this country, and above all, to whose good faith, we are to deliver over, bound hand and foot, the interests of the British Empire, to be destroyed or saved, as they, in their good pleasure, shall think fit?—I say nothing here on a topick, however closely connected with the present subject, the character of the First Consul himself*—a character hitherto as much marked by frauds of the most disgraceful kind, as by every other species of guilt; but pass on to the question, which meets us at every turn, and seems to stop the progress of all argument, the great question—"What are we to do? The danger is "great, but how are we to avoid it? War can-"not be eternal, and what prospect have we of "reaching a period, when it may be terminated "in circumstances upon the whole more favour-"ble than the present?"*—Sir, the word, eternal, which in any use of it is sufficiently awful, will undoubtedly not be least so, when associated with the idea of war. But I must beg leave to remind the House of a circumstance, of which they and the country seem never to have been at all aware, that the question of eternal War, is one, which it is not left for us to decide. It is a question which must be asked of our enemies: and is not less proper to be asked, if we could hope that they would answer us at the present moment, than it was before the signature of the preliminaries. The war depends neither upon conventions to be entered into between the two governments, nor upon acts of hostility which may be committed between the two people, by land or on the high seas; *but on the existence or non-existence of that fixed, rooted, determined purpose, which France has hitherto had, and which we have no reason whatever to think she has relinquished—of accomplishing the final overthrow of this country. While that purpose exists, and shall be acted upon, we are at war, call our state by what name you please: and the only question is, whether France cannot work as effectually to her purpose in peace; and if peace it made in a certain way, infinitely more effectual than she can in what is professedly and declaredly war.* I would really wish to ask, whether gentlemen have never heard of a people called the Romans, a set of republicans who conquered the world in the old time; and whom the *modern Romans* take as their model in every respect, but in none more than in what relates to the overthrow of this country? Among the nations that fell under the Roman yoke, there were but *few* whom they were able to fetch down at a blow,—to reduce in the course of a single war. All their greater antagonists, particularly the state whose fate is chosen as a prototype of our own, were not reduced till after repeated attacks, till after several successive and alternate processes of war and peace: a victorious war preparing the way for an advantageous peace; and an advantageous peace again laying the foundation of a successful war. This was at least the conduct of a great people; a people not to be put aside from their purposes by every transient blast of fortune. They had vowed the destruction of Carthage;

* The note referred to here is a description of the character of Buonaparté. It will be found in Register, Vol. I. p. 950.

* The manner, in which people seem to have posed themselves with this question, has been the ruin of the country. They never seem to have got the length of discovering, that if France was bent upon their destruction, they were and must be, in an eternal war, unless either France should change her purpose, or they would submit to be destroyed. With all their fears and complainings, they have never been sensible to above half their danger. They seem always to have supposed, that like the contests in use among our common people, (till the wisdom of magistrates extinguished those remains of rustick chivalry,) they could terminate this war at any time, by only declaring that they had enough.

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and they never rested from their design, till they had seen it finally accomplished. The emulators of their fortune in the present day, are, in no less a degree, the emulators of their virtues; at least of those qualities, whatever they may be, that give to man a command over his fellows. When I look at the conduct of the French Revolutionary rulers, as compared with that of their opponents; when I see the grandeur of their designs; the wisdom of their plans; the steadiness of their execution; their boldness in acting; their constancy in enduring; their contempt of all small obstacles and temporary embarrassments; their inflexible determination to perform such and such things; and the powers which they have displayed, in acting up to that determination; when I contrast these with the narrow views, the paltry interests, the occasional expedients, the desultory wavering conduct, the want of all right of feeling and just conception, that characterize so generally the governments and nations opposed to them, I confess I sink down in despondency, and am fain to admit, that if they shall have conquered the world, it will be by qualities by which they deserve to conquer it. Never were there persons, who could shew a fairer title to the inheritance which they claim. The great division of mankind made by a celebrated philosopher of old, into those who were formed to govern, and those who were born only to obey, was never more strongly exemplified than by the French nation, and those who have sunk, or are sinking, under their yoke. Let us not suppose, therefore, that while these qualities, combined with these purposes, shall continue to exist, they will ever cease, by night or by day, in peace or in war, to work their natural effect,—to gravitate towards their proper centre; or that the bold, the proud, the dignified, the determined, those who *will* great things, and will stake their existence upon the accomplishment of what they have *willed*, shall not finally prevail over those, who act upon the very opposite feelings; who will "never push their resistance beyond their convenience;" who ask for nothing but ease and safety; who look only to starve off the evil for the present day, and will take no heed of what may befal them on the morrow. We *are* therefore, in effect, at war at this moment: and the only question is, whether the war, that will henceforward proceed under the name of peace, is likely to prove less operative and fatal, than that which has hitherto appeared in its natural and ordinary shape. That such is our state, is confessed by the authors themselves of the present treaty, in the measures which they feel it necessary to recommend to the House. When did we ever hear before of a military establishment necessary to be kept up in time of peace? The fact is, that we know that we are not at peace; not such as is fit to be so called, nor that in which we might hope to sit down, for some time at least, in confidence and security, in the free and undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings which we possess. We are in that state, in which the majority, I believe, of those who hear me, are in their hearts more desirous that we should be, than, in our present prostrate and defenceless situation, they may think it prudent to avow—in a state of armed truce; and then the only questions will be, at what price we purchase this truce; what our condition will be while it lasts; and in what state it is likely to leave us, should it terminate otherwise than as we are willing to suppose.—This brings us at once to the point. If we are to come at last only to an armed truce, would it not have been a shorter and better course, to turn our war into an armed truce, into which in fact it had pretty much turned itself, rather than to take the round about way which has been now adopted, of making peace by the sacrifice of all the means of future war, in order afterwards to form an armed truce out of that peace? Let us state the account, and consider the loss and profit on either side.—The evils of war are, generally speaking, to be comprized under three heads: the loss of lives and the consequent affliction brought upon friends and families; the loss of money, meaning, by that, money expended in a way not to be beneficial to the country that raises it; and the loss of money in another sense, that is to say, money not got; by which I mean the interruption given to national industry, and the diminution of the productions thence arising, either by the number of hands withdrawn from useful labour, (which is probably however but little material), or by the embarrassments and restraints which, in a state of war impede and clog the operations of commerce. I do not mean, that there are not in war, evils which may be said not to be included properly under any of the above heads; among which may be numbered, the distress arising from sudden changes of property, even when the persons who lose, and those who acquire, are equally parts of the same community. This, however, is an evil that will be more felt at the beginning, than in the later periods of a war; and will in fact be likewise felt, though in a less degree, by a transition even from war to peace. The enumeration, now made, however, may be sufficiently correct for the present purpose. And, with this in our hands, let us consider, in what so very violent a degree, the present armed truce, or peace, if you choose to call it so, differs from what might have been our state, in the case so much dreaded and deprecated, of a continuation of the war.—To take the last first,—the loss of national wealth by the interruption given to commerce and industry; such is the singular nature of this war, such the unexampled consequences with which it has been attended, that it becomes a question, and one in itself of the most anxious and critical importance, on which side of the account the consequences of peace in this respect are to be placed: whether, instead of balancing the dangers of peace, if such there are, by accessions which it will bring to our wealth and commerce, we are not rather called upon to prove some great advantages which peace will give us in respect of security, in order to balance the diminution likely to be produced by it in our commercial opulence. That our commerce will suffer at the long run, admits, I fear, of no doubt. If my apprehensions are just, it is in the diminution of our manufactures and commerce, that the approaches of our ruin will first be felt: but is any one prepared to say that this may not happen in the first instance? We have at present, subject to the inconveniences which war produces, nothing less than the commerce of the whole world. There is no part of the world to which our goods do not pass freely in our own ships; while not a single merchant ship, with the enemy's flag on board, does at this moment swim the ocean. Is this a state of things to be lightly hazarded? Does the hope of bettering this condition, even in the minds of those most sanguine, so much out-

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weigh the fear of injuring it, that these opposite chances can upon the whole be stated otherwise than as destroying each other: and that of consequence, in the comparison of war and peace, the prospect of increased industry and commerce, which in general tells so much in favour of peace, must not here be struck out of the account? On this head the question between peace and war stands, to say the least of it, evenly balanced.—The next of these heads, the first, indeed, in point of consequence, but the next in the order in which it is here convenient to consider them, is the loss of lives, and the effect which war is likely to have on private and individual happiness. No man can pretend to say, that war can continue upon any footing, however restricted the circle of hostilities, without the lives of men being liable to be sacrificed; and no such sacrifice can be justified, or reconciled to the feelings of any one, but by that which must justify every such sacrifice, however great the extent—the safety and essential interests of the state. But if ever there was a war in which such sacrifices seemed likely to be few, not as an effect of any choice of ours, but by the necessary course of events, it was that which we should have had to carry on in future with the Republic of France.—The great and destructive operations of war, the conflict of fleets or armies, or the consumption of men in unwholesome climates and distant expeditions, had ceased of themselves. I know not what expeditions we should have had to prosecute, unless new cases should have arisen, similar to that of the ever-memorable one of Egypt; where, the same motives existing, we should be sorry indeed not to have the means of acting upon them. But in general, our fleets would have remained quietly at their stations, and our armies have lived at home; the whole question reduces itself to a mere question of expense; and that again pretty much to a mere question of establishment.—The great heads of war expenditure, the army extraordinaries, would, in most parts, have ceased; and in the rest, have been greatly reduced. The chief question will be, not between an ordinary peace establishment and a war, such as, from circumstances, ours has hitherto been, involving expeditions to all parts of the globe; but between a peace establishment, such as that which is now declared to be necessary, and a war, which had become, and was likely to continue, merely defensive; in which we should have had nothing to do, but to maintain a competent force, with little prospect of being obliged to make use of it. The advocates for the present peace must find themselves always in an awkward dilemma, between economy and safety. We make peace in order to save our money: if we reduce our establishments, what becomes of our security? if we keep up our establishments, what becomes of our savings? Whatever you give to one object, is unavoidably taken from the other. The savings of the present peace, therefore, can be looked for only between the narrow limits of a high peace and a low war establishment; or, to state the case more correctly, between a high peace establishment and a war, reduced in the manner that I have described. I wish that a correct estimate were formed of the difference, in point of expense, between these two states; recollecting always that among the expenses of peace are to be counted the provisions necessary against the new dangers brought by the peace itself; the new dangers for example, with which Jamaica, and all our West-India islands are threatened by the establishment of the French in Saint-Domingo, and other parts in that quarter of the world: the new dangers to which our empire in the East is exposed, by the re-entry of the French into the peninsula of India, and the cession to them, for such in effect it is, of the Cape and Cochin: in general, by the free passage now given to their ships and armies into every part of the world, and the establishment of them every where in the neighbourhood of our most valuable possessions.—Against all these dangers war provided, as it were, by its own single act. The existence of our fleets upon the ocean, with an Admiralty order "to burn, sink, and destroy," shut up at once, as under lock and key, all those attempts, which are now let loose, and require as many separate defences as there are parts liable to be attacked. A fleet cruising before Brest, therefore, was not to be considered as so much clear expense, to be charged to the account of the war; without deducting the expense of additional troops and additional ships, which the absence of the fleet might require to be kept, for instance, in the West-Indies.

With respect to home defence. Considering the little reliance to be placed upon the government in France, now subsisting; the still greater uncertainty with respect to any future government (such as may arise at any moment); and the increased defence necessary on land, in proportion to the diminution of our force by sea; I know not, how we can remain secure with a military establishment much less considerable, than that which we should have had to maintain here in the case of war.—So much for the expenses of peace.—On the other hand, we must consider, what the reductions are that might be made to the expense of war, beyond those, which the very scheme and shape of the war itself would unavoidably produce.—The expenses of our army, as at present established, are excessive: but what should hinder us from adopting some of those expedients, by which a country not more considerable than Prussia, under the regulations introduced by a former great monarch, is made capable of maintaining a military establishment superior to that of Great-Britain?—The chief of those expedients, and that which we could best imitate, is, the putting at all times the half of the army upon the footing of militia, to be exercised only for a month or two, and to be at home for the remainder of the year. Other expedients might be suggested, if this were the proper occasion for discussing them.—It is true, as may be observed, that such a reduction of expense, if it can be at all effected, may be applied not less in time of peace than in time of war; and in a comparison, therefore, between the two, must be counted on both sides. But that circumstance, as is plain, does not do away the effect of what is here stated. If both sides are reduced, and reduced at all proportionably, the absolute difference, which is what we are here considering, will be reduced also; not to mention that, with a view to what will be the effect of the measure in other ways, such a reduction may be better applied to a large establishment, than it can to a small one. If an army of 80,000 men, for instance, may, for the moment, be reduced to half, because the remaining 40,000 will still be a sufficient force, it is not to be concluded, that a proportionate reduction might be made in an army of only half that number, when

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the remainder, left on an emergency for the defence of the country, would be no more than twenty thousand. Consider, therefore, when the reductions capable of being made, or certain of themselves to happen, in a state of war, such as war might be expected to be if continued from the present time, and when the new and extraordinary expenses incident to this peace, shall have been fairly calculated, to what the difference between the two states will amount; and taking then this difference at its utmost, compare the money so saved, with all the evils and dangers which peace, as now proposed, will give rise to: Or, if the modern fashion is to prevail, and money alone to be considered, compare the value of the sinking fund created by this saving, with the difference, in point of mere expense, of the circumstances in which we shall be placed at the commencement of any future war, should France chuse to put us under this necessity. By the result of these comparisons, must the question be decided.—Should it so happen, (and who shall say, that it will not?) that our commerce, instead of increasing, or remaining where it is, should fall off; that our manufactures should decline; that, from these and other causes,—such as a great emigration, and considerable transfer of commercial property;—and above all from the great loss of territorial revenue, the income of the state should be lessened, to a degree equal only to this proposed saving, then we shall have incurred all the dreadful difference to be found in our situation in case of the renewal of war, and all the no less serious dangers during the continuance of peace, absolutely for nothing. —I select this only as the case which may be considered as the most probable. In argument, to be sure, having already agreed to take at par, our prospects with respect to the increase or decrease of our commerce and manufactures, I am not at liberty to insist on this case, or upon the still more fatal one of a greater and more extensive decrease, without allowing those who argue on the other side, to avail themselves of the supposition, that the sources of national wealth may possibly be in a great degree augmented —At all events, however, and whatever be the extent of these expected savings, and the improvement to be made in consequence in our finances, we are to estimate the evils and dangers which are to be placed in the opposite scale, the chief of which I have endeavoured to point out, though in a very hasty and summary manner, in the observations, with which I have already troubled the House. They may be classed, generally, under three heads:—The ascendency, which it is feared, France may in time acquire, even in those sources of greatness, which we seem inclined to consider as a substitute for all others, our manufactures and commerce; supposing, as I am here doing, that peace continues without interruption, and even without any great advantage being taken, of the threat of a renewal of hostilities. Secondly, the effect to be produced, in a peace so constituted, by the continued use of this menace,—an engine of which it is difficult to calculate the force, applied, as it may be, to every point on which the interests of the countries are opposed, and for the accomplishment of every object, which France may wish to attain. Thirdly and lastly, war itself; begun of course at such moment, as France shall judge most advantageous to her, and when by a due improvement of the preceding period of peace, Great Britain shall have been placed in a situation to be least capable of resisting its effects. On these points, having spoken to each already, as far as the occasion seems to admit, though far short of what the subject demands, I shall detain the House no longer, but leave to every gentleman to form his own judgment on the extent and reality of these dangers, and finally to settle the comparison between these (with others connected with them) and the continuance of the war, such as war from this time might be expected to prove. The only head of danger, to which I wish now to speak, is one of a quite different nature; but so serious, so certain, so imminent, so directly produced by the peace itself, that I must not omit to say a few words upon it. This is, the danger now first commencing; and which may be conveyed in a single word, but that, I fear, a word of great import—Intercourse. From this moment the whole of the principles and morals of France rush into this country without let or hindrance, with nothing to limit their extent, or to controul their influence. While the war continued, not only the communication was little, or nothing, but, whatever contagion might be brought in by that communication, found the country less in a state to receive it. The very heat and irritation of the war was a preservative against the infection. But now that this infection is to come upon us in the soft hour of peace; that it is to mix with our food; that we are to take it into our arms; that it is to be diffused in the very air we breath; what hope, can we suppose, remains to us of escaping its effects?—This, I used formerly to be taught, before the weight of taxes had lessened our apprehensions of French fraternity, was one of the consequences most to be dreaded in peace, in whatever form it should come, short of the restoration of some government, not founded on jacobinical principles. But somehow or another, the very idea of this danger seems long since to have vanished from our minds. We are now to make peace in the very spirit of peace, and to throw ourselves without reserve into the very arms of France. With respect, indeed, to one part of the danger, the principles of France,—meaning by that the political principles,—we are told, that all danger of that sort is at an end; that in this country, as every where else, the folly of the revolutionary principles is so thoroughly understood, that none can now be found to support them. Jacobinism is, as it were, extinct: or, should it still exist, we shall have, as our best ally against it, Buonaparté himself.—Sir, I have already stated what my confidence is in that ally. I know that neither he personally, nor any other of the free governments that have subsisted in France, have ever suffered these doctrines of jacobinism to be used

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against themselves. But I must again ask, on what grounds we suppose, that France has renounced the use of them, with respect to other countries? We have heard less, indeed, of late, of her principles, because we have heard, and felt, more of her arms. For the same reason, we may possibly hear little of them in future. But do they therefore cease to exist? During the whole course of the revolution, France has sometimes employed one of these means, and sometimes the other. Sometimes the arms have opened a way for the principles, at others the principles have prepared the object, as an easy conquest to the arms:—in the flight of this chain-shot, sometimes one end has gone foremost, and sometimes the other, and at times they may have struck their object at once: but the two parts alike exist, and are inseparably linked together.—Nothing, therefore, can in my mind, be more idle than this hope of the extinction of jacobinism, either as an instrument to be used by France, should her occasions require it, or as a principle ever to be eradicated out of any community, in which it has taken once root. However true it may be, that the example of France ought to serve as the strongest antidote to its poison, and that it does so, in fact, in the minds of many; yet it is equally true, that, in another view, and to many other persons, it operates in a directly contrary way,—not as a warning, but as an incitement. What I am now speaking of, is,—however, not the danger of the political principles of France, but the still surer and more dreadful danger, of its morals. What are we to think of a country, that having struck out of men's minds, as far as it has the power to do so, all sense of religion, and all belief of a future life, has struck out of its system of civil polity, the institution of marriage? That has formally, professedly, and by law, established the connexion of the sexes, upon the footing of an unrestrained concubinage? That has turned the whole country into one universal brothel? That leaves to every man to take, and to get rid of, a wife, (the fact, I believe, continues to be so,) and a wife, in like manner to get rid of her husband, upon less notice than you can, in this country, of a ready-furnished lodging?—What are we to think of uniting with a country, in which such things have happened, and where for generations the effects must continue, whatever formal and superficial changes prudence and policy may find it expedient to introduce in the things themselves.—Do we suppose it possible, that, with an intercourse subsisting, such as, we know, will take place between Great-Britain and France, the morals of this country should continue what they have been? Do we suppose that when this *Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*, when that 'revolutionary stream,' the Seine, charged with all the colluvies of Paris,—with all the filth and blood of that polluted city,—shall have turned its current into the Thames, that the waters of our fair 'domestick flood' can remain pure and wholesome, as before? Do we suppose these things can happen? Or is it, that we are indifferent, whether they happen or not: and that the morals of the country are no longer any object of our concern?—Sir, I fear, the very scenes that we shall witness, even in the course of the present winter, will give us a sufficient foretaste of what we may expect hereafter; and show, how little the morals of the country will be protected by those who should be their natural guardians, the higher and fashionable orders of society. In what crowds shall we see flocking to the hotel of a regicide ambassador, however deep in all the guilt and horror of his time, those, whose doors have hitherto been shut inflexibly against every Frenchman; whom no feeling for honourable distress, no respect for suffering loyalty, no sympathy with fallen grandeur, no desire of useful example,—and in some instances, I fear, no gratitude for former services or civilities, have ever been able to excite to show the least mark of kindness or attention to an emigrant of any description; though in that class are to be numbered men, who in every circumstance of birth, of fortune, of rank, of talents, of acquirements of every species, are fully their equals; and whom the virtue that has made them emigrants, has, so far forth rendered their superiors! A suite of richly furnished apartments, and a ball and supper, is a trial, I fear, too hard for the virtue of London.—It is to this side, that I look with greatest apprehension. The plague with which we are threatened, will not begin, like that of Homer, with inferior animals, among dogs and mules, but in the fairest and choicest part of the creation, with those, whose fineness of texture makes them weak; whose susceptibility most exposes them to contagion; whose natures, being most excellent, are, for that very reason, capable of becoming most depraved; who, being formed to promote the happiness of the world, may, when "strained from that fair use," prove its bane and destruction; retaining, as they will still do, much of that empire which nature intended for them, over the minds and faculties of the other half of the species*. "The woman "tempted me, and I did eat," will be to be said, I fear, of this second fall of man, as it was of the first. Sir, we heard much last year of the necessity of new laws to check the growing progress of vice and immorality. I suppose we hardly mean to persist in any such projects. It will be too childish to be busying ourselves in stopping every little crevice and aperture, through which vice may ooze in, when we are going to open at once the flood gates, and admit the whole tide of French practices and principles, till the morals of the two countries shall have settled at their common level.—I must beg here, not to be told, that of this kind of argument the only result is, that we should never make peace with France at all, until the monarchy should be re-

* See on this subject the important facts and excellent reflexions contained in chap. 2. towards the end, and in other parts of Professor Robison's valuable work, published in 1797, and entitled "Proofs of a Conspiracy, &c."

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stored. The argument implies no such thing. That no kind of peace with France will be safe, till then, I am not in the least disposed to deny: but the nature of human affairs does not admit of our getting always what we may think most admirable. We must take up often with what is far short of our ideas, either of advantage or safety. The question at present is, whether in either of those views, we ought to take up with the present peace: and among the evils incident to it, and immediately resulting from it, I state one, which, in conjunction with others, is to be weighed against its advantages; namely, the havock likely to be made by it in our principles and morals. If any one should be of opinion, that this consideration is of so much weight, that war, almost upon any terms, is preferable to peace with a state, founded upon a declared Atheism, and filled with all the abominations and pollutions certain to result from such an origin, it is not my business to dispute with him: but that is not the way in which the argument is applied here; nor is it indeed applied in any way, otherwise than as a consideration, making part of the case, and to which every body is to allow what weight he shall think proper. The misfortune of the country has been, that it has never seen, and felt, fully, the extent of its danger. The country,—speaking of it in general, and not with a view to particular places, or classes of people; upon whom the pressure of the war has born with peculiar severity,—has been so rich, so prosperous, so happy; men have enjoyed here in so superior a degree, and with such perfect freedom from molestation, all the blessings and comforts of life, that they have never been able to persuade themselves, that any real harm could befall them. Even those, who have clamoured most loudly about the dangers of the country, have given at times, the most exaggerated representations of them, have really, and when their opinions come to be examined, never described this danger as any thing truly alarming. For *their* danger has always been a provisional and hypothetical danger, such as we should be liable to if we did not conform to such and such conditions: but as these conditions were always in our power, and are now, as we see, actually resorted to, our real and absolute danger was, in fact, none at all. "You will be ruined if you continue the "war; but, make peace, and you are safe:" and unquestionably, as there can hardly have been a period, when a peace, such as the present, was not in our power,—if such a peace can give us safety, there never was a period, when we could properly be said to have been in danger. We had a port always under our lee; so that if it came to overblow, or the ship laboured too much, we had nothing to do, but to put up our helm, and run at once into a place of safety. But my ideas of the danger have always been of a far different sort. To me it has ever seemed, that the danger was not conditional but absolute: that it was a question whether we could be saved upon any other terms; whether we could weather this shoal upon either tack. The port appeared to me to be an enemy's port; where, though we might escape the dangers of the sea, we should fall into the hands of the savages, who would never suffer us to see again our native land, but keep us in a state of thraldom, far more to be dreaded than the utmost fury of the waves.—I have never pretended to say, that there were not dangers in war, as unquestionably there are great evils; I have said only that there were evils and dangers, not less real and certain, in peace, particularly in a peace, made on such terms as the present. For terms of peace, in spite of what we here talked, *have* something to do with rendering our situation more or less secure, even in those respects in which they are supposed to operate least. In general, though terms, however advantageous, would not secure us against the mischiefs of French fraternity, and the infusions of French principles and morals, yet they would make a little difference: I apprehend, as to the effect which Peace would produce in the feelings of Europe; as to the air of success and triumph which it would give to the enemy, and of defeat and humiliation, which it would impress upon us; as to the consequences resulting from thence, even with respect to the propagation of French principles, but certainly as to the confirmation of French power; and, above all, as to the situation in which we should stand, should France choose to force us again into a war. The port of Malta, strong as it is, would not, literally, serve as a bulwark to stop the incursions of Jacobinism: figuratively, it would not be without its effect in that way: yet there would be some difference, I conceive, at the beginning of a war, whether we were in possession of Malta or not; and in the mean-while, the knowledge of that difference, in the minds of the enemy, and of ourselves, would be quickly felt, in any discussions which might take place between us, in time of peace.

The dangers of peace, therefore, are augmented a hundred-fold by terms at once so degrading and injurious, as those to which we have submitted: on any terms on which it could have been concluded, it would have had its dangers, and dreadful ones too; France remaining a revolutionary government, and being, as it is, in possession of Europe. Whether that evil must not ultimately have been submitted to; whether the hopes of change, either from coalitions without, or commotions within, might not have become so small, and the evils of war, however mitigated, so great, that we must have made up our minds, after taking the best securities against those dangers that we could, finally to have acquiesced in them, is a separate question, which I will not now discuss. But the time in my opinion was not come when such unqualified acquiescence on our part was requisite; when we were to cease to enquire what those securities were; or when we ought to have taken up with such securities, if securities they can be called, as are offered by the present treaty. The great misfortune has been, that this question of peace has never yet been fully and fairly before the

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country. We have been taken up with the war; that was the side of the alternative next to us; —and have never yet, till it was too late, had our attention fairly directed, or, I must say, fairly summoned, to the dreadful picture on the other side. If we had, we should never have heard, except among the ignorant and disaffected, of joy and exultation through the land, at a peace such as the present.—Here, Sir, I have nearly closed this subject. One only topick remains, a most important one indeed, but which I should have been induced, perhaps, on the present occasion, to pass over in silence, if in one part of it I did not feel myself called upon, by something of a more than ordinary duty.—When a great military monarch of our time * was at the lowest ebb of his fortunes, and had sustained a defeat, that seemed to extinguish all his remaining hopes, the terms of his letter, written from the field of battle, were—"We have lost every thing, but our honour." Would to God, that the same consolation, in circumstances liable to become in time not less disastrous, remained to Great-Britain! I should feel a far less painful load of depression upon my mind, than weighs upon it at this moment. But *is* our honour saved in this transaction? Is it in a better plight than those two other objects of our consideration, which I have before touched upon, our dignity and our security? I fear not. I fear that we have contrived to combine in this proceeding, all that is at once ruinous and disgraceful; all that is calculated to undo us in reputation as well as in fortune, and to deprive us of those resources, which high fame and unsullied character may create, "even under the ribs of death," when all ordinary means of relief and safety seem to be at an end. I am speaking here, not of the general discredit that attaches to this precipitate retreat and flight out of the cause of Europe, and of all mankind; but of the situation in which we stand with respect to those allies, to whom we were bound by distinct and specifick engagements. I must be very slow to admit that construction which considers as a breach of treaty any thing done by a contracting power, under a clear *bona fide* necessity, such as the other party itself does not pretend to dispute. If an absolute conquest of one of the parties to an alliance does not absolve the other from the obligation which it has contracted, so neither can a timely submission, made in order to avert such conquest, when the remaining party itself shall not be able to describe that submission as injurious either to her own interest, or to that of the common cause. If we were not in a state to say to Sardinia, that it was better for *us* that she should continue her resistance, rather than accept the terms offered her; then, I say, we are not in a state to consider her submission as a forfeiture of the claims which she had upon us. We have left Sardinia, however, without an attempt to relieve her, without even a helping hand stretched out to support or to cheer her, under that ruin which she has brought upon herself, with no fault on her part, while adhering faithfully to her treaty with us. I must call that adherence faithful, which has continued as long as we ourselves could say, that it was of any use.—The case of Sardinia is, with no great variation, the case of Holland also. Both powers were our allies; both are ruined, while adhering to that alliance; both are left to their fate. But Sardinia and Holland are two only of our allies; and placed in circumstances of peculiar difficulty. There were others, it may be said, more capable of being assisted, for whose security and protection every thing has been done, that the most scrupulous fidelity could require. Naples, Portugal, and Turkey, will attest to the end of time, the good faith of Great-Britain; and shew to the world that *she* is not a power, who ever seeks her own safety by abandoning those with whom she has embarked in a common cause. Sir, if I were forced to make a comparison between the instances, in which we plainly and openly desert our allies, and those in which we affect to protect them, I should say, without hesitation, that those of the former class were the least disgraceful of the two; because our protection is in fact nothing else but a desertion, with the addition of that ridicule which attaches upon things, that endeavour to pass for the reverse of what they really are.—The protection which we yield to these unfortunate powers, is much of the same sort with that which Don Quixote gives to the poor boy, whom he releases from the tree; when he retires with perfect complacency and satisfaction, assuring him, that he has nothing more to fear, as his master is bound by the most solemn promise not to attempt to exercise against him any further severity. We know, Sir, what respect was paid to this promise, as soon as the knight was out of sight; and it is not difficult to foretell what respect will be paid by Buonaparté, (without waiting even, I am afraid, till my Honourable Friends shall be out of sight), to this solemn stipulation and pledge, by which we have provided so *effectually* for the security of the dominions of our good and faithful allies.—The ridicule of this provision, which in any case would be sufficiently strong, has, undoubtedly, in the case of Turkey, something of a higher and livelier relish; Turkey being the power, in whose instance, and with respect to precisely the same party, the total insufficiency and nullity of such engagements has been so strikingly manifested, and is still kept so fresh in our memories, by the very operations with which the war has closed. —So much as to our conduct towards those powers, with whom we stood in the relation of allies, according to the usual diplomatick forms; and whom the common policy of Europe had been accustomed to consider under these and similar relations.

* Though it was Francis I. who, after the battle of Pavia, originally expressed himself in this dignified manner, the King of Prussia adopted and repeated the sentiment, upon occasion of his memorable defeat at Schweidnitz. See Ann. Reg. for the year 1761.

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But there was another body of allies, not ranked indeed among the European powers, nor possessing much, perhaps, of a corporate capacity, but who, as men, acting either separately or together, were equally capable of becoming objects of good faith, and in fact had so become, though by means different, in point of form, from those which engaged the faith of the country, in any of the instances above alluded to:—These persons were, the royalists of France, wheresoever dispersed, but particularly that vast body of them which so long maintained a contest against the republick, in the West; where they formed the mass of the inhabitants of four or five great provinces, far exceeding, both in extent and population, the kingdom of Ireland.* I mention these particulars of their force and numbers, not because they are material to the present purpose, but because they serve to obviate that delusion of the understanding, by which things, small in bulk, and filling but little space in the imagination, are apt to lose their hold on our interests and affections. The mention of them may, moreover, not be unnecessary in this House, where, I fear, from various causes, all that relates to the royalists is a perfect *terra incognita*, as little known or considered, as the affairs of a people in another hemisphere. The royalists were, however, a great, numerous, and substantive body, capable of maintaining against the republic a war, confessed by the republicans themselves to have been more formidable and bloody, than most of those in which they had been engaged; and of terminating that war by a peace, which showed sufficiently what the war had been, and what the fears were, which the republick entertained, of its possible final success. But let the numbers and powers of the royalists have been what they might; had their affairs been still less considered; had they been more disowned, discountenanced, and betrayed, than in many instances they were; had more such garrisons as those of Mentz and Valenciennes been suffered to be sent against them;† had they been less the real, primary defenders and representatives of that cause, which the allies professed to support; still there were our formal proclamations, issued at various periods, not expressly engaging indeed to make stipulations for them in case of a peace, but calling generally for their exertions, and promising succour and protection, to all those who should declare themselves in favour of the ancient order of things, and of their hereditary and rightful monarch. What I am to ask, is, have we acted up to the spirit, or even the letter, of our own proclamations? or to the spirit of that relation, in which the nature of the war itself, independent of any proclamations, placed us with respect to these people? I am compelled to say, (I say it with great reluctance, as well as with great grief,) I fear we have done no such thing. I fear, that a stain is left upon our annals, far deeper than that, which, in former times, many were so laudably anxious to wash away, in respect to the conduct of this country towards the Catalans. The Catalans were not invited by any declarations more specific than those which we have made to the royalists: their claim upon us was in some respects more doubtful. Yet, so far were they from being passed over in silence in the terms of the peace; so far were they from being abandoned to their fate, left to the merciless persecution of their enemies, that a stipulation was made for a full and complete amnesty for them; and, far more than that, a provision, that they should be put upon the same footing, and enjoy the same privileges, with that province which was in fact the most favoured under the Spanish monarchy. Yet, because *more* was not done; because they were not placed in the situation of enjoying *all* that they asked;—much of it, perhaps, having more of an imaginary than a real value;—because in a part, where their claim was more disputable, perfect and entire satisfaction was not given them; did a large and respectable majority of this House think it necessary to institute a solemn inquiry,—the intended foundation of proceedings still more solemn,—in order to purge themselves and the country, as far as depended on them, from the shame of what they deemed a breach of the national faith. —By what purgations, by what ablutions, shall we cleanse ourselves from this far deeper and fouler blot, of having left to perish under the knives of their enemies, without even an effort to save them, every man of those whom we have *affected*, as it must now appear, to call our friends and allies: with whom we were bound, by interests of far higher import than those of a disputed succession; who were the assertors with us of the common morality of the world; who were the true depositaries of that sacred cause, the very priests of that holy faith; with whom we had joined, as it were, in a solemn sacrament; and who, on all these grounds, but chiefly for the sin of having held communion with us, are now, as might be expected, doomed by the fanatics of rebellion, to be the objects of never-ceasing hostility, to be pursued as offenders, whose crimes can only be expiated by their destruction? —I agree with what has been said by my Honourable Friend [Chancellor of the Exchequer], that peace once made, all communication with this, or any other class of people, hostile to the French government, must completely cease. Whatever the government is, or whatever its conduct may be with respect to us, if we think fit to make peace with it, that peace must be religiously kept. I am not for curing one breach of faith, by another. But was nothing to be done, in the final settlement of that peace; and still more during the time which has elapsed since the first commencement

* This note, which is long and full of excellent matter, will be found in Register, Vol. I. P. 957.

† This note will be found in Register, Vol. I. P. 958.

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of the negotiations? I wish a satisfactory answer could be given to those inquiries. I wish it were true, that, for months past, numbers had not been perishing throughout the royalist provinces, the victims of their loyalty and honour; —(men hunted down, like wild beasts, for acts, which that government may call crimes, but which we, I hope, have not yet learned so to characterize;)—simply for want of such means, as might have enabled them to effect their escape, and, after the loss of every thing but what their own minds must bestow, to have sought an asylum in some foreign land.—— Sir, I would gladly draw a veil over these facts. But our shame is too flagrant and glaring, to be concealed: the cry of this blood is too loud to be stifled. I beg to wash my hands of it. The share which I have happened to have in the affairs of his illustrious and unfortunate people; the interest which I have always taken in their cause; make me doubly anxious to vindicate myself from any participation in the guilt of having thus abandoned them. I wish I could vindicate, in like manner, the government and the country. Among all our shames, it is that of the most fatal nature, and of which, possibly, we shall longest rue the effects.*— Sir, I have done. I have stated, as I thought it my duty to do, what my apprehensions are, as to the nature and consequences of the present peace. If the evils which I impute to it, are not to be found there, if the dangers which I apprehend should not come to pass, no one will more rejoice in my error than myself: those who differ from me will have nothing to complain of; I shall have alarmed myself; I shall not, probably, even have to reproach myself with having succeeded in alarming them. But if any there should be, (there are none I am sure in this House,) who should say, that my fears are *not* imaginary; that they think of this peace as I do; that they apprehend it *will* ruin the country; but that they hope the country may last long enough to serve their turn; that being traders, they think the trade of the country may be lost; that, being manufacturers, they believe its manufactures may decline; but that for this they care but little, provided the peace in the mean time shall prove advantageous to *them*;—to all such, if any there can be, there could be but one answer,—that they are a disgrace to their country and to their species; and that he must be as bad as they, who, upon such terms, could seek to merit their good opinion, or could solicit their favour. I trust, however, that no such men are to be found; but that all who rejoice in the present peace, do it under a persuasion, that the good which they may hope to derive from it, individually, is not to be obtained by the sacrifice of the final welfare and safety of their country.

MR. WILBERFORCE began by observing, that himself and his friends had much reason to complain of the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Windham); not but what he gave that Hon. Gentleman every credit for sincerity, but he still thought himself and his friends had a considerable ground of complaint. That Hon. Gentleman had publicly declared, that he considered the peace as the death-warrant of the country. When it was known that peace was concluded, a general joy ensued; he (Mr. Wilberforce) equally rejoiced, entertaining a confidence in his Majesty's ministers, that the terms would be consistent with the dignity and honour of the country. When those terms were published, he found that confidence not misplaced, and the general joy still continued. But he wished particularly to observe, that the administration of which that Hon. Gentleman was a member, had twice treated with the enemy. He and his friends had supported that administration; and, placing a confidence in the honour of that Hon. Gentleman, *had supposed those overtures for peace had been made in the true spirit of sincerity.* Surely, then, they had reason to complain, when the same arguments which the Hon. Gentleman had adduced, *would operate against the treaty at Lisle*, and against *any peace whatever with the enemy.** He was ready to acknowledge, that he too saw danger arising from the peace; *but if he was sure that the war would be renewed even in three months, he would give his consent to the peace.* For by making the peace, we should shew to all Europe that we were guided by dignity and moderation, by magnanimity and good faith, *and should gain the confidence and esteem of the Continent.* It was not possible, the Hon. Gentleman could suppose, that England could conquer France by sea. We were never engaged in a continental war without being aided by a powerful confederacy. But whatever might be the dangers arising from the peace, *he did not see how those dangers would be lessened by keeping our conquests in the West Indies or elsewhere.* He always considered the war to be undertaken against a Jacobin government, who, it was presumed, held the people in subjection, and prevented them from declaring their real sentiments, but he never placed confidence in ministers, under the idea that the war was to be carried on *for the purpose of establishing a King at Paris*, and maintaining him by his power by force of arms. Was there a chance of success, or of making any impression upon France by means of continuing the war? He thought not, and if that was not the case, it was the duty of the country to make peace, more particularly when the government of France promised stability, *was supported by the people, and capable of giving a pledge of confidence to surrounding nations.* The Hon. G

* This note will be found in Register, Vol. I. pag 959.

* The more flagrant instance of foul play [illegible] perhaps, never discovered, even by Mr. Wilberforce. He *knew well*, that Mr. Windham was always opposed to both the regicide negotiations, and that he himself, Wilberforce, was at the bottom of them both!!!

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tleman had objected to the terms of the treaty; but in his opinion, they were wise and just. England had been stigmatized by the states of Europe as endeavouring to monopolize the commerce of the world; and surely it was wise in her to give a proof of moderation in opposition to the charge, and to shew to those states that she could be moderate even in the midst of success. When the future historian came to delineate the situation of this country, deserted by all her allies, and visited by Providence with the dreadful calamity of scarcity, yet maintaining, single-handed, a contest against France, and finally concluding a peace, in which she not only gave up no part of her territory, but acquired additional guards and securities for her possessions, how high an opinion must be formed of the energies and the resources of Great Britain? There was one article of the treaty on which he wished to make an observation; he alluded to the 5th article, which related to the guarantee of the dominions of the Ottoman Porte. This article had been construed to mean, that England and France should unitedly defend the territories of the Porte against all attacks. *To this he must object, as it would bind England to do that which must depend upon a thousand circumstances,* and might eventually become highly inexpedient and improper. He only wished that England should be left an option *to act according to circumstances.* He would only trouble the House further with an observation relative to the acquisition of the island of Trinidad, as it involved an object, the abolition of which he had much at heart, namely, the slave-trade, which his not bringing forward sooner was to be ascribed to his fear of injuring the measure by precipitancy. The island of Trinidad would, according to the best information, require one million of slaves to cultivate it, and the employment of 140,000,000*l.* or 150,000,000*l.* of capital. He trusted it would not be made the means of supporting the slave-trade, but rather to assist its abolition. He concluded by exhorting the superior classes of society to set the example of *morality and virtue in their conduct,* that others might not be led to imitate those manners which had already become too prevalent, and the increase of which he feared.

Dr. LAURENCE took a very wide view of the important subject before the House, the result of which was a strong condemnation of the preliminaries. He began by expressing his marked disapprobation of the vague manner in which they were drawn up. *As we never by any treaty made such sacrifices, so never by any treaty was there left such room for altercation.* He once thought he might have done some service by pointing out these omissions and inaccuracies, but the errors of Ministers were now irremediable. Marquis Cornwallis was sent to Amiens, bound hand and foot. The French had been told that we were so eager for peace, or rather that peace was so necessary to us, that there were no sacrifices which we would not make to obtain it. The treaty of Utrecht had been quoted a little unfortunately, he thought, on this occasion, the Ministers who concluded it having been impeached. He could, however, have been contented to see it brought to point a moral, or adorn a tale, had not all its principles, which had procured us near a century of prosperity, been now completely abolished. *He expressed unbounded indignation at the language used by some Gentlemen, ascribing to Ministers moderation and magnanimity, inasmuch as in the hour of success they had consented to terms, perhaps rather lower than they had a right to demand. Necessity was the only plea they could urge, and when they abandoned that, they laid themselves open to the most serious charge of misconduct.* The Learned Doctor then went into a long history of the war, and explained the views of the different parties since its commencement. Afterwards he went on to draw a very alarming picture of the acquisitions of France, and of the deplorable situation in which we are left by the peace. *The subjects of quarrel, he said, were immense,* and we had no security but the Chief Consul might employ some one of them as soon as he had stripped us of our conquests. We could never begin a new war in such favourable circumstances as those in which we ended the present. He could hope little from our commerce. When a philosopher was shewn by an eastern monarch his immense treasures, he replied, that the possessors of iron would soon get possession of it. The embassy of the Marquis Cornwallis might illustrate this still better. He and his suite appeared in the utmost magnificence of dress and equipage, while they were received on the road by not the most superbly clothed, but the most military looking corps in France. It was a well-known fact, that those troops who escorted him from stage to stage were all picked grenadiers. In as far as concerned our allies, the treaty was disgraceful in the extreme. After going over our different allies, he lamented in a manner peculiarly bitter the hard fate of the Prince of Orange. Who would have expected, he asked, that almost on the anniversary of the landing of King William to free us from slavery, his representative should be betrayed by us, and ruined, for no other reason than because he had adhered to our cause with unshaken constancy? For a lesson of fidelity to their allies, he desired Ministers to look to the French. Never once had they been driven from any city or country without expressly stipulating for the protection and safety of those who had befriended them. Cooped up in Alexandria, Menou had refused to capitulate unless the English undertook for the security, in their persons and property, of Cophts and Egyptians, Mahommetans and Christians, Jacobites and Jacobins. (By Jacobites, he said, he meant a religious sect known by that name.) Henceforth it would come to pass, that when the smaller states *were obliged to choose a power-*

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ful ally, they would look to France. There they might expect protection, but from us only ingratitude and dereliction. He concluded by saying, that he was far from wishing to carry on the war for ever, but he did wish to see it carried on till we could have peace. *That state did not deserve the name which required us to remain in arms and to submit to an abridgment of our liberties.*—Dr. Laurence condemned, in very severe terms, the declaration of Mr. Wilberforce, who had expressed his approbation of the peace, even though it should last but *three* months.

Mr. WILBERFORCE, in explanation, said, that he had not said *three* months, but *six* months!!!!!

Mr. ELIOT said, that his mind was filled with the most gloomy and desponding apprehensions. He looked upon the peace as absolute and unqualified ruin. All the objects for which the war had been undertaken were at once given up, and we were now surrounded by accumulated danger. The treaty abrogated the public law of Europe, and went to abolish the title of sovereigns to their crowns. We allowed ourselves to be second to France, a situation in which we could not long exist, to such a degree were we envied by the rest of Europe. *He saw no improvement in the dispositions of the Chief Consul.* Did he now shew less audacity of enterprise or malignity of intrigue? Was his amendment to be discerned in the late transactions in *Holland* or *Switzerland*, or in the tragi-comedy acted at *Florence?* He continued to dictate new constitutions to his vassal republics; and, to bring monarchy into contempt, set up a Prince of the House of Bourbon, after cruelly and wantonly dethroning the hereditary prince. The Hon. Gentleman's at down with observing, that he considered the treaty as *a wasteful and unnecessary sacrifice of our honour and our interests, to procure a delusive and short-lived tranquillity.*

The SECRETARY at WAR said, that the first thing he should take notice of, was the danger to which this country was said to be exposed by the peace now before the House. That danger arose from the geographical situation of France, and its relative condition with respect to this country. The geographical situation of France was certainly matter of just apprehension to this country; but the question to be considered as arising out of that apprehension was, whether there was any reasonable hope, by a continuation of the war, of reducing the power of France? If there was any hope of our being able to do so by another campaign, or by a number of campaigns, or that by them we could obtain security against the power of France, he should have thought it prudent to try the effect of such campaigns: but however well we might be convinced of the danger to us from the situation of France, if it was not in the power of this country to affect that power in a material degree by a continuation of the w then the continuation would be useless. long as we were able to have the alliance the great powers of the continent to act dially for the purpose of reducing the po of France, he had always been of opinio was for the interest of this country to ad co-operation with that confederacy, to m a common cause against the power of Fra That confederacy, however, could not no formed. It was impossible for any one t gret it more than he did; but what could do if the coalition could not be formed? last campaign had been as brilliant on our as any that had ever taken place (the par lars of which he recited), but still he did no what we were to gain by continuing the Indeed he did not see that we could do b than to adopt the course held out yesterda his Noble Friend (Lord Hawkesbury), had forcibly and happily conveyed his m ing by saying we should adopt a syste mixed conciliation and firmness; a p without which he apprehended this co could not long preserve its present prospe

Mr. HOBHOUSE said, that, with rega the preliminaries, he would be glad if Gentlemen who had spoken of them *as and vague*, would shew in what part of they had discovered such defect. For his part he could see none such, and he t denied any such principle apparent in article by which France and England mut agreed not to invade any part of the Tu territory, or could bind either power to rantee the Turkish territories, either a internal commotions, or attacks from powers. He was fully satisfied with the planation already given to the treaty, so regarded the integrity of the Portuguese tory; and that his Majesty's Ministers, th it might have been *indecorous towards Fr* to have made any stipulations *in favour French loyalists*, whom the French govern would esteem as *rebels*, part of a prelim treaty, yet he was convinced, in the sec tion of the definitive articles, they woul fail *to urge*, on the part of these unfort persons, *the best terms attainable.* He fel such gloomy apprehensions from the pea those Gentlemen who disapproved it, ac to express: on the contrary, he saw in it reason *to rejoice*, that his Majesty's Mini from the liberality, candour, and moder they had manifested in the attainment object so truly desirable, were entitled to highest praise. It was, he hoped, a pre of the *candour*, *liberality*, and *moder* which would mark their future measures, on that ground they should have his confid and support.

Mr. BAKER said, that the great question the House to decide was, whether the t

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of the peace were adequate to our situation, considering it with relation to the situation of France; and upon the best consideration he was able to give the subject, he was inclined to think they were.

Mr. DAWSON said, that he felt himself fully justified in giving his decided approbation to a measure which he thought calculated to produce the most beneficial effects to the United Kingdom, and especially to that part of it to which he had the honour more particularly to belong. If he were asked whether he thought his peace was likely to be secure, he had *no hesitation in answering that question in the affirmative*. With regard to the terms, he had such an opinion of the present Administration, that he was convinced they were as good *as could be obtained*.

Mr. W. WYNNE said, he could not look upon the peace with the same sentiments of satisfaction as many Gentlemen had done, because he thought it was one big with danger to the country.

COLONEL WOOD said, no man felt more than he did the danger which threatened this country from the overgrown power of France; but under all the circumstances of the times, he approved of the peace. He then proceeded to investigate the terms, which he considered, if not such as could be wished, yet such as afforded *great additional security to the possessions of this country in the East and in the West Indies*.

Mr. ELLISON observed, that though he had from principle supported the war, as deeming it aggressive on the part of France, he was friendly in the highest degree to the peace *achieved* by his Majesty's present Ministers, who, he thought, had acted wisely, and particularly on the present occasion. He repelled the idea, that the country was in a state of humiliation; on the contrary, he thought her recent conduct peculiarly glorious to her.—She was true to her allies, and had adequately asserted her own honour and interests. He thanked Ministers for what they had done: his best support and influence was at their service. The peace, he trusted, would unite every heart and hand in the country in support of its Government, and render Britain in effect *as impregnable as Malta itself*; and he trusted the blessings of peace would be commensurate to the wishes of a patriotic Minister.

Mr. NICHOLLS was confident that the peace would *prove safe with respect to this country in every point of view*.—The principles of France were much altered from what they had been. He expressed his conviction of *the sincerity of the French government*.—Much seemed to be apprehended from France becoming a commercial nation; that her character in that respect would alter; he wished it might. He had rather see her attention turned to commerce and to her colonies, than her power employed in dangerous, hostile, or destructive projects. In this view, he *wished she might regain the entire possession of St. Domingo*, and he wished it with a view to the *safety* of our own West India islands, *and of Jamaica in particular*; for in the present situation of St. Domingo, that invaluable island could not be safe. He was induced to commend the *moderation* displayed by Bonaparte, *particularly with respect to Austria*, which he thought was highly honourable to him. If riches were the object of the French, they who were an enlightened and wise people *well knew* that they were *not* to be acquired by the means *of plunder and pillage*.

Mr. BABINGTON made some general remarks upon the preliminaries, as well as some observations upon what had fallen in the course of the debate. He observed that he entertained a political jealousy with respect to guarantees in general, though he was aware circumstances might arise which may render those measures expedient, and concluded by observing, that Russia and Austria were the natural allies of this country, as forming the most efficacious reciprocal checks upon France *.

Mr. R. THORNTON spoke highly in approbation of the peace, for which he thought Ministers deserved the thanks and gratitude of the country: it was the more acceptable, *as unexpected* by the great body of the people; and he had reason to think Ministers had obtained the most favourable terms that possibly *could be got*. He likewise commended the secrecy with which the negotiations were conducted. France, he observed, might be increased in bulk; but she was not proportionally so, in real strength and muscle. Peace was desirable *at almost any rate*; and that treaty which terminated the American war, though at first so strongly reprobated, he thought favourable to this country.

Mr. OGLE observed, that with respect to that part of the United Kingdom to which he had the honour to belong, not a man of loyalty in that country who did not receive the tidings of the peace with joy and satisfaction, and on the contrary, *not a rebel or a disaffected individual who did not receive it with disapprobation and regret*.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that, by what had fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, he understood, and that too from an authority which he had no reason to doubt, that those Hon. Gentlemen who so highly disapprove of the peace,

* Which side this Gentleman was of, we know not.

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were countenanced in that disapprobation by the feelings and opinions *of the disaffected*, and so far as their feeling was hurt at the peace, their feelings, unexpectedly no doubt by them, *were in unison with those of the United Irish*. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Windham) seemed to think that peace could not be sincerely made on both sides, or firmly established with France, until not only the government and political principles of France were changed, but even until the morals and manners of her people were radically reformed. With respect to these measures, he should observe, that an answer to them all was comprised in a question asked by that Right Hon. Gentleman himself:—"*Are we never to be at peace?*" He would answer—"*Yes;*" and at the same time would say, that he hoped and trusted, that upon the principles cited from his Right Hon. Friend, the Government or the Parliament of Great Britain would never be influenced to act. He had *necessarily* the highest respect for the character of his Right Hon. Friend.—He well knew the *uprightness* and *firmness* of his *principles*, and the *ardour* and *sincerity* of his *patriotism*. His regret at differing from him in points of such incalculable importance, was therefore the more considerable. His Right Hon. Friend had seemed to start at the bare idea of an end to our resources. With respect to these, he certainly could not say they were *inexhaustible*, yet, God be thanked, the national resources were far from being in that situation which some Gentlemen in the course of debate seemed to consider them; and he would observe, that it was, as much as any other, in the contemplation of their being farther removed from such a state, that he rejoiced that the Sovereign had yielded to the advice of his *confidential* servants, in consenting to those preliminaries of peace which had *so decidedly met the cordial approbation of Parliament*. With respect to what had been said, in a comparative view, in regard to the negotiations at Lisle, he displayed much acuteness of remark, and contended that, in the way of argument, those who defended the preliminaries had a right to put the case as they had done, and that the House, which approved of the negotiations at Lisle, could not, in consistency or justice, refuse their approbation in this instance. It had been said, that the continental power of France was not abridged, and that Britain was confessedly unable to contest that power. It was never meant to say, that the power of Great Britain was not such, that, if properly used, it may, with every desirable effect, be placed in the scale opposite to that of France; in this idea, he did not mean hostilely opposed, but in the way of comparison of their political power and influence. He must revolt at the idea, that because France had made considerable acquisitions, England could not raise its head—far from it; and in proof of which he had only to desire those who doubted, to look at the state of our armies and navy, and consider their achievements—to contemplate our national *commerce*, *resources*, and *wealth*, and, above all, our *inestimable constitution*. He should not omit, in a statement of this kind, the extent of our dominions and possessions, as well at home as abroad: added to this, let the national character of both countries be thrown into the scale of consideration, and then compare the whole with all that France possessed, and he had no hesitation in putting the question, let any wise and candid man put his hand upon his heart, and say on which side lay the advantage.

HOUSE OF COMMONS*, MARCH 4TH, 1802.

Mr. ELIOT, after speaking of the estimates, said, that he thought, that when the Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) put his signature to the preliminaries of peace, he put his hand to an instrument fraught with danger and humiliation to this country, to an instrument from which posterity would date the decline of this country. Parliament, however, had thought otherwise; and, as he had before stated, he submitted to their judgment. But he hoped he might be permitted to observe, that although the House had given the sanction of its approbation to those preliminary articles, it was not bound to adhere to the opinion it expressed on a former occasion, if all the circumstances upon which that opinion was given had been since that time completely changed. He was particularly anxious to guard the House against the doctrine, that, by agreeing to the preliminaries of peace, they had deprived themselves of the right of animadverting upon circumstances which had no connexion with them. One of the circumstances to which he alluded was, the extraordinary scene which had lately been played in Italy. Many people, he believed, were induced to approve of the preliminaries, from a hope that the government of France would in future act with a degree of moderation, and endeavour to consolidate the power she had acquired. They thought, that although the Cisalpine republic was in a considerable degree under the influence of France, yet that she might by degrees acquire a sort of independence, and form a kind of barrier between France and Italy. But subsequent events had completely undeceived those who entertained such hopes, and had shewn them, that they were ignorant of that furious lust of power which actuated the government of France. If that government had stopped in her career for a moment, it was only to take breath, that she might renew it with redoubled vigour. We had seen an immense force sail from the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, without, as he believed, any communication

* This was on a motion of the Secretary at War, on the army estimates.

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of the specific object of that expedition. We had seen the Chief Consul of France go to Lyons, and, without any communication to any of the powers of Europe, declare that there was not one person in all the states which composed the Cisalpine republic, fit to be intrusted with the government of that country, and that, therefore, he would take it upon himself. He was, he confessed, seriously alarmed at this mode of reasoning which the Chief Consul had adopted; because, if we submitted to this encroachment, it was impossible to say that he might not, at a future period, apply it to this country, and graciously condescend to take us under his protection. The Chief Consul then returned to Paris, after having made himself President of the Italian republic, annexed all that rich country to France, and converted it into cantonments for French troops. But this was not all; he had also acquired the whole of the island of Elba: that island was, by the treaty of Luneville, to be annexed to the Dutchy of Tuscany, and immediately after he stipulated for the possession of Porto Ferrajo. Another point to which he must call the attention of the House, was, that France had, by another treaty, acquired a very considerable territory on the banks of the Mississippi, and had acquired the means of supplying her West India islands independent of this country. He did not mean, now, to ask in what situation we stood with relation to the President of the Italian republic, whether it was a relation of peace or war; but he could not help entering his protest against that act of fraud, ambition, and insolence; or, upon this subject, he could use no other language. But he did hope the Noble Lord would explain to the Committee, and to the country, how it happened, that when we were discussing the preliminaries of peace, we thought we were giving Porto Ferrajo to Tuscany, when, in fact, we were giving it to France; and how it happened, that when we were giving back to France her West India possessions, we did not know that she had acquired possessions in that quarter, which would render her colonies much more advantageous to her. He did, however, believe that the Ministers were, at that time, themselves ignorant of these circumstances. If however, instead of treating with France in the name of her allies, we had treated with those allies conjointly with her, it was impossible but we must have known the relation in which she stood to other countries. If Ministers had not taken the necessary means to inform themselves upon this subject, they were guilty of negligence; if they did ask the question, and got no satisfactory answer, they were wrong in suffering the country to be treated with such indignity. He must now allude to another circumstance, which formed a lamentable supplement to what he had already stated, which was, that since the signing of the preliminaries, a very large portion of the French, Spanish, and Dutch navies, had sailed from their ports.

LORD HAWKESBURY said, that the Committee would not expect him, he was sure, to enter into a discussion upon all the points of the Hon. Gentleman's speech, being perfectly ready, as he before stated, to enter into the fullest investigation of the conduct of Ministers when the proper season arrived. The Hon. Gentleman had thought proper, in the course of his speech, to make a personal allusion to him, with respect to his having signed the preliminaries of peace. *Upon that subject he could state with the greatest sincerity, that, whatever the result of that event might be, he should never regret the share he had had in that transaction, which he should always contend was creditable to this country, and gave to Europe the only chance for* A LONG CONTINUANCE OF PEACE!!!!! Gentlemen might talk of the bad consequences of a peace, but he begged they would also consider what might be the bad consequences of a war, and that, before they decided, they would balance the inconveniences of both together. *The experiment of peace* was, at least, as wise as the experiment of continuing the war.

Mr. CORNWALLIS said, that with regard to the expedition, there were no reasons before the House to induce them to suppose that it had not a fair object, though perhaps it might not be proper for his Majesty's Ministers to state every thing within their knowledge upon the subject; but even supposing that the expedition had sailed with a hostile intention, which he really did not believe, still there was not the least ground for apprehension, because we had a force more than sufficient to resist any attack which they might be inclined to make, and our fleets would in that case be enabled to meet them in the open sea, instead of being employed for years in merely counting the French fleet in the harbour of Brest. If, therefore, he was a friend to the continuance of the war, which he really was not, the sailing of that fleet would be to him a matter rather of satisfaction than regret.

Mr. WINDHAM said, that the more we relied upon the spirit of the government we treated with, the more deplorable must be our condition, if the fact was, that there was a determined spirit of hostility, and that the continued purpose and aim of that government was to destroy the greatness and prosperity of this country. There might be assurances of friendship and peace; but let the conduct of our adversary be examined, and it must be too evident to be disputed, that it was the settled purpose of France to subvert the greatness of this country. When a preliminary treaty was made, it had always been the practice that hostilities should cease; that both parties should stand still, and that neither should do

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any thing to the injury of the other. In the case of a truce relative to besieged towns, a stop was put to the effusion of human blood, and the operations on each side were suspended: the besiegers were not allowed to make new works, nor the besieged to repair the old ones. The case was exactly similar with respect to a treaty between two countries. It was to be observed, however, that there were two orders of circumstances which affected treaties; the one, those events which happened subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty; the other, those which happened previous to that period, but which were not known till afterwards. These latter circumstances might not be known to either party; but if any circumstance, calculated to affect the articles of that treaty, was known to one party, and concealed at the time of making the treaty from the other, it was undoubtedly a fraud, and must set aside that treaty. The treaty might be affected in this way from the nature of the articles themselves: if any particular island or country was ceded, the article containing that cession was definite and certain; but there were other articles of a more indefinite nature. Thus, for instance, the article which guaranteed those territories and dominions which constituted the integrity of Portugal.—If it was found that at the period of making the preliminary treaty, another treaty had been concluded which altered the integrity of Portugal that was meant to be guaranteed, and which treaty was not communicated to this country at the time of concluding the preliminary treaty, then surely the House must think, that a preliminary treaty, thus concluded, could not be acted upon without dishonour. His Hon. Friend had done no more than his duty, in calling the attention of the House to the situation of the country: what had been done ought to be stated fairly; what was to be done, was another question: and whether it was proper or not to take any measure upon this subject, he was not disposed to say, but the House ought to have the whole situation of the country before it. Whether any step was to be taken, could not now be considered; but if the House *would not consider the subject—if they would not decide upon those steps which ought to be taken—if they would view the subject with an apathy which seemed to him fatally to prevail—if they would co-operate with, and sanction measures without a requisite discussion—if they would go on with a kind of blindness which he could only compare to the judicial blindness mentioned in Holy Writ, then the existence of the country could only be estimated by months.* Let them look at the state of Europe—there were only two powers remaining, Austria and Russia; all the rest were swallowed up by the power of France, *and he clearly saw that this country would only be left to be the last devoured.* It was evidently the purpose of France to aim at universal empire—it was evidently their intention to destroy the commerce of this country. He would not take up the time of the Committ further upon the subject now: circumstan were continually arising out of it to give oc sion to new discussions, and he thought Hon. Friend had very fairly brought the s ject before the House.

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, *we were a acquainted* with the operation of an Europ force in St. Domingo, and must be aware t 30,000 men, which was the extent of the fo sent out by France, *was not disproportionate the object that was to be attained*, if that fo was to be met by an hostile opposition; a even if it was not, still, when the extent St. Domingo was considered, and the num of garrisons which would be required, force which was sent out was not of dis portionate magnitude. It appeared to that it could not have been the policy of country to have objected to the sailing of expedition from France. This must be a rent, if we looked to the state of the Fre colonies, as it must be *equally the policy of country as of France, that those colonies shou subjected to their former government.* But it been said, why suffer so many ships of the to go out? if 30,000 men were necessary, ships were not. This, if any event did place, as had been predicted by some Ge men, would be undoubtedly for the advan of this country, as it would be then f found at a distance from its own ports. did not see that the occasion called for the cussion of those abstract questions which been raised, and which might tend to em rass the operations of his Majesty's Mini and to commit the House with respect to definitive treaty. He also thought that a cacy ought to be observed *in commenting those treaties which affected other powers* was not proper that observations should abroad upon such treaties, *until the decisi those states was known*, upon the subject which their own security and safety might involved, and *how far they considered themse to be affected by those treaties.*

Dr. LAURENCE said, that neither his F Friend nor himself objected to the delay in negotiation; he thought it a favourable sy tom on the part of his Majesty's Ministers it tended to prove that every thing was abandoned, but that something yet remai as a matter of discussion: so far he appro of the delay, and wished it might be longer, as additional security to this cou might result from it. The Noble Lord alluded to *other treaties*, but it should be collected that *this was wholly different f former treaties*: in those, *some basis was e blished as to the rights of other countries, as this; but in the present, no basis whatev was established; all former treaties were put by, and no foundation whatever was laid for present.* His Hon. Friend had therefore, wi

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a proper degree of jealousy, called the attention of the House to this subject, when those supplies were brought forward which were interwoven with it, and which it was impossible to vote as a matter of course. The Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) had said, he should be ready to give every requisite explanation at the proper time; there was no doubt of that, as at that time the Noble Lord must be ready. The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) had drawn a consolation from the French expedition to the West Indies, which his mind could not acknowledge; he could not see that any security was to be derived to us from any effect that could arise from the operations of that force. The Noble Lord had observed, however, that in case of any event happening, their fleet would easily be found: if this was to be a consolation, *why was the French fleet blockaded in Brest in the course of the war, instead of being suffered to sail?* It was now found to be an advantage that they should sail; but at the period alluded to, not even a small detachment was suffered to sail from Brest harbour; how much blame then was due to those Ministers who refused to permit any part of that fleet to quit its port, when the sailing of the whole must have been advantageous to this country? It seemed now, however, to be forgotten, that this fleet might do considerable mischief in the West Indies before we could operate against them; at any rate, the consolation was a very poor one, and not much deserving the attention of the House. He did not wish to go much at length into the discussion of the treaty by which Louisiana was ceded to France, only so far as it added to the power of that country: look at the colossus with one foot upon Amazonia and the other upon the Mississippi; look at it again, and see it ready to stretch out its hand to seize the West India islands. If they looked nearer home, the isle of Elba presented itself an instance of fraud on the part of France which ought to have set aside the treaty. Another instance was to be found in the circumstance of the Italian republic; this had hitherto been called the Cisalpine republic, which was in fact only another name for Cisalpine Gaul: but now that the First Consul of France was declared its President, it had assumed the name of the Italian republic, pointing, by its title, to the dominion of all Italy. With this republic it seemed to be a matter of uncertainty whether we were at peace or war: no stipulation had been made respecting it, nor was it included in the treaty, though one of the allies of France. This republic formed an instance of the never-ceasing ambition of France, a subject to which the attention of the Committee ought not to be called in vain. He trusted his Majesty's Ministers would exercise every care for the interests and honour of this country; the old system of Europe was broken to pieces, and new relations and new ties must be formed. They could not proceed too cautiously in so important a negotiation, and they ought to give that information to Parliament which would enable that House to form a deliberate judgment of what ought to be done to ensure the welfare of the country. They ought to request the advice of that deliberative body to whom were intrusted the interests of the nation, and who must decide eventually how far the termination of this negotiation was calculated to promote those interests. If, however, his Majesty's Ministers would not bring the subject before that House for its mature deliberation, he thought that even a longer delay ought to be allowed them for the deliberate discussion of so important a subject.

The Attorney General said:—"It seems to me that the manner in which this debate has been conducted leads to no useful conclusion; nor has it been held up by Gentlemen on the other side, to any sound parliamentary purpose, as the Hon. Gentleman, and those who are with him, seem to think. They say, that the Administration of this country *have detected fraud on the part of the persons with whom they are negotiating*, and that such conduct on the other side puts an end to the engagement on our part. That may be the sense these Gentlemen entertain of the transactions of the negotiation between this country and France; but this I know, if it be, they have a manly duty to discharge. The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, from the particular turn of his expression, has a manly duty to discharge, and that duty ought to find a manly spirit to perform it, by moving an address to his Majesty, to recall from Amiens the Minister who has so humiliated his country, as by this negotiation he thinks it has been humiliated. He ought to make some specific motion on the subject, that we may know what to do, instead of thus beating the air in vain. I think this mode of taking up this important subject, by piecemeal, very improper, and may be attended with serious inconveniences, and therefore deprecate this sort of proceeding. Why these irregular discontents in this House, these loud complaints, without propositions to remove them, these *expectorations* instead of clear expressions of discontent? Why not come forward in a manly manner to the House, and afford the House an opportunity of manifesting its *patriotic* feeling upon the subject, by rejecting the motion, as I apprehend it would, and setting the matter at rest? Indeed I do hope that this *vicious* practice of speaking upon a subject without intending to propose a practical conclusion, upon a subject so delicate as that of a pending negotiation, will be *discontinued*; it may increase to an enormous size of inconvenience by indulgence. I will not go over, at great length, the terms of various treaties between various nations: nor will I unfold every map, *nor dust every document published on state affairs for centuries, nor*

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trouble the House with crude observations upon them; I will be content with saying, the House has no reason to believe that Ministers will put up with any national indignity."

HOUSE OF COMMONS*, MARCH 5TH, 1802.

Dr. LAURENCE said, that *it was a notorious fact, that the plan of the French government, when the war of arms was over, was to carry on a war of custom-house duties with us, and, if possible, to ruin our trade.* This certainly called for the most serious attention of the Government of this country. This appeared by a pamphlet † published by a person of considerable consequence in the French government, for he was Under Secretary of State to Talleyrand. This book completely developed the plan of the French government to ruin our commerce. [Dr. Laurence then read a variety of extracts from the pamphlet in support of his assertion.] The principles laid down in this book, were not the mere opinions of the moment, but such as France had uniformly acted upon; and as a proof of this, he referred to the different treaties which France had made with other countries, in which this system had been invariably adhered to. All these circumstances ought to make us extremely watchful over our commercial interests. He therefore hoped that some plan of commercial intercourse between this country and France would be established before the definitive treaty was signed, *because he was sure that after the treaty we should not succeed in establishing one.* If that object was secured before the definitive treaty was signed, the conspiracy which had been formed against our commerce would be unavailing; if it was not, the most serious consequences might be apprehended.

HOUSE OF LORDS, APRIL 12TH, 1802.

EARL CARLISLE rose to call the attention of the House to a matter in which the national honour, as well as our essential interests, are seriously involved, by the duplicity practised on the part of France, in signing the treaty of peace at Amiens. The 18th article of that treaty states, that the House of Orange, having sustained some losses of private property in the late republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian republic, in consequence of the change in its constitution, a suitable compensation shall be made for the said losses. This treaty was signed on the 27th ult. and this country thought, no doubt, she was obtaining something for a family to which we are bound by various ties. But two hours before the signing took place, the Dutch minister retired to a corner of the room, and said to the French minister, The indemnifications of the House of Orange are not to come from the Batavian republic. The French minister, in fact, made a separate convention* with the Dutch minister to this effect; he made it without the knowledge of Marquis Cornwallis, who heard nothing of the circumstances till he arrived in this country. Here, then, we find France binding herself to England to do one thing, while she is at the same moment privately engaging herself to Holland that it shall not be done. His Lordship dwelt with force on the perfidy of France on this occasion, on the little reliance we can place on her faith, on the manner in which we have been duped, and the sacrifice made of the House of Orange, which was possessed of private property in Holland of the annual value of 100,000*l.* Since the House of Orange was shut out from obtaining indemnifications in Holland, where could it obtain them? Was England to give them? France certainly could not. Could they be obtained in Germany? This was not probable. Was the Prince of Orange to look for indemnification in Hanover? He would be a bold minister who would propose such a measure in the British cabinet. The House of Orange was left as much unprovided for as if it had not been at all noticed in the definitive treaty. Perhaps it would have been better had it not been noticed, as the act of exclusion would not then have been made. When it was objected to the preliminaries, that they stipulated nothing for our ally, it was answered in another place (by Lord Hawkesbury), that the passing over his claims then was to favour them elsewhere; but that the most particular instructions should be given to Marquis Cornwallis to take care of them in the definitive treaty. Such was the result, however. This country was duped. France, when she bound herself to indemnify the Prince of Orange, had previously engaged that he should not be indemnified in the only quarter where indemnity could be properly obtained, in Holland. His Lordship, after pressing this subject, took notice of the vague manner in which the definitive treaty was drawn up, and particularly the omission of confirming ancient treaties. This omission gave to France and Holland great advantages, which passed unnoticed, as they did not appear on the face of the definitive treaty. All the advantages which this country had obtained after a spirited struggle in 1787, by the convention then concluded by a Noble Lord opposite to him (Auckland); all these advantages were now lost. When the definitive treaty was officially published by the Dutch, they accompanied the publication certain observations †, understood to come from the Government (these remarks have been inserted in the

* The debate was on the American Treaty Bill.
† Hauterive's "Etat de la France."

* See Register, vol. i. p. 361.
† See Register, vol. i. p. 380.

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Dutch and French papers as officially published by the Government). From these we learn, that the Prince of Orange not only is excluded from any indemnity in Holland, where his property rests, but that the custom of compelling the Dutch to do homage to our flag at sea, an honour to maintain which our ancestors bled, is given up. The privileges obtained in 1787, of trading to the Spice Islands, and other privileges highly advantageous to our commerce in the East Indies, are relinquished by the non-renewal of former treaties. This was the most alarming deficiency of the definitive treaty. All the commercial regulations, to establish which this country had so often struggled, and under which our commerce had so greatly flourished, ceased to exist, the grounds of new disputes were left, the seeds of future wars were laid, particularly with regard to our intercourse with the Dutch in the East Indies. Indeed, most of the treaties which had nourished our commerce were destroyed by the present peace; the Methuen treaty, which contributed so greatly to our prosperity, no longer existed; our right to cut logwood was lost, and various other privileges equally important.

LORD PELHAM did not feel that Ministers were bound to make any reply, as the Noble Earl had made no motion, and only communicated what he deemed important information, with the view, he supposed, of directing the attention of the House to the consideration of certain subjects previous to the discussion on the definitive treaty. The Noble Earl's object was therefore answered, as the House and his Majesty's Ministers had heard him, and Lord Pelham saw nothing that required a reply from Ministers at this time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, APRIL 29TH, 1802.

LORD HAWKESBURY brought up a copy of the definitive treaty of peace, ratified between his Majesty and the French republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian republic, and moved, "That these papers be laid upon the table."

Mr. WINDHAM said, that the Noble Lord had anticipated part of what he was going to say upon this subject; and he understood the course stated, and the grounds for it, to be such as mentioned by the Noble Lord; but he must observe, however, the Noble Lord had not said any thing which changed his mind as to the course he should pursue, but which happened to accord with the ideas of the Noble Lord, as he had expressed himself to-night. He should like to have an early day to mention this matter again; he should propose Monday next, not for the purpose of discussing the subject, but for the House then to fix a day, and that he should wish not to be an early day, to discuss the whole matter. He did not wish to enter on a debate on Monday, but he meant it as a motion, merely to explain the grounds on which the House should fix some future day for the discussion. The question was then put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 3D, 1802.

Mr. WINDHAM rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—"I do not rise to solicit the House to come now to any final decision upon the merits of the definitive treaty of peace which has been laid on the table, but simply to move a day for taking it into consideration. As one of the persons who have the misfortune to differ from his Majesty's Ministers, I do not conceive there can be any objection to this proposal. His Majesty's Ministers think that no discussion is necessary upon the definitive treaty, the preliminaries having met with the approbation of the House, and consequently they have declined to introduce any motion respecting it. Whether this be an invariable custom, or one that would be 'more honoured 'in the breach than the observance,' I shall not stay to inquire. If there be precedents that do not render any such proceeding necessary, they must be founded upon the presumption, that, by its approbation of the preliminary treaty, the House has sanctioned the definitive. Now I think it is quite the contrary in the present case. I think that the question is completely open, and that there may be perfectly good grounds for giving a different judgment upon the definitive treaty from that which the preliminaries have received. At the same time, however, that Ministers have declared that they see no necessity for farther discussion, they have also expressed a wish, that, if any such be to take place, it may be a full, complete, and not a partial discussion. If by this they mean that the subject should be taken up upon all its grounds, with all the circumstances of the early disclosure on their part, of all the necessary papers and information, and with a full view of the subject in all its points, bearings, and relations, in that wish I heartily concur. If, on the contrary, by deprecating a partial discussion, it be meant that the whole discussion should take place on the same day; if it be meant to crowd all the points of this comprehensive business into a single sitting, and without full information to assist the judgment in its inquiry into the merits of each, I cannot agree; because it cannot be done with justice to a question of so great magnitude. In the circumstances under which I now present myself, I am, *mutatis mutandis*, like a counsel in an opening speech, in which I am to touch on a variety of papers and matters, the complete knowledge of which can only be disclosed in the proofs produced in the pro-

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gress of the trial: but whether Ministers will give all these accounts and papers, is what will make all the difference possible in the final discussion. This is a subject upon which I have already expressed my sentiments; and sorry should I be to have it supposed, that, if we were met to pass a final judgment upon it, I should touch so slightly as I mean to do upon many points of moment, and express so feebly the deep anxiety and apprehensions which I entertain of the treaty, as of the grave digging for our greatness, and an abyss opening at our feet to swallow us up. The best order in which to consider this subject, will, I think, be under the four following heads: I shall first take the circumstances which did exist, but were not known in this country previous to the preliminaries; secondly, those points which took place in the interval between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty; thirdly, the variation of certain points in the definitive from their state in the preliminaries; and, fourthly, those points in the definitive which do not exist in any shape in the preliminaries, yet may not be considered as a departure from them. As to the first class, namely, the circumstances which did exist, but were not known before the preliminaries, there are three principal ones: first, the cession of the Isle of Elba; secondly, the limit of French Guiana; and, thirdly, the cession of Louisiana. The cession of Elba has been already mentioned, and when the necessary papers shall be laid before the House, it will be the proper time to enter into it fully. I shall now touch on the manner of the cession only, leaving it to the House to judge the value of the acquisition to the French as an excellent station, an important harbour, and an impregnable fortress. The argument by which our assent is sought to be obtained for this advantage given the French, is the immensity of objects of equal, if not greater value, which destroys its single importance: that is, we are told, why continue the war for the sake of the Isle of Elba, when so many points of greater value have been surrendered? Without dwelling, then, on its value, I shall consider the manner, which is in my mind more important than the thing itself. There is in it such tricking, such chicanery, as requires constant explanation; and the more it is examined, the more odious is the light in which it appears. The House will recollect that by the treaty of Munich, by which a transfer was made of the Dutchy of Tuscany, it was expressly stipulated that Porto Ferrajo should remain as it was before, attached to the Dukedom of Tuscany. Now, what do the French? They have recourse to that sort of algebraic calculation by which an algebraist would proceed to exterminate a quantity that he wished to get rid of; they transfer it to another person—they leave it with the Duke of Tuscany: but, as if they were playing a game of chess, they remove the Duke and put a King in his place. They take a King of the House of Spain, and having placed him in the Duke's stead, they negotiate with the court of Spain, that it shall not remain with Tuscany, but be transferred to France. This was not known at the time when the preliminaries were signed. It comes out then that the real state of Porto Ferrajo was artfully concealed; that instead of being a station in the hands of the Duke of Tuscany, or against the French, it was to be transferred to France to facilitate her attack upon Naples, or any other ally we might have in that quarter in a future war. Now, surely nobody will say that these circumstances, if the thing stood single, are not such as put the case upon a new footing, and leave it a *res integra* open to discussion. Now, Sir, passing over this, we shall proceed to the next point, which is much the same in manner, but greater in magnitude: I mean the boundary assigned to French Guiana. I shall consider it as the former, not so much with regard to its importance, as the consequences attending it, which I contend were a gross breach of good faith. When the preliminaries were signed, we were given to understand by them, that the dominions of Portugal were to be maintained in their integrity. Therefore, when the treaty of Madrid came out which violated them, there was a general outcry and alarm. We were told it would be given up. As for myself, I could not understand that the French would have made this excursion into the Portuguese territory, purely for the purpose of giving it up again. It seems, however, they did so, as his Majesty's Ministers take credit for making them give it up and take another. A few leagues of wilderness in one place or another, are no great object. The question is, the command which it gives them of the Amazons, and that they have as much by the one as by the other. Either boundary is equally a breach of faith: they should have gone to the treaty of Utrecht: for, to impose a new boundary upon us is equally a fraud as if they had retained the former. As to the treaty of Badajos, which has been referred to on this subject, there is no such paper before the House, and, therefore, I leave it out of my consideration. What I complain of is the fraudulent exchange. It has been said of a peace, that it was only a change of war; the French mode of plain dealing may be perhaps a substitution of one fraud for another. The next point in this rising climax of frauds is the acquisition of Louisiana. Into this subject I am not now disposed to enter minutely. By this acquisition, the French are established in a space as unbounded as the view it opens, whether north or south. What a present have we made in it to the Americans! We have placed a serpent in their bosom, by which they will be ultimately devoured. We have put them in that state in which they must become willing slaves, under the dominion of France. We all know something of human nature. We know that men detest the instru

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ment less than the cause, and turn their resentment upon those whom they can make to feel it most. They will not, of course, hesitate between us and the French, and thus we shall eventually forfeit the friendship of America by the aggrandizement of the French in that quarter. As to the wealth which this establishment opens to them, it has no limits but their will. On the continent of South America there is no power that can resist them. There are the sources of the wealth of the world; but if Gentlemen do not feel the consequence of their passing into the hands of the French, it would be in vain for me to impress them with an idea of their importance. I have now got through the three principal points, which, though not known in this country, existed at the time of the preliminary treaty. There is not one of them that does not call for the revision of the preliminaries, and cancels the obligation. Now, Sir, under the next head of things, namely, those that happened in the interval between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, the catalogue is not numerous; but what it wants in number, it makes up in magnitude. It consists of the Italian republic; and next, though not so great, or bearing so directly upon the present question, the naval and military force sent out from France, and now established in the West Indies. The first is the question of a new kingdom (for whether kingdom or presidentship, differs but little in the language of the present day) in the heart of Italy. I say, that if such a situation of things had happened without the act or interference of either party, it was competent to a minister to say, Here comes a change upon which we did not calculate, therefore it is quite a new case. I say farther, that the history of Europe furnishes us with precedents to shew that such a change would have been the cause of a war; but what will be said when it appears that this was done during the interval of the preliminaries, and by one of the contracting parties?—*(Hear! hear!)* It is not that this is not felt as a good cause of war; but the fact is, Europe is so altered, that no interested power dare to question it. What must Austria think, when the Cisalpine republic, which she might have originally regarded *as a barrier against France, is now a barrier to France, for her destruction?* We know what Austria feels; but she feels her danger too much to enter upon any steps for redress. The second point bears less upon the present question; but it is of extreme importance, and may hereafter prove a measure of serious inquiry. The way in which I look at it is *the establishment of the French power in the West Indies earlier than it would otherwise have taken place, and which, if it had not taken place so early, would not perhaps have ever been established at all.* This is of the more importance, when we consider how much expectation has been formed of the chances and events which time might produce in the uncertain and unprecedented state of things which the world has so long presented. We do not know what effect delay might have had, or what advantages it might not have given us. We are therefore in a situation in which we should not otherwise have been; for, whatever may be said of the *policy of the measure on our part*, nobody will contend that by it we were not *giving before the conclusion of peace, a helping hand to that which during the war we had expended so many millions of money, and sacrificed so many lives, to destroy.* The third head is that which relates to those points on which the definitive is a departure from the preliminaries. Under this head I shall notice, first, the article respecting prisoners. We all know that there was a large debt due to us by France on this account; *and we heard of islands that were to be mortgaged for its payment. The result is, that there is no such mortgage, and that the debt is as bad as can be, while we were not able, I suppose, to compel better terms.* It became therefore necessary to exercise our diplomatic skill, to discover some plausible way of getting rid of the demand; in the execution of which, I wish, however, our plenipotentiaries had devised some mode that would have reflected less ridicule and disgrace upon the country. The expedient against the payment for the French prisoners is, the French are to set off the demands which they have for the maintenance of the prisoners belonging to our allies in their hands; that is, the expense of clothing and supporting the Russian prisoners. We all remember what a parade was made of the attention paid to the Russian prisoners, and that it was represented by the French government *as a compliment paid to the Emperor Paul; so that we are made to pay for that very clothing and maintenance which were the lure to decoy that sovereign from our alliance.* The next point of the same class, though without much preference to order, is the cession of Malta. By the preliminaries this island was not to belong to France or England, but to be restored to the Order, under the protection of a third power, generally supposed to be Russia. It was originally conceived that Malta was not to be given up; but that would not now be a proper matter for discussion. We shall take it simply upon the condition of the preliminaries. Instead, however, of providing for Malta in the spirit of the preliminaries, *a covered way has been devised, by which England is completely ousted, and France put into possession.* That such, at least, will be the result, I have no doubt. The first consideration that occurs is, how the Order is to be supported. We know the internal revenue of Malta does not exceed 30,000*l.* a sum not more than equal to the support of the Grand Master, the various charitable institutions, and the supply of grain. These three objects absorb all the revenue of every description which the island affords; so that for guards, garrison, and the defence of the place, there will be no provision at all.

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Of the revenues that formerly belonged to the Order, those in France, Bavaria, and different parts of Germany, have been confiscated, and those which lay in Spain are on the eve of being so, making, in the whole, at least four fifths of its ancient revenue, and reducing its revenue merely to that produced by the island, to the amount of about 30,000*l.* as I have already stated. Thus situated, the Order must soon fall for want of support. I shall not dwell upon the disgraceful mode of modelling it upon the French regular or noble-democratic form. It is not of this I complain, but of putting it under the protection of powers under the influence of France; for what is the Neapolitan garrison in fact but a French garrison? But, supposing it is now under the influence of France, how is that influence provided against by the article which removes the hands of the Neapolitan government? The plan is, that we shall evacuate the island in three months. *This stipulation is peremptory.* Then comes another clause, enjoining that it shall be delivered up, generally, *but not attaching to the former clause and saving to the Order.* Next comes another clause, still more material, which says, that the neutrality of the Order is proclaimed. What is meant by this it is difficult to understand, and may be variously interpreted. It may be neutrality to say, that ships of war to any number belonging to the neutral nations may come in, or that they shall be all alike excluded. A third way may also be conceived; I mean the admission of an equal number of ships of all nations. Now see the effect of this neutrality in the event of a future war. In such a war France would have for her allies certainly more maritime powers than England; she would at least have Spain and Holland, while we should probably not have one. Supposing, then, the number of vessels of each power admissible at Malta to be six, France would have there eighteen ships for our six, and so in the same proportion, whatever should be the number. Had this stipulation been in the preliminaries, surely it would have been canvassed and set right in the definitive treaty. The next point is the Cape of Good Hope. France has been always mistress of a happy knack of expression, and I do not find that the revolution has changed her style. She has stipulated that it shall be delivered over in full sovereignty to Holland. Now there is nothing to bind Holland from making it over to France, and putting a French garrison in it the moment she shall receive it. When, then, we consider the word sovereignty was used in the case of Tuscany and the Isle of Elba, we cannot suppose that it was intended to be *otiosus*, a mere idle term in the definitive treaty. On the contrary, this industrious use of it affords a lively persuasion that the same will be the result with regard to the Cape. I shall now pass on to things occurring in the definitive, and which make no part whatever of the preliminaries. The first is one of a gigantic nature, the total absence of all previous treaties. It is the first instance of the kind: it opens to a world of conjecture. It is argued that we shall gain as much as we shall lose by it; but how this is to happen I am at a loss to comprehend. It may be supposed that the renewal of these treaties would have embroiled us with the continent. But I do not know what these obligations are that would have outweighed the benefits of the treaties; because these treaties were not made for France, but against her, and for the protection of the other powers. The non-renewal of these treaties leaves us, however, with respect to other countries, just in the same situation in which we stood before; so that by this diplomatic analysis, France only is relieved. But, as was said at Lisle, Why get rid of the treaties all in a lump? We were not in the situation of a man with his hand limited to a minute. Surely seven months would be afforded time to make a selection of what should remain, and what should be cancelled. There are other points of this class that touch us more nearly. There is one particular part of the empire for which we feel a lively interest, an interest that must be increased in proportion to the loss of so many other acquisitions, and to which we must cling as the wreck of our empire: I mean our East Indian possessions. The treaties of 1783 and 1[7]87, the two great epochs of our rights in that quarter, are given up. We are left without the advantages, whatever they may be, of those compacts, and our right placed upon its original foundation. Now, let that right be ever so good, for I do not dispute its validity, it is material to consider what rights, or rather what claims, the French exercised before 1783. Their present state is, therefore, that state of the situation in which we were previous to the treaty of that year. By that treaty we put a stop upon our right; yet such was the force with which the French preferred their claims, that a ship was sunk in the Ganges, and we were on the point of hostilities when the convention of 1787 took place. We are now in that situation in which an attorney might say to his client, You have a good right of action, by the law; but if I had a security in my hands, by confirming my right and removing my adversary, I should not be well advised were I to break off the seal and throw it in the fire, that I might afterwards go to trial where the arbitrator is the sword, and the court a field of battle. We are now left to our right of action, and, perhaps, the first news from India will be the notice for going to trial. The French were never backward in asserting their claims, and that they should be less forward now we have no reason to suppose. There are other rights of minor importance abandoned, rights which, taken singly, are of great magnitude, but which sink into nothing in the neighbourhood of the towering heights that surround them. As to the importance of the privilege of cutting logwood in the Bay of Hon[duras]

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we read of nothing but quarrels between France and Spain about it. We do not pretend to a right of sovereignty in that quarter. We hold the right by convention, and France will, no doubt, reassert her pretensions. What these pretensions are, does not appear; but this state of ignorance and uncertainty shews the necessity for calling for papers, and giving the most mature consideration to the subject. The gum trade is another, which we exercised by convention; and I shall not forget the right claimed by the Dutch to trade in the eastern seas. We know the jealousy of Holland in that particular; we know the credit our Minister took for the settlement of 1784, on that point: but how this right is to be exercised in future; what precautions have been taken for its security; and whether they are to come from above or from below, does not appear. Among the other points that come next, without contravening the preliminaries, is the House of Orange. When we talk of all the territories and acquisitions which we have surrendered, we are told of those wonder-working things, credit and capital. I wish we could transfer the word credit from the 'Change to credit of another kind, to a high sense of honour, to national spirit and immunity from insults; but of all these qualities that made us great, we are now divesting ourselves, as if they were *functi officio*, and their sole object was to procure us money. *France may have ill-treated other powers under her protection; but she has shewn that she will not suffer another to abuse them. The dog, though beaten by his master, will fly forward in his defence; and we do know that powers, though crouching under France, will be bold and vigorous in her cause, that they will fight like Janissaries in the pay of their master.* One of them, we are aware, has not waited for the wax to be cold upon the treaty, before it has evinced this temper and disposition. That power which never spares an enemy, and gives protection to those under it, will make all powers to range upon its side. In the case of France, there is no instance of the contrary. Even in the evacuation of Alexandria, she acted upon that principle. I wish I could say the same for this country, with respect to the House of Orange. In our abandonment of that Prince, no provision has been made for the loss of his private property, or his stadtholderian authority. It might have been expected that some indemnification would have been secured for the sacrifice of his patrimony and power; but we have not only done nothing, but the manner in which he has been treated forms the most ridiculous feature of the treaty. The very day we were stipulating a provision, on that very day, and in that very room, and at the very table at Amiens, did the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries sign a defeasance. Our stipulation stated generally, that he was to have an indemnity, but the stipulation of the Dutch Minister Schimmelpenninck states, that it shall not be in Holland, the only place in which it could with reason and justice be obtained, and, indeed, the only place where *we intended* it should be obtained. So much for the good faith of France, in the case of the Prince of Orange. See now the King of Sardinia. We could be under no fear of reviving treaties with him; his kingdom was gone, unless, indeed, we might fear to see him come like the ghost that drew Priam's curtains in the night. It seems as if all sense of national honour were lost; but though the feeling may be lost to us, *it is not so with the by-standers.* These things are of consequence, and are founded in reason. I want to know *what value France sets upon subjecting us to indignity;* I want to know *what she and other nations think of our submitting to it?* The sentiments of Holland I do know, from a curious paper which she lately published. If these sacrifices were made by us from magnanimity, it would be another thing, but they are known to be made against our will. If I wanted a voucher for all this, I find one in a French paper received this day, and which, if translated, I should have read as part of my speech. In it the writer talks of Malta as of a place that, by the terms of the treaty, *must eventually belong to France*, and reasons upon several other points in the same disadvantageous line for England. Now, the necessary information upon all these points, is only to be had from papers, of which there are none upon the table: without such papers the real case cannot be known. We cannot know, without them, whether the cordial drop of peace, which we take into our stomachs, may not be something of a deleterious quality that may destroy us. Let us then consider, while we have time, and at least examine the cup in which it has been administered. I should wish, therefore, to fix to-morrow fortnight for the consideration of the subject, as not too distant for a business requiring so much previous information. I move, therefore, That the House shall take into consideration the definitive treaty of peace concluded between his Majesty, the French and Batavian republics, and the King of Spain, on the 18th instant."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that his Right Hon. Friend had said that Porto Ferrajo was surrendered to the French, but this was an act that was not done by his Majesty's Ministers; the surrender of the Grand Dutchy of Tuscany was a concession made by a sovereign power, fully competent to make such a concession. His Right Hon. Friend had laid some stress on the French territory in Guiana. He referred in this case to a conversation which took place in that House upon the subject of the treaty of Madrid and of the treaty of Badajos; it was then stated that the French territory in this part of the globe was to be limited by the treaty of Badajos, and not by that of Madrid; and it was made a subject

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of discontent by some Gentlemen in that House on that account; and a good deal of stress was laid upon the difference between the two, that of Madrid being much more favourable to Portugal than that of Badajos; and in fact the Portuguese government expressed, in terms the most explicit, that they should think themselves too fortunate, if we could be instrumental in procuring for them the terms specified, and having the boundaries fixed as stipulated by the treaty of Madrid. His Right Hon. Friend had said, that the French insisted on the treaty of Badajos, for the mere purpose of making a merit of giving it up and abandoning that treaty. The fact was, that this country, anticipating the pressure likely to be felt by that country, before the knowledge of the signing the preliminary treaty, and the concessions likely to be made in consequence of that pressure, made an express stipulation that the limits of the French possessions in Guiana should be as agreed upon by the treaty of Madrid, but the European boundary should be fixed by the treaty of Badajos. His Right Hon. Friend laid great stress, and very justly, on the establishment on the part of France in Louisiana. He had also said, that the French power would now put into danger the whole of the continent of South America. He was ready to agree with his Right Hon. Friend, that the interests of Europe are materially connected with the interests of America, both North and South; but his Right Hon. Friend could not say, that if the French had not the extent of territory there which they now possess, they could not, *if St. Domingo were tranquil*, and affairs at rest with them *in that quarter*, by *a large military force become formidable to either North or South America*, provided the subjects of these states were disposed to offer to them no resistance, and had no inclination to maintain their independence, and provided Great Britain and the rest of the European states were to be indifferent spectators of the scene. Certainly this acquisition of Louisiana was very important to France, and would certainly be looked on with *regret* by those who wished their dominion limited; but that was no conclusive argument to the point stated by his Right Hon. Friend upon that subject, that this possession will give them the power he had stated over the whole of that part of the globe. Another point that had been stated by his Right Hon. Friend was, that new matter had arisen upon, and new circumstances had attended the state of parties since the time of signing the preliminaries. Upon this head of observation, his Right Hon. Friend had recurred to the state of the Italian republic, and the armament which had been sent to St. Domingo. With regard to the first, he could only say, it could not be otherwise than regarded with *anxiety* by those who thought the power of France too great, or who felt, as men must feel, for the independence of the rest of Europe; and by none more was that sentiment felt, than by those who had a pure affection for the interests of their country: but this brought the matter back again to the consideration of the preliminaries of peace, the principle of which Parliament had at least recognised. Did his Right Hon. Friend mean to say that the renewal of the war would have been a measure proper to have had recourse to, on account of the objects to which he adverted as having taken place between the signing the preliminaries and the conclusion of the definitive treaty? He believed not; and if his Right Hon. Friend thought otherwise, he was confident the *good sense* of the House and the *feeling of the public* would go in a contrary direction. His Right Hon. Friend had said, that some of the occurrences between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty were such as would, at any other time than the present, have roused all Europe. Be that as it might, the fact was, that all Europe sat still at these events. The different states of Europe did not appear to be alarmed, but they had sanctioned the very proceedings of which his Right Hon. Friend complained so much; upon which Mr. Addington said he made no comment, but *it was a justification to his Majesty's Ministers for not making these points a plea for the rupture of the negotiation and the renewal of the war.* His Right Hon. Friend had laid great stress to-night, and great stress had been laid within these few months, on the sailing of the armament for St. Domingo. Now, upon considering the whole of this matter, all the circumstances that belonged to it, looking at it in all its bearings, he should really like to ask every intelligent, unbiassed man in this country, the whole country together as it were, whether this armament and its sailing was really matter of regret to us? In considering this subject, the whole state of the West India islands would immediately come into view. He was unwilling to dwell upon this matter; but looking at the state of the West India islands, he was confident that, whether they were viewed in a national way, or upon the narrower field of individual interest, it would be manifest *that the usurpation of the black government was the most formidable of all apprehensions for the safety of those possessions; and he was confident, that, had his Majesty's Ministers prevented the sailing of that armament which went to St. Domingo, it would hereafter be matter of sincere regret by the public, and of deep reproach to his Majesty's Ministers.* The third point alluded to by his Right Hon. Friend, was that of the departure from the preliminaries, and on which his Right Hon. Friend had laid very considerable stress, and made use of it in support of his motion; but he should be glad if his Right Hon. Friend would shew him where the departure was to be found in the definitive treaty from the preliminaries. He had pressed much objection to the expense of paying for the troops of the Emperor of Russia. Now, he would ask any man of *sober*

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judgment, without the feeling which influenced that of his Right Hon. Friend, whether it was not proper that those troops, which were in the pay and service, and under the direction, control, and management of the British government, should not in this case be considered in the same situation as any of our own would be if prisoners of war in another country? With respect to Malta, his Right Hon. Friend had taken a very ample field. He spoke under correction, but he very much doubted whether the arrangement made respecting Malta was not an arrangement which was in contemplation by the late Administration; but he could conceive it very possible that his Right Hon. Friend might not have concurred in that measure while he was in administration. But without entering into the particulars of the statement of his Right Hon. Friend, *he had the satisfaction to know* that the Maltese themselves *did not partake of the sentiments of his Right Hon. Friend; theirs were those of satisfaction and gratitude to Great Britain for the terms procured them.* With regard to the Cape, he had conversed with many of those who certainly had the best means of being qualified to form a correct opinion upon the subject, and they thought that no disadvantage was likely to result to Great Britain from the change which was adopted in this respect. His Right Hon. Friend had said a great deal on the subject of the treaty, as to the omissions of it. He had said, it did not renew any of those commercial arrangements which it had always been customary to renew. Great pains had been taken upon that subject, to set off the supposed disadvantages to us of these omissions. Upon this, he could at present only say, that if the principle upon which the treaty was agreed to was erroneous, *it was without any plea or excuse erroneous on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, for this omission was not an accidental one, it was advisedly so settled; his Majesty's Ministers were thoroughly convinced, that, under the present state of Europe, and all the circumstances of the case, they took a part which was adapted to the real interests of Europe in general, and to his Majesty's dominions in particular, by abstaining from the renewal of any treaties of commerce whatever.* His Right Hon. Friend had closed his comments by a reference to an article of great importance, he meant the care of the Prince of Orange: he had said that Prince was not described in the treaty by his title of *Prince of Orange*. Now, he was not to inform his Right Hon. Friend, that such title had *never been recognised by any government of France;* he was sure this could not be contradicted, and he would repeat it, that such title had never been recognised by any government whatever of France; he meant, that the head of that illustrious House had never been recognised by any government of France since the Revolution, by which the head of that illustrious House had been placed on the throne of Great Britain. His Right Hon. Friend had said, that no effectual stipulation was made to that Prince for the loss of his property: this was an objection that might have been made to the preliminaries of peace, and most unquestionably it was a very important subject. Certainly the terms were not so favourable for that illustrious family as he could have wished; but *certainly the treaty contained terms for adequate compensation;* for it is said, that for losses suffered *as well in private property, as by the change of constitution adopted in that country*, an adequate compensation should be procured for the House of Nassau, *for losses not only of a territorial nature, but of private property.* The only objection he had to the motion of his Right Hon. Friend, applied merely to the day on which he proposed to bring it forward; and when this treaty was proposed to be taken into consideration, he was not at all surprised that his Right Hon. Friend, who disliked the whole of the peace, should like to see every part of it rejected; but the sense he had of his duty compelled him to do every thing in his power to prevent an interval taking place between this and the period of the discussion of the subject, and during which the people of this country would be kept in suspense, which, of itself, was a consideration of some importance: he did not know the use of delay in this case; *did his Right Hon. Friend mean to prevent any of the provisions of the treaty being carried into effect?* What then was the object of his Right Hon. Friend? If he had any specific object besides that of a general censure upon the treaty, let him state it. *Did he mean to prevent restitution being made according to the provisions of the treaty?* If he did, let him state it. But it was an object, in the prosecution of which, *he believed his Right Hon. Friend would not be countenanced in that House.* Wishing, however, that a full discussion should take place, he should propose, that, instead of to-morrow fortnight, Tuesday se'nnight be inserted; or, more formally, that instead of the 18th, the 11th of May be inserted in the motion. He concluded by moving this amendment.

Mr. THOMAS GRENVILLE rose, and expressed the utmost astonishment, that professing, as the Right Hon. Gentleman did, that the subject was one highly worthy of the consideration of the House, he should consider fourteen days as a period too long for obtaining that degree of information, without which that consideration could not be fairly or profitably conducted. It was impossible, in his opinion, to have given any degree of attention to the succinct statement of his Right Hon. Friend, without being convinced that so great and so important were the objects demanding consideration, that the period originally proposed was barely sufficient for that purpose, pre-occupied as the attention of the House would necessarily be by a variety of other business. Was it possible to reflect for a mo-

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ment on that one feature of the treaty, of the total omission of the renewal of all former treaties, and still maintain that an interval of fourteen days was more than sufficient to prepare the House for the discussion of a point of such extensive importance to our commercial relations? If the treaty contained only this one point which demanded consideration, so many were the political and commercial interests which such a change went to produce, that the period mentioned by his Right Hon. Friend was perhaps inadequate to give an opportunity for the explanation which would be required. But this was merely one out of a long list which had been enumerated. If it was really the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to give a full, fair, manly discussion to the subject, he was quite unable to conceive why so important a discussion should be precipitated. The Right Hon. Gentleman on the other side had said that he was easily able to account for his Right Hon. Friend wishing for delay, feeling as he did on the peace; but the Right Hon. Gentleman's own conduct seemed to indicate something which shewed that he wished the discussion to be precipitated, from a dislike to any thing like a full discussion of the merits of the peace. He remembered an observation of an Hon. Friend of his on an occasion nearly similar to the present. When a motion for the production of such papers as might qualify the House to come to a fair decision was brought forward, the Minister had then pressed for a decision, and his Hon. Friend had taken occasion to remark that such conduct was similar to that of schoolboys, who were anxious to gulp any thing nauseous at one draught. The House had been asked by the Right Hon. Gentleman to suspend their judgment till information was procured; but how was such information to be procured in the time which he had specified? The information wanted was not surely to be obtained *viva voce*, but was to be the result of documents; and in the time which he had mentioned, these documents it was impossible to procure. He was, therefore, clearly for adhering to the time which his Right Hon. Friend had called for.

Lord Hawkesbury said, his Right Hon. Friend had divided the subject into four heads, but in his opinion it might more properly be divided into two, viz. first, whether the alterations which had taken place, whether known or not, since the signing of the preliminary, ought to have induced his Majesty's Ministers to have refused to sign the definitive treaty of peace, on the same terms as the preliminaries. The second head was, the defects, whether of omission or commission, in the definitive treaty. As to the first of these heads, whether those events which were notorious, such as the First Consul of France having accepted the presidency of the Italian republic, the surrender of the Isle of Elba to France, and the cession of Louisiana by Spain; whether those circumstances ought or ought not to have induced his Majesty's Ministers to conclude the definitive treaty with France, was a question for future discussion. But it should be recollected, that they were not now known to us for the first time, they had been publicly known for many months; and therefore he was sure that there was no person at all interested in the welfare of his country, who had not fully considered this question (a very important one he admitted, and on which a difference of opinion might exist), and formed his opinion upon it. With regard to the second point, viz. the defects of the definitive treaty, he begged to observe, that the customs of France being different from ours upon these subjects, the definitive treaty had been for some time in point of fact known by the public; and therefore his Right Hon. Friend must have made up his mind with regard to the information which he wanted, and the papers which he should require upon this. Under these circumstances, considering that these objects must range themselves under the different heads which he had stated, viz. the alteration of circumstances since the preliminaries, which had been known for some months, and the stipulation of the definitive treaty which had been for some time before the public, he could not conceive any reason that could be stated, why the discussion should be delayed.

Mr. Pitt said, that he could not but rejoice that upon this point his Right Hon. Friend had not represented our rights as doubtful, though he had spoken of the claims of those who were lately our enemies.—He alluded to what his Right Hon. Friend had said about India, one of the great limbs of the power of this country, and one of the great sources of that wealth and commerce which had raised this country to her present exalted state, and had assisted in carrying us through that great and eventful contest which had just ended. When the question came under discussion, it would be found that there was not only no ground for solid, but no pretence even for contentious argument, or plausible cavil; and, therefore, after what he had heard stated, he could not but count the moments till the subject should be investigated, which he hoped required nothing but an impartial discussion to remove all uneasiness from the public mind, because it would prove that there existed a determination in peace to maintain those rights which we secured and strengthened by war. Upon these grounds, he hoped his Right Hon. Friend would excuse him for requesting him to state as soon as possible the precise nature of the information he required. His Right Hon. Friend had talked of the necessity of producing several treaties; but some of them could not in point of form be laid upon the table of the House; and with regard to others, it could not be supposed that it would be proper to

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ay before the House the treaties of Westpha-
ia, Ryswick, Utrecht, &c. If Gentlemen
ad not looked at and considered all those
reaties already, certainly neither a week nor a
ortnight would be sufficient to prepare them
or the discussion of this question. But in
rder to ascertain the state of Europe imme-
iately previous to, during, and since the war,
he only information that could be given, must
e in the discussion of the question. With
egard to the apprehensions which his Right
on. Friend had expressed, that in conse-
uence of the non-renewal of treaties, parti-
ularly that of 1787, the French would esta-
lish the pretensions which they had advanced
revious to 1787, it would be necessary, in
he first place, to ascertain what these preten-
ions were, and upon what ground they rested.
f it should turn out that those pretensions, be
hey what they might, had no foundation
hatsoever; then, undoubtedly, any inquiry
nto the subject would be useless. The first
uestion was, whether we were of opinion,
hat, in point of fact, our late enemies had no
uch pretensions, and whether we knew enough
f our own rights to say that those which we
ad maintained in war should not be conceded
n peace? He knew enough of those preten-
ions to state that they arose out of two found-
tions, but principally out of the treaty of
783, which was now done away. As far as
hey arose out of grants from the Great Mogul
of whom we were in fact the substitutes),
hese grants must be done away by war as well
s treaties. The grants of former Moguls cer-
ainly could not be more binding upon us than
ur own treaties. Voluntary grants could not be
nore binding than positive treaties. It would
e to be considered also, whether what his
light Hon. Friend had said about Honduras
ight not also be done away by general
easoning. He would not enter into the
iscussion of these points at present. He
oped, however, that his Right Hon. Friend
ould not delay longer than till to-morrow his
notion for the papers, which he thought ne-
essary for the discussion of this great and mo-
nentous question.

The amendment was then carried.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 4TH, 1802.

The order of the day being read for sum-
noning their Lordships for the consideration
f Lord Grenville's intended motion relative
o the definitive treaty,

LORD GRENVILLE said, that he understood
hat, though there never was a subject which
nore highly interested the welfare of the coun-
ry, it was not the intention of Ministers to
ubmit the treaty to the House by any specific
notion; and he acknowledged there might be
ome excuse for such a proceeding, if the
reaty was in fact no more than a detailed
xecution of the articles of the preliminaries,
upon which they had come to an approving
vote already. In order, therefore, to lay a
ground for his motion, it would be proper for
him to shew the variations between them, the
alterations in some parts, the contradictions in
others, and the omissions upon the whole.
The first consideration which presented itself
was, the regard had to national honour and
national faith. This was a consideration, in
his mind, of much more moment than any
other which could arise on such a subject.
Loss of territory may be regained, commerce
may be revived, and industry encouraged and
invigorated; but honour and faith, once for-
feited, can never be repaired but imperfect-
ly, and only by a long series of a conduct
manifesting an adherence to a different system.
Upon this principle he could not but condemn
the manner in which the integrity of Portugal
had been sported with: we should never for-
get, that, through the whole course of the war,
that country had adhered to us with a firmness
that shamed the fidelity of much more power-
ful nations; and he would undertake to assert,
without the fear of contradiction, that what-
ever Portugal had lost in consequence of the
war, was solely sacrificed to its attachment to
the interests of this country. It was not by
any general engagement and guarantee, but by
a special and distinct treaty, that British faith
was pledged to bring Portugal whole and un-
impaired out of the war; instead of which,
this peace left that integrity to depend on
what was left to Portugal in Europe by the
treaty of Badajos; and the territory which it
lost, though of little value in itself, deeply affect-
ed the interests of Great Britain, as it left for
ever imprinted on the minds of the Portuguese
people, that the guarantee and protection of
England were not to be relied on. The treaty
alluded to also put it out of the power of
Portugal any longer to carry the commercial
treaty into effect. He would not for the pre-
sent speak of the value of that treaty to this
country; but observe that it was such, in the
opinion of Portugal, that, for its maintenance,
that country at one period of the war put even
its very existence to the hazard. If such was the
care we took of them in Europe, still less did
we protect their possessions in the Indies. By
the treaty of Amiens, the boundaries of France
in Guiana were circumscribed to the course of
the river Arawari; but this gave the French
an entire command of the river Amazons at its
source, the command below of the whole
Portuguese trade, and the command equally,
in time of war, of our Indian navigation.
The next object of attention, in regard to
British faith, was, the condition of a family,
with its adherents, to which we were bound
by every tie of friendship and alliance, who
are now wandering in foreign parts as exiles,
and uncertain of being ever enabled to return
to their native country: it must be evident
that he alluded to the House of Orange. The
interests of that illustrious family were entire-

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ly neglected in the preliminaries; and he believed, however desirous they might be of peace, the preliminaries would never have been approved of, if Ministers had not declared that the honour and good faith of this country required that a compensation should be made to the Prince of Orange, our ally (if that term might be applied to a Prince now left without any dominions). His Lordship then enumerated the various kinds of property which the House of Orange heretofore possessed in Holland. He denied that the House of Orange had been elevated by the republic of the United Provinces, which, on the other hand, was itself erected by that House, whose Princes held great possessions, not indeed in full sovereignty, nor much short of it, long before the republic started into existence. The dignities of the House of Orange, it was true, had not been formally recognised by the old government of France; but that was no reason why we should now consent to sink their title into the branch of the House of Nassau established in the republic of the United Provinces, and only stipulating that it should have a compensation, without providing in what it should consist, or when, or where, or by whom it was meant to be made. As to its adherents, they were not even alluded to, but seemed to be considered as unworthy of notice, while we saw France stipulating for the security of every Jacobin in all the nations of Europe, and claiming and obtaining from this country a traitor (Napper Tandy, we suppose), who appeared in hostile and rebellious arms in Ireland. All these were consequences of the improper instructions of those who were to conduct the negotiations at Amiens. France introduced the plenipotentiaries of its two allies into the congress, while those of Portugal and Naples were excluded, probably because they were interested in the result, but more probably because they were the friends and allies of England. By these means it happened, that while the Noble Lord (Cornwallis), whom he should never mention without the highest veneration and respect, was putting his signature to the peace, containing the condition of an indemnity to the House of Nassau, the French and Dutch ministers were, without his knowledge and consent, drawing up an agreement at the other end of the table, stipulating that the compensation should not be made at the expense of what was now called the Batavian republic: an act of perfidy and duplicity which he reprobated in the strongest language. Speaking of the stipulation for each country paying the debts of the prisoners taken on either side, he animadverted on the provision which included foreign troops taken while in the pay of each nation. Even in this article, so much a matter of form, all the advantage was on the side of France. A number of Russian troops had been taken at a time when they were at our disposal, which, in consequence of different political arrangements, were afterwards clothed, armed, and regimented at Brussels, for the purpose of being employed to attack this country. If any one doubted this fact, he had it in his power to prove it; and he thought nothing could be more humiliating in us than to be obliged to defray expenses incurred for such a purpose. The Cape of Good Hope, according to the preliminaries, was to have been declared a free port, and now reverts in full sovereignty to the Batavian republic. This, in time of war, would make it completely a French port, supposing even that the condition of its being open to the ships of war of the other contracting parties should be complied with. We know the French system in this kind of neutrality to be, that ships of war, in equal numbers from each country, should be admitted at the same time. Supposing then, that number to be two each; for two English men of war, the French, Spanish, and Batavian allies would have six; which would oblige us, at the expense of twenty-five or thirty ships of the line, either to keep up a great fleet in those seas, or send convoys with every trading fleet; and every regiment outward or homeward, must be escorted by a force equal to cope with the allies, and prevent them from attacking our possessions in Hindostan. This subject, however, of the Cape of Good Hope, was one of so much importance, that he should take a future opportunity of bringing it more specifically before the House. With regard to the island of Malta, which some considered as not inferior in consequence to the Cape, we were led from the preliminaries to believe that it would be placed under the protection of some power capable of preserving it from the ambitious views and pretensions of France: this power was probably meant to be Russia, whose weight and influence in Europe might probably have accomplished that end; and the more easily, as it had the means of supplying at all times a sufficient force for its defence. This the court of Russia perhaps would not consent to, and the definitive treaty placed it completely under the influence of France. The knights for the future would be wholly unable to maintain it. Their order was partly military and partly religious, and composed entirely of Maltese nobles, who would rather undergo any hardship than associate with that democratic *langue* which this treaty proposed, but most probably never could succeed in establishing. The revenues for their support were heretofore supplied from most of the other countries of Europe. These countries had their distinct *langues*, supported by benefices which could only be held by the knights, whose profession was honourable in their youth, and promised to reward them with considerable possessions when advanced to more mature years. At present almost all of these incentives were gone. The revenues were confiscated in France, on the left bank of the Rhine, and in Bavaria, which contained the richest posses-

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sions of the Order. Something indeed would remain in Naples, as long as Naples continued any way independent; and how long that might be, was matter of great uncertainty. Something was also left them in the Ecclesiastical States; but this, as well as the rest, was held by a very precarious tenure. The revenues of the island itself, partly territorial and partly commercial, were appropriated partly to maintain the splendour of the Grand Master, which could not be dispensed with; and partly to the support of religious establishments, to the expense of hospitals, and to furnishing a granary for the consumption of the island, which could not produce grain in any proportion to the number of the inhabitants: so that by applying it now to the maintenance of a new democratic *langue* and the defence of the works, this plunder of the alms-houses would be found wholly inadequate. A Neapolitan force was spoken of for that purpose; but the King of Naples had no interest in the preservation of the island, which could induce him to be at that expense. Besides, in time of war, he could never be in a condition to refuse yielding it to the French, in order to assist any project of theirs to intercept our East India trade, or to recover the possession of Egypt. It must, in future, be obedient to what we may call the King of Italy, who may at any time march from the new Italian republic, and, in forty-eight hours, seize upon the capital of the other sovereign. There could be no hesitation, therefore, when the alternative was between the safety of the Neapolitan metropolis and the defence of the island of Malta. It was not in the least probable that his Sicilian Majesty would embroil himself at all with the affairs of Malta while it remained within the grasp of the First Consul; and must dread the hostility of England, which would be formidable to him, though by no means so to France. Under these circumstances, he thought it imprudent in this country to give up the possession of that important island, at the moment France, by its late accessions, was so greatly extending its empire in the Mediterranean. The annexing of the new Italian republic to itself would at any other time have been thought a sufficient cause of war; and now the retention of Malta would, on our part, be still an inadequate equivalent. He illustrated this by the comments of a writer in the *Mercure de France* *, and published under the immediate inspection of the French government, and which, in explaining how the articles of the definitive treaty are advantageous to the republic, added, "that Malta must "always be French, as long as it shall be "Neapolitan." This paper he frequently recurred to in the course of his speech. He then adverted to the immense acquisition made by France in the ceded province of Louisiana, including Florida, which gave them an immense influence on the Northern United States, as well as on the South of America. It gave them the command of our West India navigation, and it brought them within three hundred miles of the city of Mexico; the march would be as easy as from Chester to London; and he had no scruple to affirm, that on the unfurling of the first standard for an expedition to Mexico, the whole of the West of America would immediately repair to it in arms—a circumstance which must ever put Spain in a state of entire dependance upon the French republic. His Lordship next proceeded to consider a stipulation in the treaty, for which, he said, there was no precedent upon record; namely, *that which went to surrender the claims of British subjects upon the government of France, for losses sustained before the war*, or at the commencement of the revolution. In these periods, property of English subjects in the French funds to a considerable amount was confiscated, which was done chiefly by means of that unprincipled manœuvre, by which the French financiers confiscated two thirds of the funded debt, in order to enable them to pay the remaining third.—He next adverted to the non-renewal of ancient treaties, which he would contend was a principle in the process of negotiation equally novel and injurious; and, in illustrating these positions, he again referred to the French official paper that he had already quoted, which said, "The old law is "destroyed; a new public law commences:" which principle *might be most destructively applied by France in her future projects of aggrandizement; and they might well say to us, that, abiding by the treaty of Amiens, which in effect ordained a new law of nations, we had no right or title to inquire;* nor was that the worst, for, though these treaties were ineffectual on our part with respect to France, we were bound by the letter of them with regard to other nations, which must certainly lay the seeds of future quarrels and dissensions. Added to these important considerations, there were others, which were more of the nature of omissions than positive stipulations, but which were of equally injurious tendency. He first adverted to the point of the honour of our flag in the British seas not being asserted, and which would, in an inconceivable degree, go to abate the spirit of our seamen, on whose ardour and exertions our best hopes always depended; and this point was settled by formal stipulation in the treaty of 1783. Another point was, the omission with respect to the regulation of the gum trade, of the extent and importance of which he spoke shortly in detail. The logwood trade was the next topic which fell under the Noble Lord's observation, and on the great importance of this he also expatiated. He then observed upon what had fallen from a Noble Lord on a former evening, to the effect, that whatever claims should be demanded by France, would be founded on the arguments urged by him (Lord G.). No-

* See Register, vol. i. p. 516.

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thing, however, could be a greater misunderstanding. Never could any man possibly be less the advocate for France than he was; and if the cause were never pleaded but by him, it would be very feebly urged indeed. His opinion upon the effect of the omissions with respect to the navigation of the eastern seas, remained unaltered. In the treaty of 1783 it was stipulated that we should continue quietly to exercise our rights in that respect; and these were held of such high importance, that the treaty of 1787 was negotiated principally with the view of ascertaining these claims, and to avert a war, which was just about to be entered into, in consequence of the unfounded pretensions of France in that respect. He thought that a distinct explanation should take place even now with France upon this point, which may be effected in the course of five days, and before the cession of the Cape, Malta, &c. was carried into effect. He then touched upon the recent acquisitions made by France on the continent of North America, and adverted to the unfavourable and general effects they might have upon the interests of this country in that quarter, particularly with respect to our West India commerce in periods of war. From this topic he passed to the acquisitions of territory made by France on the continent of Europe, and the serious consequences with which these were fraught; and, drawing to a conclusion, he recalled to the recollection of the House some of the leading passages of the last speech of the illustrious King William, which ought, he said, ever to be impressed on their Lordships' minds, respecting the aggrandizement of France at that period, in consequence of a Prince of the House of Bourbon being placed on the throne of Spain, by which the French King would become master of the whole Spanish monarchy; in consequence of which, this country could never experience the blessings of real peace, but must continue to be exposed to all the expenses and inconveniencies of war. This reasoning, his Lordship contended, applied most emphatically to the state of the two countries at the present period; and, after further expatiating upon these general points, and the vital importance of the subject in question, in the discussion of which, not only the dearest interests of the nation, but the character of the House was involved, his Lordship concluded by moving, "That this House "do, on Friday se'nnight, take into consider-"ation the definitive treaty of peace."

LORD PELHAM said, he could not pretend to follow the Noble Lord through the extended range of observations that he had made, but there were certain leading points to which he would give some answer. The Noble Lord had stated several important topics as variations in the definitive treaty from the preliminary treaty: but he could not admit that they were variations; and where they differed at all, it was in being more fully explained in the definitive treaty than they had stood in the preliminaries. As to what the Noble Lord had said of the breach of the public faith to the Queen of Portugal, he did not think that charge at all imputable to this country: as far as it was in the power of his Majesty's Ministers, they had stipulated for the integrity of her Most Faithful Majesty's territories and possessions as they were previous to the commencement of the war; and as to the exception relative to the limits of the French possessions in South America, that article was stipulated between Portugal and the French by a separate treaty, over which Great Britain had no control, not being a contracting party; but Ministers had obtained an explicit definition of those limits, which were determined by the fall of the river Arawari into the ocean below the North Cape near the Isle Neuve, and the Island of Penitence. With regard to the House of Orange, most undoubtedly it had been stated, when the preliminaries were under consideration, that there were hopes of obtaining for the Prince of Orange such a compensation as would be entirely satisfactory to that unfortunate and illustrious personage; but though they had not been able to succeed in that, they had prevailed so far as to induce the French *to make a public acknowledgment that the House of Orange had suffered losses in what was now termed the Batavian republic, and to declare that an adequate compensation should be procured to the Prince for his losses.* In respect to the Cape, which was another point to which the Noble Lord had called the attention of the House, they had procured a full explanation of the stipulation respecting it, which was to be found in the definitive treaty. His Lordship spoke to what Lord Grenville had said of what he had termed a new public law of Europe, which he had decared *would be the law of the King of France;* and said that such was the inevitable result of a peace, where a renewal of ancient treaties *could not be attained.* He denied that the construction put upon the condition relative to the Russian prisoners was the true construction; he could not, he said, admit that this country was to be at the expense of furnishing and clothing them. With regard to the island of Malta, it had been hoped that the Emperor of Russia would have accepted of being the guarantee of the island's independence, which he owned would have been more desirable than the present arrangement respecting the island; but *if they could rely on the good faith of France, the danger the Noble Lord apprehended was not likely to arise.* His Lordship said, having thus imperfectly answered the principal facts spoken to by the Noble Lord, he would detain the House no longer; but conclude with moving the amendment, of leaving out the words "Friday se'nnight," and inserting "Wednesday the 12th instant."

LORD THURLOW rose, not, he said, to go into the subject of the definitive treaty, but to

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observe that the Noble Lord opposite had not been regular in his proceeding that day. The Noble Lord had on a former occasion given notice, that he would on the present day move to fix a day for taking the definitive treaty into consideration. He ought, therefore, in strict order, to have confined himself to that, and that alone, without entering so largely into the subject in detail. He did not mean, his Lordship said, to deviate from the rule he had just laid down; but *he must observe, that all subsisting treaties were at an end as soon as a war was commenced with those who are parties to them.* It behoved those, therefore, who plunged the country into the war, *not to have set the treaties loose* BY COMMENCING HOSTILITIES; but it by no means followed as a matter of course, that ancient treaties were *necessarily* to be revived and renewed in every treaty of peace; that must depend on the will of the contracting parties.

The EARL of CARLISLE rose, not to detain the House, or deviate in the least from the rule laid down by the Noble and Learned Lord, but to confine himself strictly to the amendment, and the point of difference between Wednesday and Friday being the day agreed upon to take the treaty into consideration. His Lordship wondered at the assertions of the Noble Lord high in office, that the Noble Lord near him had advanced no argument to prove the necessity of taking the treaty into consideration; every sentence, or rather every period that he had uttered, was a strong argument in proof of that necessity; and, as to the Noble Secretary's assertion, that there were no variations between the definitive treaty and the preliminary treaty, nothing could be more unlike than the one was to the other.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that if *by the omission of the mention of former treaties they were all to be considered as abrogated, and if the public law of Europe was thus altered, he had no difficulty in saying, that an address should be voted to his Majesty, praying that he would dismiss his present Ministers from his councils for ever.* But he trusted that *the fact was far otherwise*, and that the conduct of Ministers deserved no such censure.

LORD AUCKLAND said, he had heard with the liveliest satisfaction what had fallen from the Noble Lord over-against him, with respect to our rights in India. It certainly had been imputed to him on the continent, and pretty generally believed in this country, that he had declared these rights to depend upon the treaties of 1783 and 1787. But he had now affirmed in the most decided and manly manner, these rights to be inherent in us as sovereigns of Bengal. Lord Auckland said, that he himself was in possession of information which he should take an early opportunity of laying before the House, and which would clearly prove *that the French had not the shadow of a claim to disturb us in the quiet and exclusive enjoyment of our possessions and privileges in that quarter of the world.*

The question was put, and the amendment, that the treaty be taken into consideration on Wednesday se'nnight, agreed to, and the Lords ordered to be summoned.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 5TH, 1802.

The EARL of CARLISLE said, that he was afraid that it had been too truly said, that the Prince of Orange, who had lost property to the value, as he understood, of above 100,000*l.* besides his public dignities, and great official income and emoluments, had been deserted by this country in the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and *no security taken for an adequate compensation* to be made him for the valuable property of which he had been plundered. His Lordship declared that the reason avowed for the confiscation of the Prince of Orange's property, was his steady adherence to his treaties of alliance with this country, and his faithful performance of every stipulation entered into with Great Britain. That being the case, his Lordship said, it was highly incumbent on this country not to lose a moment in endeavouring to set on foot some means of enforcing the due execution of the 18th article of the definitive treaty, that an adequate compensation shall be procured for the losses suffered by what is therein contemptuously denominated a branch of the House of Nassau. His Lordship commented at some length on the strange wording of that article of the treaty, and asked, what security could this country imagine that article held out for the compensation of the losses of the Prince of Orange, when it was coupled with the very alarming and extraordinary circumstance of the known fact, that two of the contracting parties, Holland and France, at the very moment after the Noble Marquis had affixed his name to the definitive treaty, retired to a corner under the same roof, and signed a convention, containing a declaration on the part of Holland, that she was not to be called on for any compensation to the House of Nassau, and a guarantee of that declaration on the part of France, both parties at the time solemnly executing that convention, as their explanation of the meaning of the 18th article of the definitive treaty? His Lordship read this convention to the House, and descanted upon it for a considerable time; and having urged many arguments to prove that the public faith of Great Britain was pledged to procure a full and adequate compensation to the Prince of Orange, our faithful ally, concluded with moving, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to request his Majesty to give orders that a copy of the convention

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signed and executed at Amiens, communicated to his Majesty's Ministers, be laid on the table of that House.

LORD PELHAM rose to reply, and after a few introductory remarks, assured the Noble Earl that to present any such address as was moved could answer no purpose whatever, as *no such communication as that referred to had ever been made to his Majesty's Ministers, nor was he apprized from any authority that such a convention had been entered into.*

The EARL of CARLISLE expressed his surprise at the Noble Lord's reply, because, though he could not have procured a copy of the convention in question, yet surely the Noble Lord, as Secretary of State, could have ordered the proper person at Paris to have demanded a copy of it, and to have transmitted it to his Majesty's Ministers. His Lordship took notice of the singular expression made use of by the Noble Secretary of State, in the course of the preceding evening's debate, viz. that he owned he had been disappointed, in respect to procuring a better security for a full and adequate compensation to the Prince of Orange and his adherents, for their respective losses. Surely the Noble Lord, from the official authority he was clothed with, might have directed the Noble Negotiator on the part of Great Britain, to have insisted on a fuller and more explicit and satisfactory article than the 18th article that now stood in the definitive treaty; for he was persuaded that the Noble Marquis, if he had been aware that such a convention would have been entered into, as that immediately afterwards executed between Holland and France, would not have suffered the honour of the British character to have been stained, by a desertion of the interests of the Prince of Orange and his adherents, in direct violation of the good faith of this country, and its indispensable duty.

The MARQUIS CORNWALLIS immediately rose to defend his own conduct, and said, *he could not conceive that there was any ground to suspect that the 18th article of the definitive treaty would not be solemnly fulfilled.* Neither could he conceive that a separate agreement, entered into by two of the contracting parties to the definitive treaty by themselves, *as it were in their closet*, without the concurrence or consent of the other contracting parties, *could possibly be liable to be considered as affecting the due execution of a treaty, for which the good faith of all the four contracting parties was pledged.* With regard to his having deserted, or suffered the interests of the Prince of Orange and his adherents to be deserted, *he disdained the imputation;* he had deserted no interests that this country was bound in honour to maintain, and *he had not the smallest doubt that a full and ample compensation would be procured for the Prince of Orange and his adherents.*

The LORD CHANCELLOR contended strenuously that the *pledged faith of nations* was an *ample security* for the stipulation to procure a *full compensation* for the losses suffered by the House of Orange.

LORD AUCKLAND, in a speech of some length, acknowledged his regret that a more satisfactory article had not been obtained as a security for the compensation to be made to the Prince of Orange, than the 18th article of the definitive treaty; he disliked both the substance and the expression of that article; he wished to have seen the means of making the compensation, the amount of it, the fund from which it was to be taken, described explicitly in an article upon the subject. But he was aware that great allowance was to be made to a negotiator, and to whom great indulgence was to be shewn, because he knew from his own experience in diplomacy how much negotiators were obliged to concede in order to obtain a favourite object. He spoke highly of the claims of the Prince of Orange on this country, from what fell within his own knowledge during the four years he had spent in Holland as a Minister for this country, just previous to his leaving which the French army were within seven miles of the Hague. Dissatisfied, however, as he was with the definitive treaty, he derived some consolation from the Noble Marquis's declaration, that he had no doubt but that the 18th article would be solemnly fulfilled by the contracting parties.

The MARQUIS CORNWALLIS explained that he had said, if *the faith of nations, publicly and solemnly pledged, was to be relied on.*

LORD CARLISLE having charged Ministers with something like swindling, in having disposed of the territories of the Prince of Orange, delivered by him into our hands in trust to hold for him,—LORD HOBART denied that the Dutch colonies, which we had obtained, had been delivered into our hands by the Prince of Orange, or by his means; he had himself, his Lordship said, been the person to receive the answer sent by the governors of the Dutch colonies to the letters they had received in the Prince's name, and the answers to all those letters uniformly stated, that the governors could give no reply to the orders of the Prince of Orange, dated from Hampton Court. Lord Hobart mentioned the governors of Berbice, Demerary, Essequibo, and Ceylon, as having given these answers, and contended that we obtained those colonies by force of arms.—LORD GRENVILLE contended that one of those islands was put into our hands through the means and influence of the Prince of Orange.—LORD HOLLAND said, he agreed in part

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with what the Noble Lords below him (Lords Grenville, Spencer, and Carlisle) had stated, but he disagreed with them materially in some points. He did not so much quarrel with the 18th article in the treaty, nor think the terming of the Prince of Orange a branch of the House of Nassau, was worth fighting for. He did not believe France would at any time have allowed the Stadtholder (who was the servant, and not the sovereign, of the Dutch republic) the title of the Prince of Orange.—A conversation arose about the article of the projet of 1797, concerning the claim to hold the Cape, Ceylon, and Cochin, in our hands, by the treaty then negotiating.—The LORD CHANCELLOR had, in some former speech, insinuated, that he believed the Ministers of that day would have consented to recede from a part of that claim.—LORD GRENVILLE denied this, and said he had the authority of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, the late Secretary at War, and he had no doubt but he should have the testimony of two Noble Friends of them present, that it never was meant to recede in the smallest degree from the whole of that claim.—EARL SPENCER, and the EARL of ROSSLYN, both rose and vouched for the truth of this declaration by the Noble Lord.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 5TH, 1802.

Mr. ELIOT rose to move for certain papers connected with the definitive treaty. He said, he had no doubt the motions he had to propose would meet with the unanimous assent of the House. After the candid avowal of the Noble Lord, and the declaration of the Right Hon. Gentleman, he was convinced that Ministers would be eager to furnish the House with all the information necessary to a full and fair discussion of the merits of the definitive treaty. The first paper for which he should move was, the treaty of Badajos. There were two treaties concluded at Badajos, one between Portugal and France, which never was ratified, and another between Portugal and Spain, which was ratified, and which was the document he alluded to. By that the important town of Olivenza was ceded to Spain, and the integrity of Portugal was most materially violated. This paper was alluded to in the seventh article of the definitive treaty; therefore no objection could possibly be made to producing it. His second motion should be for copies of any conventions or armistices concluded between Portugal and Spain during the year 1801, and communicated to the British Government. It was to be feared that these contained many commercial stipulations highly detrimental to this country; and one of them was the basis of the treaty by which a great part of Portuguese America was ceded. The Hon. Gentleman now entered into a consideration of the fatal effects of this cession. He said this district had always been reckoned of the utmost importance by Portugal, not on account of its fertility, not on account of its population, not on account of its trade, though all these were considerable, but because it was the only security for the valuable but vulnerable possession of Brazil. This was forcibly illustrated by the treaty of Utrecht concluded in 1713, which was guaranteed by Great Britain. By the articles of this treaty, France was expressly prohibited from crossing the river St. Vincent, or trading to the mouth of the Amazons. In the preliminaries it was declared that the dominions of her Most Faithful Majesty should be preserved entire. But on the 29th of September, two days before the signature of the preliminaries, a treaty had been concluded between Portugal and France, by which the former power was obliged to cede an immense tract of country in America. When the Noble Lord was questioned upon this point, he was evidently much embarrassed and perplexed. At last an explanation was given; from which it appeared, that by entire was meant the dominions of which Portugal had not been despoiled. This statement of the Noble Lord, however, was questioned in the French councils, and no satisfactory information could be obtained. The treaty of Badajos might be adhered to, but the object of France was as completely gained as if her original pretensions had been admitted. She had secured to herself the navigation of the Arawari. From a Dutch map that he had, one or two copies of which only were in England (the rest, from their uncommon accuracy, having been bought up by the Dutch government), it appeared that the only entrance into this river was between the two islands Nuova and Penitenza. France thus controlled the commerce of Brazil, and the whole wealth of South America lay at her mercy. What means she might use to extend her usurpations he would not pretend to foretell, or whether she might not halt for a while to consolidate what she had already usurped. But, after what had taken place in Italy, not a doubt could be entertained that, sooner or later, France would seize on Brazil and Peru. The words of the definitive treaty inflicted upon this country a needless indignity. It asserted the integrity of Portugal, and guaranteed its dismemberment. We held out our protection only to display our weakness. He should thirdly move for the copies of any treaties entered into between Spain and France during the late negotiations for peace. Our new ally dealt in masked conventions, and, after several mock treaties, one made its appearance, by which the whole of Louisiana was ceded to France. She thus got possession of a large and fertile tract upon the river Mississippi, not more distant from Mexico than Northumberland from the metropolis of England. Much had been said of capital; here was a capital on which France would not fail to draw, and the world might long rue that such resources were in such hands. The French were now brought up to the very con-

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lines of Canada, and might soon re-establish their empire in that country. But the United States of America had most to fear. Kentucky and the western states had little connexion with the eastern; they were separated by immense forests, and peopled by different inhabitants, adventurers from every quarter. The only outlet to their trade was the Mississippi, and the American government had stipulated with Spain for the free navigation of that river. Now these states must be completely under the control of France. If France does not separate them from the rest, she will make America at all times dependant upon her, and will draw her into the confederacy against our naval greatness and the dignity of our flag; if indeed he could use the expression now that the dignity of our flag, which had once been reckoned our most valuable possession, had been disgraced and degraded. It might be said, that the spirit of Europe would rise to prevent these usurpations in America. Some people seemed to consider the spirit of Europe as a kind of incantation. A foul and flagrant usurpation had lately taken place in the very heart of Europe, while Europe inertly looked on; yet the spirit of Europe was to protect the independence of America. Gentlemen who held this language had profited little by ten years of woful experience. When France had conquered the continent of Europe, could the continent of America be safe? The expedition to Egypt was at first called visionary; but if the principles of the present day had been acted upon by Ministers then, France would now have been in quiet possession of that country, and perhaps other provinces of the Ottoman empire would have fallen a prey to her rapacity. He maintained that the cession of Louisiana had changed the whole complexion of the question. Had this fact been known at the time when the preliminaries were debated, he was well convinced the House would have paused before assenting to them. He had great respect for Ministers as individuals, and he would by no means say that they wished to impose upon the House. He believed that they were ignorant themselves; but ignorance would not excuse them. Did they take the proper means to procure information? Did they peremptorily put the question? If France returned no answer, that was the greatest indignity to the Government and to the country. If France returned a false answer, it was a fraud; and in either case the negotiations ought to have been broken off. At any rate, they were acquainted with the fact before the signature of the definitive treaty; and before they proceeded farther, they were bound in honour to come again and ask for the opinion of the House. Mr. Eliot concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying "that he would be graciously pleased to give "directions for there being laid before the "House a copy of the treaty of Badajos, referred to in the 7th article of the definitive "treaty with France, Spain, and the Batavian "republic."

Lord Hawkesbury said, that he did not know whether he could regularly reply at present to the Hon. Gentleman's remarks. To the motion before the House, he had not the slightest objection; but he must say, that if the Hon. Gentleman was not disorderly, he had taken a most unusual mode of proceeding: he defied any one to point out an instance when, *in the height of faction*, an Opposition had ever adopted such a line of conduct. There had frequently been discussions concerning armaments and other acts of Government, and the constant practice had been to give notice of a motion for an inquiry, to move for necessary papers, without entering into the main question; and when appointed, then at least to state the reasons why Ministers should not be censured or dismissed. Gentlemen, in making their preliminary motions now, took the widest range; and, from what occurred in another place, it appeared were inclined to speak to order, when an answer was attempted to their laboured harangues.

Dr. Laurence affirmed, that such a speech he had never heard in that House. He and his Hon. Friends were denominated *a faction*, and the most unworthy motives were imputed to them. A custom had prevailed for some years of commencing offensive war from the Treasury Bench the moment that any measure of Government was questioned. He was proceeding to state the fatal effects of the non-renewal of former treaties, when—The Speaker expressed a wish to know whether it was the pleasure of the House that the debate should take this turn? He submitted to the House, whether, when a motion had been made and acceded to, it was orderly for any Member to enter on the whole subject over again?—Mr. T. Grenville professed to entertain the highest respect for the authority of the Chair; but he begged the House to consider the situation in which they stood. There were three motions before the House, and three questions depending; these had been severally answered from the other side of the House, and he could hardly suppose it was the intention of the House to prevent a Member from observing on the three.—The Speaker again interfered, by observing, that the conversation was irregular, as the motion immediately before the House was assented to.—Mr. Grey said, it was quite new to him to be told that the assent of any one member precluded all discussion, and was to be considered so decisive that the motion must be agreed to. If he was right in supposing such doctrine unfounded, the only question was, whether the argument of his Hon. and Learned Friend were relative or not? He conceived that on a motion for further information, he was competent to state the

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magnitude and importance of the case that called for it, and that it was no indulgence, but the right of every Member.—The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER was not inclined to dispute the position laid down; but he contended that the objection was, that the mode of argument did not apply to any one of the three questions, but to the non-renewal of the treaties. In his opinion, therefore, the argument, even according to the most liberal practice of the House, was not relevant.

Dr. LAURENCE, in continuation, said, that the unprecedented situation in which we stood, justified the course that he had taken. The subject was of such magnitude, that it could not be discussed in one day; Ministers, therefore, should not decline giving information on particular points as required, as it was the only way in which it could be obtained. He admitted, that they had on former occasions given some explanation on the subject of the new boundary of French Guiana; but he denied that any body could have concluded that it would be as it is now settled. The House did not know whether the treaty of Madrid were an existing treaty or not; and this ignorance was a confirmation of the disgrace of the country. In the tricking language of the preliminaries, the integrity of Portugal was guaranteed, but not as before the war. When this defect was discovered, then came another sort of integrity; so that we were glad to get out of the trap in which we were caught, by leaving a part behind us. It was true we had sent Portugal a sum of money; but was this alone acting with good faith to a nation to whom we owed protection? It was unfair to answer the charge of the surrender of our flag, by extolling our navy. Nobody questioned the lustre of its achievements. If in the late war it was a triumph that we could throw supplies into Gibraltar and escape a battle, how great must be the glory of our navy now, when it is matter of regret that we could not cut away the chained navy of France from her shores? The British flag was the last symbol of our dominion in the Northern seas. *(Hear! Hear!)* It was to that the disapprobation was directed; and when Ministers should come forward to justify its surrender, he hoped they would not construe the charge into an attack upon the British navy.

The motion was put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 6TH, 1802.

EARL TEMPLE rose, in consequence of a former notice, to move for certain papers relative to Malta. In the first place, however, he said, he should state the reasons which induced him to call for these papers: it was agreed in the preliminary treaty, that Malta should be restored to the Order as it was before the war, placed under the guarantee of a third power. By the definitive treaty both these stipulations were infringed; the Order is not restored to its situation before the war; and a new *langue* has been introduced into the Order, inconsistent with the radical principles of nobility, on which the Order is founded, as not requiring proofs of nobility. This, his Lordship contended, was a departure from the original stipulation, founded upon the revolutionary principle of interference with the internal constitution of foreign powers, and consequently objectionable. Another stipulation enjoins the knights to return; an injunction with which they could not be supposed willing to comply, in consequence of the want of support, four fifths of their revenues having been swept away. Supposing that they were to return and to elect a Grand Master, the election would be made under the influence of France, if, indeed, the election of a Grand Master had not already taken place, it being well known that France has continued to carry on an intrigue with the people of the island to surrender it to France on its evacuation by the English, and the treaty having stipulated for the validity of such an election. Another stipulation excluded the Barbary powers from the ports of Malta; whereas it was only by keeping them open to these powers, that the independence of the island could be maintained; as it was from them that the island was supplied with provisions. Another objection was, that the treaty proclaimed the neutrality of the island; but it did not guarantee that neutrality, or state any thing specific. The clause inviting his Sicilian Majesty to garrison it for a year with two thousand troops, was also delusive, his Sicilian Majesty having no interest to induce him to undertake that trouble and expense; and, even supposing that he should, it would be only putting the island in the hands of France. In answer to these objections, it was said, that the great powers of Europe were guarantees of its independence. This also was unsatisfactory. It did not appear that they had accepted the trust, nor have we any security that they would. Supposing, however, that they should accept it, still the island must eventually fall under the power of France. Russia was too remote, and had a design upon it. Prussia and Austria had no interest, and could not be expected to take an active part, after tamely acquiescing in the establishment of the Italian republic. The result, therefore, would be, to leave it at the disposal of France, Spain, and Great Britain, being a majority against us. His Lordship then proceeded to expatiate upon the importance of the island, and also upon the strength and value of the island of Elba, and the usurpation of the Italian republic. He next referred to the grand alliance in the reign of William the Third, as an example which we should have imitated in the present juncture; and concluded by moving, "That there be laid "before the House a statement of the com-

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"mercial duties and territorial revenues of the "island of Malta, since it was surrendered to "his Majesty's forces, with those duties and "revenues distinguished into annual accounts." —The motion was put and agreed to.

EARL TEMPLE then moved, "That an "humble address be presented to his Majesty, "that he will be graciously pleased to lay "before the House a copy of the treaty con- "cluded at Luneville, between the Emperor "of Germany and the French republic."

LORD HAWKESBURY said, he did not rise to make any answer whatever in this course of the proceedings, which he thought would not be right or regular, but simply to state in a few words why he should object to this motion. The first motion of the Noble Lord was for a mere matter of account to be laid before the House, and he had offered no objection to it, nor had he any; but this was of another kind, and he objected to it, because no parliamentary ground either had been, or could be stated for the production of the treaty which it called for. Yesterday motions had been made, and one of them for the treaty of Badajos; to which he did not object, because a fair parliamentary ground was laid for its production, and therefore he did not oppose it; nor did he, after this motion was modified, oppose that for the production of the treaty of Madrid. The treaty of Luneville was concluded a year ago, and this country was no party to it; and it was not included in the definitive treaty of peace:—under these circumstances he did not think any parliamentary ground was laid for this motion. This treaty could not be wanted for information, because, in reality, they might have a copy of it at almost every book-seller's shop in this town. There was no ground for calling for it as a state document. Gentlemen had no right to say, that this treaty was in the hands of Ministers. He did not say it was not; but he did say, that there was no parliamentary ground laid for the House to say it was. Feeling that this application to the House was different from that to which the House assented yesterday, that no parliamentary ground was laid for calling for it, that it had no connexion with the treaty of peace, nor with any thing arising out of it, he took the liberty of resisting this motion.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE said, he could not allow the distinction made by the Noble Lord between the treaties of Madrid and Luneville, neither of which were mentioned in the definitive treaty; but both were intimately connected with it. The cession of the Cisalpine republic was so generally understood to increase the power of France in that quarter, that most people thought we should have retained Malta, as a countervailing possession. It could not then be argued, that the treaty of Luneville, by which the Cisalpine republic was given up to France, was a question unconnected with a discussion relating to Malta.

Mr. PITT said, that his Noble Friend had not stated that the treaty in question had or had not been officially communicated to Government; he merely stated that the Noble Lord and the Gentlemen who supported this motion had no parliamentary ground upon which they could assert that this treaty had been so officially communicated. But he really could not conceive how the production of this treaty could be necessary for the purpose of the debate; nor did he think it could be properly applied for on the grounds which had been stated: his Right Hon. Friends must know, that the treaty of Luneville was not made in conjunction with this country, and that we were not a party necessarily connected with it. Whether we approved of the government of Austria yielding to the necessity which dictated that treaty, was another question; but it certainly was not a British question. But on what grounds did the production of this treaty appear to be necessary to a free, comprehensive, and candid discussion of the treaty of peace, such as tended to convey substantial information, to enable the House to form a judgment satisfactory to themselves and the public?—The mode of proceeding adopted by his Right Hon. Friends upon this occasion seemed to be, to separate, and to take one by one, the different articles of this treaty; and by these motions, to discuss each stipulation by itself, instead of investigating the whole treaty at once, and deciding upon its general merits. His Hon. Friends confessed that the subject was not before the House; they called for documents to enable them to decide; and yet they argued with as much peremptoriness and decision, as if not only no further information was necessary, but as if the question admitted of no doubt. They decided without hesitation or difficulty, that one stipulation was ineffectual —that another was inconsistent with the interest of the country—that a third was disgraceful, &c. He agreed with his Right Hon. Friends, that this subject was to be considered with a reference to the general situation of Europe—granted; but if the treaty of Luneville was laid before the House, of what use would it be at present? His Right Hon. Friend opposite to him (Mr. Grenville) had lamented some of the stipulations of that treaty —so did he. It was, however, now set aside by an act of the French government, which was a new monument of the ambition of that country, erected even between the preliminary and definitive treaty. His Right Hon. Friends opposite to him, and he, did not differ in their opinions of the Chief Consul and government of France. As far as that conduct went, it might be urged as an objection to the whole treaty. He did not differ from them upon general points, but with regard to the inference

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that might be drawn from them. The way to consider this subject would be, in his opinion, when the time for discussion came, to consider the objects gained and fortified by the treaty of peace, *compared with the probable effect of a continued prosecution of the war*, under all the circumstances in which Europe was placed, when all the other powers were making separate treaties of peace, and securing their separate interests. He had said, perhaps, more than was necessary; but he merely said this to shew the view in which he considered the question. There was nothing more unfair, in his opinion, than thus taking the treaty article by article, and debating it in detail, when the only proper way to consider such a subject was to take it in the whole, with all its bearings and objects; to consider the situation of Europe, and the hopes, by continuing the war, of altering its situation, and to compare them with the difficulties of continuing the war. His opinion of the situation and resources of the country was well known; it was such as ought not to compromise the safety or dignity of the country. He never thought so; and he was now less than ever induced to hold that opinion; we were far from having arrived at the ultimate period of our resources. This was a general question; and he really thought that his Right Hon. Friends would do better to wait for the period of general discussion, than to adopt this plan, which, however, strictly speaking, was not irregular or unparliamentary, of discussing the treaty in detail, and making every motion for a paper a vehicle for general animadversions upon the peace. This kind of debating could answer no good purpose, and therefore he was not surprised that Ministers declined this mode of discussing the subject, and waited for the day appointed for taking the treaty into consideration.

Mr. JONES said, it was not his intention to trouble the House with a long speech on this subject; nor indeed did he think it would be fair, after the very extended, and, no doubt, extempore oration that they had heard from the Noble Mover of this proposition. He could not help remarking, that though that Noble Lord disclaimed asking the judgment of the House, he took the utmost pains to bias that judgment. It seldom happened that he (Mr. Jones) and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed in opinion—*(A loud laugh)*—yet such was the fact, that the observations of that Right Hon. Gentleman in the course of this evening were exactly the same as those which he delivered yesterday. He hoped, therefore, that the Right Hon. Gentleman would forgive him for concurring with his opinion on this occasion. He condemned the persevering efforts of the Gentlemen who supported this motion, to prepossess the minds of the House, notwithstanding the repeated exhortations they had received, the obvious impropriety and the known unpopularity of such conduct. He would not say that such behaviour was *à la Jacobin*—for that was a phrase out of use—but it undoubtedly was a little *à la Porcupine*. If the Gentlemen wanted to gain a point by wearing out the House, they were certainly right to return to the attack day after day; for as the Latin proverb goes, *Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed sæpe cadendo*. But let these Gentlemen say what they pleased about the peace, they would not make the country dislike it. The country rejoiced in the peace, for it had restored comfort to every fireside. He firmly believed there was a sincere determination in the Governments, both of this country and France, to maintain the peace. He would conjure the Hon. Gentlemen, therefore, to be no longer teasers of the public mind, and to give up this practice of provoking irregular discussion every day. Long speeches, he said, had been made about papers: he did not know what use would be made of them; but, certainly, the movers worked well with the materials they had. Their efforts, however, were in vain, for the public would hear of nothing but peace.

Dr. LAURENCE contended, that it was perfectly proper, on moving for papers, to go into the discussion of those points to which the papers related; added to this, it was impossible to discuss a subject of such magnitude as the definitive treaty, where so many points were to be considered, in one debate, nor could they go with propriety into that discussion without the means of previously inquiring into the details which related to the subject. The treaty now asked for was one of two documents, the other being the treaty of Badajos, which related to Malta; and he thought it ought, as well as the latter, to be laid before the House.

The motion was negatived.

On EARL TEMPLE's last motion being put, for a copy of the laws and constitution of the Order of Malta, referred to in the 10th and 11th sections of the 10th article of the definitive treaty,

LORD HAWKESBURY objected to it, observing, that he believed his Majesty's Ministers were not in possession of any official document of this nature; it was matter of history, and any one might refer to it.

Mr. VANSITTART observed, that he believed the Noble Lord might find the statutes of the Order of Malta *in the work of Vertot!!!!!*

Dr. LAURENCE remarked, that it was rather unlikely that those statutes should be found in Vertot, seeing that they themselves were *more bulky than the whole of Vertot's work.*

LORD TEMPLE remarked, that it was strange that Ministers should be ignorant of that constitution which, in common with other powers, they in the definitive treaty had expressly guaranteed.

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LORD HAWKESBURY denied that he said any such thing as that Ministers were ignorant of the Maltese constitution, but that they had no official document on the subject. There were some changes to be made in that constitution, which would be the subject of future discussion.

The motion was negatived.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 7TH, 1802.

EARL SPENCER rose, and said, he did not think it necessary to make any apology for the motion that he should conclude with; the object of which would be, an address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid on the table an account of the amount of the territorial revenues and duties upon commerce of the island of Malta, since the said island was surrendered to his Majesty's arms. The Earl said, he thought it wholly unnecessary to offer any apology for this motion, because it must be obvious to all their Lordships, that the island of Malta was a main article of negotiation in the lately-decided treaty of peace. In the preliminaries, according to the 4th article, it was stipulated that "The island of Malta, "with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by "the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and "restored to the Order of St. John of Jeru-"salem: for the purpose of rendering the "island completely independent of either of "the two contracting parties, it shall be "placed under the guarantee and protection "of a third power." Let their Lordships look to the definitive treaty to see how far this preliminary was fulfilled. The first stipulation of the 10th article of the definitive treaty regulated what *langues* should continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, and invites the knights of the Order to return to Malta as soon as the exchange shall have taken place; that they shall form a General Chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand Master from amongst the natives and those nations which preserve *langues*. His Lordship observed, that by a subsequent stipulation there should henceforth be no English nor French *langue*. The English *langue* had long discontinued to exist, and nominally by this stipulation the French *langue* was to be abolished; but would it in fact and effect be abolished? The remaining *langues* would be the three of Provence, Auxerre, and another district in Lombardy. From the state of dependance on France in which those places stood, they were to all intents and purposes French. Spain had two *langues*; and who would say that the French could not influence and even dictate to Spain in this as in every other respect? The Italian states had another *langue*; could it be denied that the relationship which the Italian republic and the Chief Consul, as President of that republic, stood in to each other, placed it beyond doubt that the Italian republic would be under the dominion of France? The remaining *langue* was the German one, and he did not mean to say that the German *langue* might not act independently; but what chance was there of securing the island of Malta in a state of independence under such circumstances? It was in fact neither more nor less than leaving the island of Malta in the power of France. His Lordship next spoke to the third stipulation under the 10th article of the definitive treaty, viz. the establishment of a Maltese *langue* to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island, who were to have dignities and appointments, and an appropriate *auberge*, and that no proofs of nobility should be necessary for the admission of knights into the said *langue*. Upon this the Earl reasoned at considerable length; and, after contending that a *langue* of non-nobles would not assort well with the noble knights of the ancient *langues*, complained of it as a revolutionary organization of a new constitution of government for the island of Malta, not only without the consent, but without even having consulted the wishes, or taken the opinion, of the Maltese themselves. He also complained of the inaccuracy of the English version of that part of the third stipulation of the 10th article of the treaty. He did not believe that *des habitans des isles de Malthe, &c.* was rightly translated, when it was stated to mean the "native inhabitants of Malta," &c. &c. His Lordship considered the fourth stipulation, for the evacuation of the island and its dependencies by his Britannic Majesty within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, as exposing it to the immediate falling into the hands of the French; and said, it was not at all probable that the King of Naples should furnish two thousand men to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses on the island, when no resources were provided for their pay, clothing, and subsistence; but even supposing that the two thousand Neapolitans did garrison the fortresses of the island, what sort of resistance could such a small number of Italian troops make against the armed hordes that France might pour into the island? His Lordship passed great encomiums on the bravery of Sir Alexander Ball, and another British officer, on taking possession of the island, and while they continued to hold it; declaring, that they had so conciliated the affections of the Maltese towards the British, that they would have been much better pleased to have remained under the protection of his Majesty, than under that of any other power. In fact, his Lordship said, Malta ought to have been secured to Great Britain, on account of the various important interests of the British empire, upon which it bore in a material degree. Our Indian empire was greatly exposed, as well as our Levant trade, and all our connexions by the way of the Mediterranean, by Malta's being suffered to remain at the command of France; as every petty

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quarrel or trifling difference between the republic and the King of Naples might be used as a pretext for the French to send a force against the island, which, from their proximity of situation, they could do much sooner than we could equip and dispatch a fleet with troops on board to its succour and defence (and no fleet was equal to its blockade): but the whole of the article in the definitive treaty, and all its stipulations, were utterly impracticable. Where were the resources to come from, that were to defray the great and additional expense of supporting the new Maltese *langue* of non-nobles, of erecting and providing an *auberge* for them, for paying the two thousand Neapolitan troops, keeping the fortresses in repair, and all the other charges of the island? The amount of the produce of the territorial revenues, as far as he could learn, was somewhat about thirty thousand pounds, and the amount of the duties might be about ten thousand more, although he had no account of the customs. The gross amount of the two was scarcely equal to the charge of the present existing demands occasioned by the constitution of the government as it had hitherto stood; where, then, was the surplus that would be necessary to be found? His Lordship reasoned on all these points at some length; and, after thanking the House for their indulgent attention, concluded by moving, as he had intimated in the beginning of his speech, for "An "account of the amount of the territorial re- "venues and commercial duties since the sur- "render of the island to his Majesty's arms."

Lord Hobart said, he did not rise to object to the motion; but, as a day was set apart for the discussion of the whole of the definitive treaty, he thought it ought to be considered all together, and not piecemeal. He therefore would not attempt to follow the Noble Earl through his speech. He would barely notice, that as the Noble Lord had admitted that Malta was impregnable by blockade, we should not have succeeded if the Maltese had not themselves paved the way for our obtaining possession of the island; and therefore it could not be impolitic to pay marked attention to the native inhabitants, by creating a Maltese *langue*. As we won the island by force of arms, we had an indisputable right to arrange its government; and the Noble Earl was mistaken in supposing, that the King of Naples would not send the two thousand men to garrison the fortresses of the island, as well as that he would not pay them. He would certainly do both. As to the additional expense which would be necessary to carry the article and its stipulations into effect, Malta was hereafter to be encouraged to pursue commerce; it was most advantageously situated for commercial purposes, and thence the revenue would increase beyond the power of correct calculation. His Lordship observed, he had said more than he meant to do when he rose, as he should reserve himself as to the treaty in general till Wednesday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 7TH, 1802.

[*What is preserved of this day's debate is merely a selection of passages referring to the peace.—The debate was on Mr. Nicholls's motion for an address to the King, on the dismission of the late Ministry.*]

Lord Belgrave.—Comparing then the present period with that of the end of the year 1792, let him ask the House, whether they did not feel themselves a little more secure now, than they did at that time? Whether they did not feel themselves very much in the situation of mariners, who had just escaped the dangers of the most tremendous storm they had ever encountered, and who looked back upon the scarce subsiding waves with emotions of calm delight and unspeakable satisfaction? Every man, he said, not lost to all virtuous and honourable feeling, or whose intellects were not wholly benumbed, must have felt at the end of the year 1792, and at other periods of the war, no common anxiety for the fate of his King and country, his family, his friends, and his own safety; if indeed self, at such a moment of general alarm, could have intruded upon his attention. Let them turn their eyes on their present situation, on the vessel of the state having now weathered the storm, and riding in triumph and security in her native port; and then let him ask the House, whether some credit was not due to those who had steered her uninjured through a sea so threatening, so awful, and so tempestuous? As he had already said, he was unwilling to go into details, for the reasons he had stated; but he could not avoid shortly presenting to the view of the House a few of the most prominent features of the dangers they had escaped by the fortitude and exertions of the late Administration. They had not only France to contend with, but French principles supported by arms. They had not only a foreign enemy, but a domestic one, to alarm them and increase their difficulties.—While they had recourse only to legitimate means of carrying on the contest, France, in a state of unbridled licentiousness, had recourse to depredation, confiscation, and blood, to recruit her continually exhausted finances. In the early part of her revolution too, the deformity of her principles was something veiled by appearances so specious and alluring, that they for a while infused their fatal poisons even here; and the disaffected availed themselves of the delusion to spread their snares, and wave their treasons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and especially the latter country, where the materials to work upon were found more combustible, and better suited to their diabolical designs.—Without dwelling, however, he said, on this part of

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the subject any longer, he should only add his firm conviction, that had it not been for the vigilance and firmness of his Majesty's government, at the time when the life of our beloved monarch was so basely and traitorously endangered, dreadful would have been the confusion, desolation, and bloodshed, for a season at least, in this metropolis. * * * * Lord Belgrave said, he now began to feel that he was about to tread upon somewhat more delicate ground than he had hitherto done, as he was going to speak of the public indeed, but personal character of his Right. Hon. Friend; but though the ground might be delicate, he should tread fearlessly, considering the person he had to speak of. For seventeen years full of trying events had he been at the head of his Majesty's councils; and though seventeen years, in the countless periods of eternity, might appear inconsiderable in the life of man, the period was not short; for he said, if it had (unhappily for the country) pleased God to have removed him from this world at that awful moment when it was of so much importance to any man to be able to reflect that he has spent his life in active virtue, and not in idleness and dissipation, he would ask the House, whether they did not think his Right Hon. Friend might with truth have declared, "For seventeen years I have served my country with unsullied integrity, with entire personal disinterestedness, with the most laborious diligence, with perfect devotion to its interests, and with constant zeal and anxiety for its happiness and prosperity?"

Sir Henry Mildmay said, that under the impression of his feelings, which he believed in strict accordance with the general sentiments of his country, he could not give a silent vote. He neither cordially approved the original motion nor the proposed amendment. To the former he objected in principle, and the latter he considered a very inadequate testimony of the public feeling on the conduct of his Right Hon. Friend. From those who approved the principles of the war, and the object upon which it was undertaken and eventually pursued, he thought a more distinct and separate mark of applause was due to the late Minister. He was the person, and the only person, pointed at in the motion of censure, and he therefore thought that it was on his conduct only the House were bound to pronounce. He thought that the attack that had been made was not cured by a general lumping vote of thanks, that included *a dozen different persons*, whose merits, exertions, or responsibility, *could by no possibility be the same*. The Noble Lord had appeared to think so in some degree, as almost the whole of his speech went to the individual praise of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, though his amendment involved the whole Administration. He did not think it necessary to advert to the various important measures that had distinguished the long services of the late Ministry, many of which alone were sufficient to justify an expression of the public gratitude, but which he thought far secondary to the great efforts and magnanimity he had displayed in protecting and preserving the constitution and the country. Others had had the merit of conducting us through wars that threatened our territorial and commercial power: but his Right Hon. Friend had had to encounter a new system of warfare, which, in addition to the objects of all former contests, pointed its hostilities against every acknowledged principle both divine and human; a war waged against every tie that binds society together, and would have involved all Europe in one indiscriminate confusion. France had attempted to introduce her poisonous principles here, and had tainted the minds of many; *clubs were established in secret correspondence with Jacobin societies*; and attempts were made in every part of the country, and by every means, to introduce revolutionary opinions, *and weaken the allegiance of the people to the person and Government of his Majesty*. It required no ordinary capacity, no common perseverance and vigour, to save the country from destruction under such circumstances: and he had no hesitation in ascribing the preservation of our religion, our laws, and our properties, and the security we now happily enjoy, to the efforts of the late Minister; to whom, he believed, we were indebted principally for checking these principles, which would have rendered the crown on the head of his Majesty precarious and insecure. It could not be expected that a contest where we had so much at stake, could have been maintained so long without considerable sacrifices from the people; but great as the burdens were they had to sustain, they had borne them with that fortitude and resignation which arose from the sense they entertained of their necessity. The Hon. Member had dwelt at large on the conduct of the war; he had neither recollection nor inclination to follow him, as he considered the present question to be on the general conduct of his Right Hon. Friend, and not a question of detail. Very strong invective had been used against various parts of the conduct of the war; he, however, was satisfied, as far as the present occasion went, with *its successful issue in effecting the great object of security*. He contended that no war in which this country had ever been engaged had contributed to raise the character of the British arms to so high a pitch. Every Englishman would recollect with pride, the naval victories we had achieved, the perseverance and gallantry of every officer and seaman of our fleets, and the skill that had been shewn, under the direction of Lord Spencer, in continuing for a period hitherto unexampled, the entire blockade of the enemy's ports, both in the Channel and the Mediterranean. He challenged the Hon. Member to shew any one instance, either by sea or land, where, with any thing like an equality of force, the event did not prove honourable to the British arms. We had *wrested from the*

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enemy many of her most valuable colonies, thwarted her in many of her most favourite objects, annihilated *the whole of her marine*, and *possessed ourselves of the whole of her commerce*, without any loss. These he thought the features of a successful war, and there was no period of it when they were more prominent, or when our prospects were more cheering, than at the time the late Ministers went out of office. He could not conceive, that, after nine years of expensive war, it was possible for any country to look to a more flattering prospect, either if the war was to be continued, *or as affording the materials of honourable and advantageous negotiation.*

Mr. WILBERFORCE.—"Instead of that narrow policy of temporary expedients with which he has been charged, I am of opinion that his conduct was directly the reverse; and its being so, is a proof of the highest integrity and political wisdom. There is another part of the Right Hon. Gentleman's conduct on which I dwell with particular admiration. When it was necessary to call forth the energy of the country in its own defence, he did so with a zeal and *intrepidity* beyond all praise; when again *the country shewed a wish for peace*, he was as *ready to comply with its wishes*. When a peace had been concluded *by other Ministers*, after he himself had retired from office, being convinced that *the nation wished for peace*, he came forward to support that peace. His *magnanimity* in so doing is unparalleled; in this conduct he stands almost unrivalled and alone. This magnanimity appears in his whole conduct during the war. He knew that the country was powerful, but he knew also that it was *free*. He did not therefore *madly oppose its wishes for peace*; but, *as soon as those were manifested*, he made overtures for that purpose; and when those overtures failed, he again roused the energy of the country to compel the enemy to grant us honourable terms. These merits of my Right Hon. Friend are known and allowed by all; the united voice of the country has proclaimed them aloud. With regard to the motives which induced him to retire from office, they do not fall under the present discussion; but that they were honourable and patriotic, let me appeal to *the voluntary support he has given to the honourable and patriotic men who have succeeded him.*"

Mr. GREY.—"We are told, that the vessel of the state has outrode the storm, and now rides securely in port. In what does this security consist? Look to France, and see the situation in which we are left. There are not wanting those who affirm that the state, far from being in a port of security, can no longer entertain a hope of safety. Before I believe that we have gained all that we have not lost, I must hear very different arguments. We have now made peace with the French republic. We were called upon to do the same at the beginning of the contest. What dangers would the country have known then, to which it is not now exposed? Was the republic more formidable then than at present? But we were afraid of Jacobinism. Is the existing government of France built upon Jacobinism, or is it not? Let those answer who rejected the overtures of Buonaparté, and who justified their conduct in this House. Have we forgotten the position of a Right Hon. Gentleman, that the effect of the success of such an usurpation was a danger too tremendous to be encountered? There are few who will say, that the principles on which the government of Buonaparté is founded, are less jacobinical than those of the other governments which have sprung up in France since the revolution. Had Robespierre been allowed to consolidate his power, and to seat himself quietly on the throne, would he have been less safe to be treated with? If he had found it for his interest, would he not have suppressed the clubs, silenced discussion, shackled the press, and, after worshipping the Goddess of Reason, installed Christianity in the church of Notre Dame? These things have been done by one of whom such atrocities are related during his campaign in Egypt; and why might not the same line of conduct have been pursued by the other governments of France, who have vexed that ill-fated country? ill-fated in having lost its liberty, fortunate in conquest and aggrandizement: but these are poor compensations for being reduced under the yoke of despotism. * * * * * This resolution is to be passed after we have been forced into a peace such as England never concluded since she held her late high rank among the nations of Europe; a peace to be defended on the score of necessity, but which too clearly proves that this country is precipitated from that pitch of greatness to which the arms and the councils of our ancestors had raised it. I approved of the preliminaries, and I would by no means give a vote which would endanger a renewal of the war. But I feel myself strongly inclined to alter my opinion and my mode of acting, not only by events which have subsequently happened, but by the manner in which the peace is defended. What is the boasted port in which we are now riding securely? France has attained that power and those boundaries which few men in France, at the beginning of the contest, considered more than an idle dream. Her present limits are the ocean, the Pyrenées, the Rhine, and the Alps. Indeed she has gone beyond the Alps, and the Italian republic is no longer to be considered but as one of her departments. The Gentlemen on the other side of the House tell us we are secure and triumphant! The maritime and commercial advantages which France has gained are not less considerable. I am convinced that the House heard with astonishment the assertion of a Noble Lord (Lord Hawkesbury), that this peace secured to us a greater naval and commercial superiority than we had ever before enjoyed. The Noble Lord ought to have

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a more correct way of estimating these matters than tons of shipping or returns of exports. What are present advantages, unless we have some security for their enjoyment? Were these advantages less considerable before the war began? Consider for a moment, Sir, our prospects if we had remained at peace. Do we owe our superiority to the blood and treasure we have expended, to the taxes with which we are burdened, and to the exhaustion which we feel? I greatly fear that we have given France means to rival us upon the seas, which she never before possessed. With a sea coast from the Texel to Spain; with her ancient ports and new acquisitions in the Mediterranean, can it be doubted that she will become a great naval power? Has she no means of attacking yours? You are excluded from almost the whole continent of Europe; she has cut you out from the coast of Africa; she trades with greater advantages in India; from her formidable new position in America she makes the United States dependant, and controls the whole of your commerce to the West Indies. Let the Noble Lord now say that our naval superiority is greater and more firmly established than at any former æra! To prove the fallen state of this country, I have only to appeal to the Right Hon. Gentleman's colleagues in office. Instead of expecting approbation, does it not lie on him to clear his character? He may be innocent; but is not the reduction of a great nation to comparative imbecility and insignificance, prima facie evidence of misconduct, which he and his friends are bound to repel?—All the Gentlemen who have spoken have dwelt largely upon the unparalleled difficulties with which the late Minister had to contend: here was the assumption of a fact without any proof. Who ever began a war with such confidence? what Minister had ever so few difficulties, in his own estimation, either at home or abroad? If difficulties did arise, he must prove that they were not produced by his own misconduct; and that without any fault of his, he is obliged to abandon all the objects for which he went to war, although his motto long was,

——"Potuit quæ plurima virtus
"Esse fuit; toto certatum est corpore regni."

He had to struggle with financial embarrassments: when our trade was so extensive, when our credit was so high, could these arise without mismanagement? It is possible that they might; but it is too much to ask us, without inquiry and without proof, to believe that they did. Dissension relaxed the efforts of the confederacy, and at last dissolved it. But were not all his measures calculated to produce discord and jealousy? The grand object of the war was, to reduce the power of France, and to compel a government to abdicate which was inconsistent with civil society. When the destruction of a government was sought, what possible good effect could be produced by military operations in the West Indies? The loss of colonies had no effect in diminishing the influence of the rulers of France. The conquest of Martinique being achieved by those who are most dear to me, I must ever reflect on it with pleasure; but this and subsequent successes in that quarter, did not in the remotest degree advance the object of the war; the force sent thither was so much detached from that which should have been directed against the heart and vitals of the enemy. Was this the only evil of this selfish and impolitic plan? Could we expect that the confederacy would keep united, when it was seen that we were aiming at the aggrandizement of our own power? Distrust was generated, together with a similar desire of plunder, in all our allies. While we were pursuing schemes of conquest in the West Indies, the Emperor attempted to gain a new barrier for himself in the Netherlands, and took possession of Valenciennes in his own name. When we began to struggle for what were called British objects, when an attempt was made by our troops upon Dunkirk, dismay and disgrace attended our ill-directed efforts. These reverses are solely attributable to the fundamental error in the conduct of the war.—To shew the Right Hon. Gentleman's own views of the facility of the task he had undertaken, I would refer the House, Sir, to his repeated declarations of France being not only on the brink, but in the very gulf of bankruptcy. According to him, her resources were completely exhausted, and she could not keep an army in the field many weeks longer. What must be the Noble Lord's notion of the difficulties Ministers had to encounter, when *he talked of marching to Paris?*—Sir, our situation, for which we are to thank the Right Hon. Gentleman, is such as to justify a peace by far the most dangerous that the British nation ever concluded. The sacrifices which we made by the preliminaries were very great; but many things have happened since which are extremely alarming, and which had the House and the country then known, their joy would have been greatly damped. The island of Elba has been seized under circumstances which, since we are at peace with France, I forbear to state. Italy has been annexed to France; France has gained possession of Louisiana; and, what I think by no means the least important, by the non-renewal of former treaties we have lost many commercial advantages, and a wide door is opened for future altercation and animosity. A Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Addington) said, that we could not prevent the usurpations of France, since the Emperor did not oppose them. What is *this but a confession that England is excluded from the affairs of the continent, and that France may carry on her ambitious schemes without molestation?* I was a good deal amused with the Right Hon. Gentleman's assertion, that the island of Elba *was ceded to France by a sovereign independent power, and that therefore we had no right to interfere.* The late Minister affirmed, that the opening of the

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Scheldt was such a violation of the rights of nations, that for that alone he would have counselled a war against France. Is the annexation of the island of Elba to be compared for one instant to the opening of the Scheldt? Yet it is permitted without a struggle; and perhaps we did not even venture to remonstrate! To such a deplorable condition have the councils of the late Minister reduced us, that, after the preliminaries of peace, we are obliged to consent to a prodigious augmentation of the power of the enemy. When this is the sad result of their measures, we are gravely called upon to hail him as our deliverer."

Lord Hawkesbury.—"I am asked, whether the ground of argument, on Jacobin principles, does not now exist in the same force and degree against the government of France, as it did when this country first opposed it on that account? To which I will answer, that Jacobin principles not only do not exist in the same force and degree; but, *they do not exist at all.* The Hon. Gentleman has asked, if Jacobin principles did not give birth to the present government of France? That is not the mode of considering the question; it is not material to consider what gave birth to the present government; the question is to us, *what are its principles now?* And in that respect there has been *a complete change in the government of France.* The present government of France has published to the world a recantation of every principle of Jacobinism, and of every other principle from which danger was apprehended, in a manner *as satisfactory as the most sanguine friend of the war, or the most decided enemy of Jacobin principles, can desire.* However I may regret the fate of the House of Bourbon, without considering whether that House was likely to be restored or not in the course of the war, yet if it had been for nothing more than a restoration of that House, the contest would not have been carried on; but the contest here was owing to the entire change of principles upon which the government had been carried on; all principles of established governments had been overturned, and it would have been at any time sufficient ground for other countries to adopt measures for the resistance of such principles, as being utterly hostile to all government whatever, they being in their nature calculated to overturn all constituted authorities. I may be asked, however, what I think of the recantation that has been made of those principles, and whether I think they give evidence of a recurrence to ancient principles? To which I answer, I am aware that whatever may be the desire of persons in France after such a conclusion, it will be impossible for them to set up an establishment upon the best of models, for they must take their materials as they find them. In the mean time, full credit is due to their profession, as far as it regards foreign powers, for they have *publicly asked pardon of God and man,* and done every thing they can to revert to the ancient established principles of government; and their measures, in every point I have been able to view them, have that tendency. It is an important consideration with reference to this peace, *how far it would be prudent in this country, by a continuation of the war, to drive them again to revolutionary measures, where they must abandon the system of justice, moderation, and peace, which they have now adopted.*"

HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 10TH, 1802.

Lord Minto rose to take the first opportunity that offered to him, during the various discussions that had taken place in that House on the subject of the late definitive treaty of peace, to express his sentiments upon that most lamentable and degrading measure; a measure, under all its circumstances, which could not fail to tarnish the glory and splendour which the British character had attained by her conduct during the war in the eyes of admiring Europe. Far distant from his country, and a resident at Vienna during that period when so many countries of Europe shamefully suffered themselves to be overrun by the French arms, when so many nations had already submitted to French chains, and others, panic-struck by the successes of the French, were on the point of submitting without farther resistance, to bow under the French yoke, and receive laws at the dictation of the Consulate; it was his pride to observe, that England alone stood unshaken amidst the wreck of nations and governments; and at the moment when she was deserted on all sides by her allies, and left to contend single-handed with the enemy, she exhibited such an undaunted front to the foe, backed by so powerful a display of formidable strength and resources, as excited the admiration and astonishment of surrounding nations. It was his fortune, in these moments of timidity and despair, which marked the despondent feelings of other nations, to inspirit them by appeals to the examples of his country, and to endeavour at rallying their broken spirits and languid exertions in the common cause. But when the news of this ignominious peace, concluded after so many splendid achievements by the British arms in every quarter of the globe; at a moment when our flag waved triumphant in every region of the universe; while we were masters of all the seas, and hourly adding new trophies to our fame, by some of the most brilliant feats of the whole war; he could not give credit to the assertion, but considered it as one of those habitual fallacies so notoriously propagated throughout the war by France, from whom this intelligence first reached Vienna. But when he was convinced of the fact by an official communication, the sensations of sorrow, of shame, and indignation, that he felt, were not to be expressed; and he could have wished, but in vain, to retract those representations of the undaunted spirit and unshaken fortitude of

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his country, which he had so often and so proudly urged to the ambassadors of other powers, in his endeavours to encourage them to renew and maintain the contest. But if with such decided advantages at the moment in our favour, covered with the glory of our successful efforts and victorious achievements, the Minister of his Majesty had thought fit to sign the preliminaries upon terms so much and so degradingly beneath what this country, under such circumstances, had a right to expect and to demand, what must be the sensations of Europe, what its astonishment, at the final conclusion of a definitive peace (after a year of negotiation) so much worse for the country and its most faithful allies, than the preliminaries stipulated; and this, too, in the very moment when France, by manœuvres of the most insidious fraud and violence, extended her territory, and enhanced, in a most formidable degree, her power and aggrandizement, under the new regulations of the Cisalpine, now called the Italian republic, and the fraudulent juggle of obtaining possession of the island of Elba; acquisitions made with a degree of fraudulent audacity in the face of Europe, and actually during the negotiation of a definitive treaty with this country; and this, without even a feasible pretence on one side, or the least remonstrance to such proceedings on the other? The Noble Lord expatiated upon the importance of acquisitions to France, which not only gave her the command of nearly the whole peninsula of Italy, and bid fair to give her speedy possession of the Genoese territory, by joining the Ligurian with the Cisalpine republic, but, by giving her the island of Elba, gave her not only some of the most valuable maritime ports in that part of the Mediterranean, but the absolute command of Leghorn; acquisitions which, considered with her new territories in Guiana and the West Indies, place her under circumstances more formidable than ever she before stood in at the conclusion of any war with this country since the Revolution. He reprobated in strong terms the conclusion of a definitive treaty, under new circumstances, that so totally changed the relative situation of the two countries, and could not withhold his strongest reprehension of those who had advised his Majesty to put his signature to a treaty which could not fail to degrade this country in the eyes of all Europe. However, much as this treaty was to be reprehended by every man who had the honour or the interests of England at heart, since it was concluded, and his Majesty's signature finally affixed thereto, it was far from his intention to excite against it public discontent or popular clamour: on the contrary, he held it to be the duty of the country at large to maintain it with as much fidelity as if it had been in all respects the most eligible. All that remained for us to do, under such circumstances, was, to be prepared to resist, with unity and effect, any aggression, in the first instance, which the enemy might be induced, on the consciousness of his power, or the views of his ambition, to attempt. His Lordship concluded by moving an humble address to his Majesty, "That there be laid before the House copies of such official communications as had been made to him respecting the late regulations in the Italian republic with France; and also respecting the surrender of the Tuscan possessions in the isle of Elba to the French republic."

Lord Pelham had no objection to lay before the House, on this or any other important subject, any communications which his Majesty should think fit to authorize. But Government had received no communications on the subject mentioned by the Noble Lord. He did not mean to follow the Noble Lord through the whole of his reasonings and conclusions; in many of which, he would acknowledge his readiness to agree with the Noble Lord: and he did not hesitate to acknowledge to the Noble Lord, that his observations respecting the manner by which France became possessed of the Cisalpine republic and the isle of Elba were well founded; and that those alterations, considered of themselves, would have sufficiently justified his Majesty's servants in advising him to break off the treaty, and to renew the war. But under the consideration of all existing circumstances, it was thought best to conclude the definitive treaty.

Lord Darnley said, he had given a silent vote in support of the preliminaries; but he by no means considered himself as bound thereby to vote for the definitive treaty, which he considered materially different from the former; and therefore he should reserve his sentiments till that subject came regularly before the House.

Lord Carysfort could not avoid calling the attention of the House to the words of the Noble Secretary of State opposite to him; who, while he avowed the definitive treaty, yet declared that Government had received no communication whatever, even yet, upon the subject of the Italian republic, or the isle of Elba; which subject, the Noble Secretary himself acknowledged, would have been sufficient to justify him in advising his Sovereign to break off the treaty and renew the war. It would be most material then for the House to know explicitly what were those other circumstances which rendered it eligible to conclude a treaty of peace, in the view and contemplation of such transactions on the part of France, openly passing during the negotiation of the treaty.

The question being put on Lord Minto's motion, it was rejected.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 12TH, 1802.

Dr. LAURENCE rose and said, that, having given way for some days past to public and private business, he was happy to find himself at length at liberty to make the motion of which he had given notice. Nothing had passed on any other day, or on this (notwithstanding the flattering picture that had been given of the state of public credit in the sister kingdom), that could induce him to abandon the opinion he entertained, that the treaty of peace lately signed was, in many respects, most fatal to the interest of the country. Let any person consider of what importance to this country were its possessions in the East; and let him at the same time consider how the security and well-being of these possessions were endangered by the non-renewal of the treaties by which they were heretofore protected. Let it be considered what advantages were given to the enemy by this neglect, or omission, or by whatever other name it was to be called; advantages which the enemy himself already exaggerated. He would content himself with a confined and limited consideration of the dangers to which our possessions in the East were exposed, though perhaps the whole were involved. He moved for information, not so much for himself as for the House; he required explanation, that the House might accept it where it should appear satisfactory; and he entered into discussion, that the facts might be fairly ascertained; so that when the House should come to debate on another day the most extensive and important subject that had ever been before it, Gentlemen might not be involved in assertions, contradictions, and errors. If, in his attempt to explain this subject to the House, he should fall short, he was happy that there were persons present, who, from the share that they had taken in the transactions of India, were fully adequate to make up any deficiency on his part. He saw a Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) smile; but if he had any conception of the magnitude of the interests which he had *bartered away, he must be satisfied that such gaiety but ill became him.* The treaties between this country, and France, and Holland, relative to India, were few and short; but as the countries to which they related were so distant, it was hardly possible that Gentlemen could be so clear as to the necessity and effect of their particular provisions, as of those of the treaties affecting the contiguous countries of Europe. When we were but simple merchants trading to the East, as all the nations of Europe had been previous to the conquests made by this country, a barren rock on the coast of Newfoundland was held to be an object of more importance then, than the settlement of Madras, the most valuable of that part of India where it was situated. From simple merchants we had advanced to the exercise of a delegated authority under the people of the country; in time our authority became paramount; and a people which was found capable of instructing the Greeks, when the Greeks conquered it, became nothing in their own country. Wherever the rights of others had been invaded, he should not hesitate to condemn that invasion. The authority of this country was substituted for that of the Great Mogul. He hoped that when he was forced to give an opinion on that substitution, he should give a sincere and honest opinion, but till called upon he should give no opinion. There was a question to come shortly before the House, in the discussion of which this matter might be somewhat elucidated; for the present, he should only disclaim the necessity of being the advocate of every thing that this country might have chosen to do. It was now necessary to see what rights had been asserted, though for his part he acknowledged no rights; to see what claims had been set up by France and Holland, and how those claims had been urged; to see what the triumphant treaty of 1763 had done for the adjustment of these claims. First, as to what related to Coromandel: France, in that treaty, renounced all the acquisitions she had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa since 1749. It had been said, that papers were unnecessary in debating a subject like this, for that history was sufficient. With pleasure and delight he appealed to a history so honourable as that of the period of which he now spoke. We were then unassuming merchants, trading to the East, but perhaps more firmly established than now, when the people of the country were disgusted with our ambitious encroachments. We were then satisfied with a neutrality; but the French, whose power was become more dangerous as it was more extended, were not so moderate. Dupleix, the first European governor who assumed the style of an eastern prince, invaded our rights, and roused exertions which succeeded in repelling him. In Bengal, at the same period, in consequence of a similar aggression, we had made a like exertion to vindicate ourselves, and by that exertion had acquired power. The French had acquired some power in Coromandel, and the five northern circars, of which we afterwards obtained a grant from the Mogul. By this grant our title was superior to theirs. They had, by subsequent treaties, formally renounced their claim; but, by the present treaty, that renunciation was done away, and a door opened for future contention. He now came to Bengal. The French King had consented to keep no troops, and to erect no fortifications on that coast; there was now nothing to hinder the French from doing so. There was no natural reason why they should not fortify themselves, and endeavour to render their establishments as secure as possible. It was true, the sovereign of the country might object if these fortifications were carried to any improper length—*(A cry of Hear! hear! from the ministerial bench);*—but would the attempt to fortify be deemed a sufficient cause for war? There was no prohibition from fortifying in the present treaty. By former trea-

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ties the French had acknowledged Mohammed Ali as sovereign of the Carnatic, and consequently had subscribed to our authority; possibly even from that family some persons might now be found whose title could be set up in opposition to ours. The stipulation in 1763, that no fortifications should be erected on the coast of Bengal, was so scrupulously adhered to in the negotiation of 1783, that when a stipulation was made for a ditch to carry off the water from the fort of Chandernagore, a jealousy arose; and it was not without a critical explanation, and a full security that nothing further would be attempted, that permission was given; and the delay arising from the arrangement of this matter was the excuse stated by the Secretary of State for not bringing the definitive treaty to a more speedy conclusion. The jurisdiction of the factories may, on the ground of application for the surrender of persons taking refuge in them, again produce contention. The convention of 1787 granted a general exemption to all factories, and a general jurisdiction over all persons within certain limits. The omission of any regulation to this effect in the present treaty, might renew the ancient jealousies. Independent of this, there were many claims and pretensions arising out of the trade itself. The French, even when they were admitted to trade under our protection, refused to allow us to regulate their trade, and insisted on carrying it on in their own way; so that no advantage could be derived from it to the revenue of the Company, which, when its collection was attempted to be enforced, they often resisted with force. A perpetual correspondence was carried on, on the subject of these aggressions; so copious, and filled with facts so numerous, that a whole session would not be fit for the detail. The first objection to the treaty was in 1765, when Chandernagore was given up. Mr. Law objected against the strict enforcement of the treaty, and required permission to make lodgments for the protection of those engaged in the trade, which, together with his other demands, was made the subject of a letter from Lord Clive. The complaints of foreigners would grow louder, unless the Company entered into an agreement to supply them with cargoes to a certain amount, out of the private trade of its servants. When Mr. Francis proposed to add a paragraph to the dispatches, saying that the Nabob of Arcot was a legal sovereign, Mr. Hastings was unwilling to do so. The Dutch and Danes applied to this country as the sovereign power, and, under the name of a protection, were granted an indulgence; but they soon refused to submit to the payment of the duties, and we were compelled to exact them by force; and so far did their contumacy extend, that in time of scarcity they exported corn, which they knew their colours would protect, though a general embargo was laid. Nor could it be said that the knowledge of the embarrassment of this country, in consequence of the Ame can war, was the cause of this spirit of resi ance; for it manifested itself in 1775, wh the disturbances in America had only co menced, and the knowledge of them co not yet have reached India. By the treaty 1783, his Britannic Majesty is to take su means as are in his power (not even then avo ing the direct sovereignty) to procure certa facilities for the French trade: but two ye had not elapsed when disputes arose wh soon came to a question of force, and end in the firing of a vessel; a transaction wh Sir John Macpherson thought necessary make the subject of a particular negotiati Dr. Laurence then adverted to the treaty 1787, which caused a board of justice to holden, and in which the French brought ward their claims to the trade in India, pa cularly in the articles of salt, saltpetre, opium, and which claims were only settle a convention entered into with the Gov ment of this country, in which they w allowed to traffic with our East India C pany on certain stipulations and fixed pri in which it had been contended that our India Company sustained a loss, but w he asserted was only a moderated gain. then begged to call the attention of the H to the Dutch claims. By the definitive tr in 1784, their carrying trade was allowed, to that of naval stores, and the freedo navigation in the Indian seas. At all times Dutch were jealous of our obtaining any tlement between our possessions in Indi China, which might enable us to send commodities of Bengal to that vast em instead of carrying on our trade with it thr the medium of dollars and bullion from land. They were then jealous, he said, in those periods when they were in alli and connexion with us: by the alliance for between France and Holland in 1795, had become alienated from this country, might now bring forward claims which be they would not have thought of. They now become closely connected with that tion, which did not like any other logic the *ultima ratio regum*, which was called last reason of kings, but was now become first of the republic; and if these claims sh be advanced, we should have not only Fra to contend with, but Holland also, with a cruited navy. He then adverted to the C of Good Hope, which he stated to be of es tial consequence to this country, both in of peace and war. It might be urged, he s in defence of the non-revival of former trea that we did not give up our rights, but w prepared to defend them to the utmost. though they had not been revived gene it was surely worth while to revive specif that part which protected our commerce the East Indies. "Thus," said he, "I stated what was stipulated in our favour former treaties, and is now relinquished, w

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out giving my opinion whether the concession was voluntary, or extorted by force. It is not, however, in India, but here, that these affairs must be settled either by negotiation or force. We must now say, that in proportion to the magnitude of the concessions we have made, we are prepared to defend what remains to the last." He concluded by moving, "That "there be laid before this House an account "of the acquisitions made, or pretended to "be made, by his Most Christian Majesty on "the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, between "the years 1748 and 1763."

Mr. DUNDAS said, that, whether our situation was to be decided by negotiation or by the sword, in India or elsewhere, as the Learned Gentleman had stated, he would dare say, that there was no difference of opinion between them upon this point, namely, that it was essential to the interests of this country, wherever our claims were to be supported, and where our rights were clear and indisputable, not to do any thing ourselves to bring these rights into doubt. He stated it as a general maxim, on which he apprehended there was no difference of opinion in that House or elsewhere; and yet, notwithstanding no doubt was entertained of the truth of this general maxim, he was afraid that, if motions like these were persevered in, much difference of opinion would arise upon the application of that principle; his proposition was such as he held to be clear as the sun at noon-day, namely, that no doubt could be entertained on the relative situation of this country and of France in India. No doubt had been expressed upon that subject till lately in that House, nor would any doubt be entertained elsewhere, but by bringing forward speculations of our own in that House, and making that doubtful in debate which was long acknowledged to be clear in principle. He then entered into an historical detail of the rise and progress of the British power in India, the contests which had taken place from the earliest periods, and the share taken therein by the French, in order to oppose our progress in India, down to the period in which Lord Clive had so distinguished himself; to whom, for his valour as a soldier, and wisdom as a statesman, he paid the highest compliments; the result of whose measures he stated to have consummated the British power in India, and settled our sovereignty there by right of conquest, which right he reconciled to the inhabitants by the wise respect he paid to their prejudices. Having gone through a history of these events, and having given a compendious account of the progress of the Mogul empire, and of its revolutions for eight centuries, he proceeded to state the conclusion which he drew from all these premises; which conclusion was this, "That though we may feel it just and expedient to make such allowances to the prejudices of the inhabitants, and to make such regulations in our territories as we may please, or think advisable, yet with regard to European powers, to them we say freely and distinctly, *We have gained this country by our arms, and by our arms we will keep it.*" For upon all the grounds which he had already stated, it was manifest that the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, &c. had come to Great Britain by conquest, as much as any country ever came into the hands of another; and from the period when it became so under the government of Lord Clive to the present day, the French never had, directly or indirectly, from the treaty of 1763, any right whatever to interfere with the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c.; but that they were by right of conquest subject to the sovereignty of the King of Great Britain to all intents and purposes; which sovereignty was to be exercised through the medium of the India Company, and through the different organs established for the preservation of our provinces, as much as any other part of his Majesty's dominions. He need not dwell upon these points; the facts were clear and well authenticated in the history of those dominions; and therefore he laid it down as a clear and indisputable proposition, that what we had gained thus by conquest, was to be considered with reference to any other European power, as totally subject to our sovereignty, without any interference of theirs, that we were actually the sovereigns of India, and no European power had any right whatever to dispute our title to this power, which we possess *de facto*. Such was the state of the British power in India; the situation of France was extremely different, without one inch of territory, except what they might claim by the definitive treaty under consideration. He would beg the House to pause for a moment, and then ask itself this question, Was there a man within hearing of his voice who had any doubt whatever as to these facts at this moment? Certainly none.—Was there any one man within hearing of his voice who thought, that if these facts, and the right arising out of them, were to be called in question, *this country would not go the length of risking its last stake to support those rights, and refuse giving up one* iota *of them?* He had no reason to be satisfied in any point of curiosity, by asking why it was expedient in the present moment to avoid references to ancient treaties in the present definitive treaty of peace. It was a subject upon which he did not think it necessary to dwell at present; it was sufficient for him to say, that there was no diminution thereby of our power in India, no foundation whatever for any other to dispute our sovereignty there, nor any thing which entitled others to contest with us the rights upon which that sovereignty was founded. Nor was that all: he would go farther, and say, he mistook greatly if any doubt was now entertained, that, with regard to Great Britain, her sovereignty in India stood at that moment upon a better footing than if

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the former treaties had been renewed by it. By the treaty of 1783, which was unquestionably the very worst treaty this country ever entered into on the subject of Indian affairs, it was the business of his Majesty's government, and a very laborious one it was, in the convention of 1787, to do away the evil created by the treaty of 1783. By that of 1783, our sovereignty in India was rendered disputable; by the convention of 1787, our sovereignty was re-established. Having expatiated at considerable length upon the merits of the convention of 1787, and the demerits of the treaty of 1783, he proceeded to say, that, had the treaty now upon the table renewed any former treaty, it would have been impossible to refer to the convention of 1787, without also renewing the contests which were brought forward in 1783. It would have been impossible to have introduced the one, without also calling for an explanation of the other; and therefore the affairs of that country were much better, considering all the circumstances of the relative situation of this country and of France, in suffering all treaties whatever to be passed over in silence. We might, perhaps, by renewing some of the declarations and admissions of our sovereignty in India, as settled by the convention of 1787, have employed some antidote against the evil of which we had too much reason to complain; but it was manifest to him that we could not have such antidote without having also a certain portion of the poison, by the renewal of any discussion whatever upon the subject of treaties; and therefore he had no difficulty whatever in saying, that upon a review of the whole condition of our affairs, considered with relation to those of France, *we were infinitely better in passing the subject over in silence, than we should have been in endeavouring to renew any of them.* He confessed, he said, that when the rumour reached him, that the provisions of the convention of 1787 were left out of the present treaty, he shrunk under an apprehension that our power in India would be destroyed; and he was the more alarmed when he heard it said, that this was brought about in consequence of the views of France to undermine, and finally to overturn, our sovereignty in India. This led him to turn the subject very seriously in his mind, and to look at all the ancient documents, to consider the whole matter deliberately; and the result was, that it was infinitely better for us to have no reference whatever to any treaty, as he had already stated. But the Learned Gentleman asked, if the House could really think that we could be secure in India against the ambitious claims of France, as they had appeared in 1783, and which were done away in 1787? Did he really think we were safe now, without having renewed, by the present treaty, the provisions of the convention of 1787? This he would answer, by putting to the Learned Gentleman this question: Did he really think, that if the French should be disposed to renew [illegible] pretensions of 1783, or any other peri[illegible] they would be prevented from so doing b[illegible] few scraps of paper being laid on the table [illegible] that House, a *species of artillery that would be equal to the operation of a single field-piece half a minute?* But the Learned Gentlem[illegible] would say, that the treaty of 1783 would e[illegible] blish the disposition of the French at that ti[illegible] to dispute our sovereignty in India; it wo[illegible] indeed, establish that which there was none[illegible] establishing, because the thing was well kno[illegible] The French did on that occasion, as they wo[illegible] do on every other occasion, provided [illegible] thought they could succeed in the atte[illegible] namely, endeavour to diminish the great[illegible] of this country, and enlarge their own; [illegible] in proportion as they were disposed to be [illegible] tile to our interest, or querulous while we [illegible] joyed our advantages, he had no difficult[illegible] saying, it was the wisdom of this country[illegible] the same proportion, to wait until those c[illegible] were made which Gentlemen spoke of wi[illegible] much apprehension, and in the mean tim[illegible] stand upon our right, our paramount rig[illegible] sovereignty. What course the French w[illegible] take to enlarge their commercial interes[illegible] India, was not for us to anticipate. It [illegible] enough for us, that if they endeavoured [illegible] so by the exertions of individuals, or o[illegible] wise, they could never do so without [illegible] liable to be interrupted by this country[illegible] they were to try to erect commercial facto[illegible] or to do any thing that interfered with o[illegible] vereignty in India, we should be fully [illegible] ranted, and, what was better, we were in[illegible] session of means, to resist such an att[illegible] But those means would not be increased [illegible] few papers being laid before the House: [illegible] documents would not help us to any [illegible] ments which we had not already, for the[illegible] priety of resisting such attempts; thank[illegible] we had never wanted arguments to resi[illegible] encroachments of the French on our sove[illegible] power in India, nor had we wanted str[illegible] for that purpose. From all this it was [illegible] fectly clear, that before the French could[illegible] ercise any trade in India, they must co[illegible] us in the character of suppliants; for n[illegible] that they had yet obtained would enable [illegible] to carry on trade in India without our [illegible] He had stated the difference between the t[illegible] of 1783 and the convention of 1787, a[illegible] He had to observe, that we were not now[illegible] situation similar to that in which we st[illegible] 1787. There was now no treaty in exis[illegible] between us and France, nor any regulat[illegible] the subject of India, except the single [illegible] in the convention now upon the table [illegible] House. And with regard to the trade of F[illegible] in India, if any they were to have, they [illegible] have it only through the indulgence of [illegible] British power in India; and therefore he [illegible] again, we were better off as the case [illegible] upon the present treaty of peace, than if [illegible] had renewed any of the former treaties. Wh[illegible]

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ever matter of complaint was to be urged, or rather of lamentation, upon this subject, it could only be, that his Majesty's government did not settle the whole of the provisions of all former treaties, by taking notice of them all, and finally adjusting them all. This, however in the abstract it might appear desirable, ought not to have been attempted in the present case, because it would have been impossible to accomplish it, without protracting the negotiation to a length that would have been inconsistent with the interests of the states of Europe. The articles in all these treaties must have been all gone over, if any of them were noticed; in the course of which a thousand explanations would become necessary, and which might have made the negotiation in many respects appear to some, idle and ridiculous. But there were other considerations which, he hoped, would operate on the conduct of those who may have the future direction of the affairs of India; and they related to other powers, as well as to the French and ourselves in India; we were not to consider merely our own concerns and those of France in India. He stated it as a solid ground of consideration for the East India Company, to regulate, not only the trade of the French, but to look to the regulation of other subjects, to have an eye upon other commercial connexions. But it might be said, Why not stipulate these things in negotiation, and finally determine them by treaty? To which he would answer, It is much better as it is, for at present we have the sovereignty of India; and he would ask, if it appeared to any Member of that House to be a wise course to exclude the Government of this country from all discretionary power to regulate the trade of India? If the French, or any other power, should claim the right of carrying their goods up the Ganges, or to do any other act, was it not sufficient that we had the power to prevent them? The French trade in India, the Dutch trade in India, might go hand in hand, so that it was not detrimental to us; but if detrimental to us, we had the power to stop it, and that was enough for our present purpose at least. He wanted this subject to be considered upon a large and comprehensive scale, and not confined merely to ourselves and France. He did not mean to pretend, or to insinuate, that he was in possession of the reasons which actuated his Majesty's servants upon this occasion, when they came to the conclusion which was now before the public; but he felt himself entitled to state, that if they had done that which some Gentlemen blamed them for not doing, they would have put it out of their own power to do their country much service, which they will now be enabled to render by consulting those who are best qualified to advise them, and that more especially on the affairs of India. But when he heard it said that France was hostile in its disposition towards the trade of this country, and was endeavouring to prevail on Holland, Spain, and other countries to do all they could to discourage our trade, and to prohibit some of it in their dominions, he would ask, Are they so? And if they be, is this the precise period in which you would make them a voluntary gift of commerce in India, when you are doubtful in what relation they choose to stand with you in regard to other commercial connexions? "I own," said he, "this is a subject on which I feel deeply; I have it much at heart; and when I say that, I am sure there is not one man in this House who would feel more sorrow than I should, if I conceived it possible for you to surrender any one of the rights of which I have been speaking. At the same time that I feel these reasons I have been stating, I desire not to be misrepresented; I am one of the last men in the world (my conduct, I think, proves it) who would wish to plead for the system of this country narrowing the trade of foreigners in India: ever since I thought I understood any thing of the affairs of India, my maxim has been to enlarge that trade; and that we might as well attempt to prohibit any foreigners from buying our manufactures of Yorkshire or of Birmingham, or any other manufacture of this country, as prohibit foreigners from trading with our territories in India. But I should guard against misconception of this opinion of mine. When I say we should not prevent the French, or any other nation, from trading with our territorial provinces in India, I mean to say, that I am not afraid of them as merchants; I am not unwilling to give them a boon as merchants, with a chance of reciprocity, and I ask no more; but I think I am not going too far, when I desire this country to guard against that which I know the French have endeavoured to make, and will endeavour to make, if they see any probability of its success; I mean an encroachment on your sovereignty in India. This they have done; and if an opportunity offers, this they will do under the pretence of pursuing trade. They will ask you civilly, for in no other way can they ask it, to allow them to do a number of things for the purpose of carrying on trade, when their object will be to encroach upon your sovereignty. It was in this way that they formerly endeavoured to encroach upon your sovereignty in 1787, when they told us they could not recover their debts without a certain enlargement of power in India: we resisted that directly; and I hope this will be the conduct of this country in future. The very first article insisted upon by Lord Auckland in 1787 was, that nothing in the most distant degree touching our sovereignty in India would, on any terms or conditions whatever, be assented to on the part of this country. I hope it is not presumptuous in me to say, that I trust his Majesty's Government will adopt the same principle, and stand upon the same ground as we did then; and if we do so,

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I will venture to say there will be no danger: depart from that principle, and your sovereignty will be first undermined, then attacked, and, perhaps, finally overthrown. As to what may be attempted by France, even with all your caution, I cannot say you will have no difficulty, for I am not going to be guarantee for the moderation of the French; but what I contend for is, that you have now better means than you would have had by the renewal of any treaty; better means than you ever had, of preventing encroachment upon your sovereignty in India. But we have not before us any proof, nor is it insinuated, that the French nation themselves are bringing forward any such claim as we hear stated on their behalf: will it not be time enough, when they do bring forward those claims, for Government to resist them? But surely when we agree that their claims are dangerous, and cannot be admitted, it is singular to pursue this as a subject of declamation in the Houses of Parliament. I say, this ought not to be done; for we all know, that what passes in this House, or in the other House of Parliament, transpires to the people of this country; and I cannot concur with those who wish to make the people of this country think the peace a bad one. I am certainly one of those who cannot give an approbation of all the articles of peace; but is it doing good to this country to keep this question up, and to endeavour to make the people dislike it? Gentlemen complain of the pride and arrogance of France: Is this the way to make her less proud or arrogant? certainly not; and therefore I cannot see the wisdom of stating these claims, which we all know and feel cannot be admitted, and which nobody asserts to have been made. I have stated what appeared to me to be the true substantial rights and interests of this country on the subject of Indian affairs; upon these rights and principles I desire to stand, and I have stated what course I think this country ought to pursue to preserve those rights entire. I am aware that by so stating them, and by so recommending the course to be pursued, I impose on the shoulders of his Majesty's Government an awful and tremendous responsibility; for if you depart an *iota* from your sovereignty in India, and allow others to encroach on you, or any way to diminish the force of that paramount sovereignty, you will lay the foundation of the overthrow of your power in India. If, being possessed of that mighty empire, and of the means to assert and vindicate your right, you allow others to injure it by any act of executive government, I shall not receive any apology for the Ministers who shall suffer that to be done, under any pretence that the French had claimed these things before, or under any other pretence whatsoever, because you are now more than ever possessed of means to prevent it. *I apprehend the Learned Gentleman who brought this subject forward is of the same opinion; and I hope he will concur with me in saying, that Ministers, if they allow our sovereignty in India to be touched, will be without an apology, and that therefore he will now be so good* AS TO PUT HIS MOTION IN HIS POCKET. It is my solemn conviction, that if we were now to give way to these hypothetical cases which are stated, and entertain these motions, instead of strengthening, we should weaken the rights of the British empire."

Mr. T. GRENVILLE said, there must have been a broad line of misconception between the view of the subject taken by the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) and his, before the Right Hon. Gentleman could have stated it in the manner he had done. The Right Hon. Gentleman had stated doubts as to the propriety of this motion, because, whether our claims were to be decided by negotiation or by the sword, "surely," said the Right Hon. Gentleman, "it was not wise to bring "forward doubts relative to our own claims, "which were perfectly clear." He agreed with the Right Hon. Gentleman in this point; but how did the argument apply to France? The Right Hon. Gentleman had asserted, that this country possessed a clear right of sovereignty in the East Indies; but having stated this, what did the latter part of his speech refer to? that the claim which England has asserted, has been and is disputed; how, therefore, did the argument of the Right Hon. Gentleman apply? He did not state doubts, but said, that at all periods France had disputed our claims in India. Of what consequence to the question were the victories and conquests of Lord Clive, or the sovereignty we obtained in India? That sovereignty, as well as whatever rights we claimed, were still disputed by France. He did not mean to say that this country and France were in a continual state of war; but the latter never abandoned her claims, and this state of things produced the convention of 1787, which was a compromise of claims. His Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Dundas) had stated, that the non-renewal of the treaty of 1783, and the convention of 1787, was more advantageous to this country than the renewal of them would have been: this was the first time, he believed, that his Right Hon. Friend had sat in judgment on the treaty of 1783. He desired to know, however, whether in many situations it was not more advisable to possess a limited right by convention, than to rest upon a general, but unacknowledged right; because, by obtaining a limited right by convention, we obtained at the same time a recognition of the original right. His Right Hon. Friend had asked, What advantage was to be derived from laying a few scraps of paper on the table? This put him in mind of a question formerly asked on a subject relative to the East India Company: What was a charter? a scroll of parchment with a piece of wax at the end of it. This mode of argument, however, could not do

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away that consideration to which important documents were entitled. The object of his Hon. Friend (Dr. Laurence) was to shew what France might claim against this country. With respect to the navigation of the eastern seas, his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Dundas) had treated this subject with considerable levity: he could not consider it as a matter which ought to be treated with levity. It was not the claims of the Dutch republic, as settled by treaty, that formed the object of consideration; but his Hon. Friend (Dr. Laurence) had stated the danger which might result from the claims of the Dutch republic in its present state of servitude, when it could only be considered as a member of the French republic, and as identified with France. He expected that some objection would have been made to the production of the papers moved for by his Hon. Friend; but, instead of this, he could hear nothing but a laugh against it, and an advice to his Hon. Friend to put the motion into his pocket. To such a sweeping kind of argument it was scarcely possible to give any answer. The House would recollect, that no doubt was thrown upon the claims upon this country: he admitted that they were clear; but were they clear and undisputed? This was the point. The Right Hon. Gentleman had spoken as to the prudence of stating the claims which France might make relative to our possessions in the East Indies: but as to the cession of the Cape and Cochin, his Right Hon. Friend had not said a single word. Was it a light matter that the Cape and Cochin should be put into the hands of France, before we knew the disposition of the enemy with respect to India, and that France should assert her claims with the Cape and Cochin in her possession? If this was thought a matter fit to be discussed, now was the moment for discussion. These observations were not made for the purpose of querulously objecting to the treaty of peace; no such thing: he wished to call the attention of the House to the danger hanging over the country; how was it to be relieved, and by what suggestion of human prudence? Was it wished to ask the enemy, if he agreed to our right of sovereignty in India? and would they give him the Cape and Cochin to know whether he agreed to it or not? and if he did not, were they in as good a situation as before? When all former obligations were done away, was it not necessary to resort to new conventions? None were now offered in the place of those abrogated; and did the House feel secure in this situation? Was it not necessary to know the intentions of France with respect to India? It was not likely that twelve months would pass before either France would make claims in that country, which we could not agree to, or this country would exercise rights there which France would resist: was it then prudent in this country, before she knew the disposition of France with respect to this subject, to give out of her hands the Cape and Cochin? No argument whatever had been adduced against the motion, which he should certainly support.

Lord Hawkesbury.—"I am glad to hear the Hon. Gentleman say, that neither he, or, in his opinion, any man in this House or the country, entertains any doubt of our right of sovereignty in the East Indies. He says, however, that the French entertain doubts, and therefore there should be an explanation. Now, in the present state of things, I contend there is no ground to suppose that the French do entertain any doubt upon the subject. The doubts of France were built upon the ancient firmans, and the treaty of 1783. Now, if these firmans and the treaty of 1783 be at an end, what ground is there to suppose that France does not recognise our right of sovereignty? All the Asiatic and European powers have acknowledged that right. In all negotiations, even in those with France, England has been styled The Government of India. I admit that you came into that sovereignty subject to the engagements which were binding upon the powers you succeeded. These firmans might therefore be considered in force after the commencement of our sovereignty. It will not, however, be contended, that they grant more than indulgences; and I admit that there were disputes about which of them were to be considered good, and which bad. I admit also, that, as they were binding upon our predecessor the Mogul, so they were binding upon us. But the subsequent war destroys them, as it would any other treaties; and the peace of 1783, which acknowledges our sovereignty, does not renew them. Against this, it is said that France renewed these claims between 1783 and 1787: but upon what ground did she do so? why, upon the 13th article of the treaty of 1783. France says, By that article you undertook to restore my ancient trade; and, of course, she brought forward these ancient firmans, to shew what that trade was. Now this is put an end to by the treaty of 1787; for what does it say? Not that doubts are entertained of our sovereignty, but that its object is to explain the 13th article of the peace of 1783. Now if this statement be correct, it follows, that the claims of France might have been formerly well founded under the treaty of 1783; but that the treaty of 1783 and the ancient firmans being now at an end, our right of sovereignty is clear. Now, Sir, with respect to the non-renewal of the convention of 1787, the 13th article of the treaty of 1783 was loose, and therefore the convention was wisely intended to meet the difficulties arising from that article of 1783 at that time; but still the convention of 1787 left many points undecided that might be brought forward, and therefore it was proper to preclude that consequence. The convention of 1787 recites the doubtful article of the peace of

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1783; therefore, by renewing it, you would renew the article of 1783. Now if we are recognised as sovereigns of India, if France as to it has no other claim than any other country in Europe, how can our right be rendered more clear? It is objected, that we have no security that a claim will not be brought forward. I have shewn that it cannot be brought forward upon good grounds. That France may not do so, I cannot say; but I do say, that if there be any point which France is not likely to dispute, it would be this (before the present discussion). This I say from what passed in the course of the negotiation, in which, however conducted, a man may be able to see the points which the party is likely to consider most important. As to my reason for refusing the papers, to some of them I have objections; others of them are, I admit, such as have been granted; but after the manner in which the question is started, I think we should stop here, and negative them all."

Dr. LAURENCE observed, that, from the manner in which his first motion had been treated, it would, perhaps, be thought proper that he should put the others in his pocket, as he had been advised to do by a Right Honourable Gentleman. Motives of public duty, however, as well as of private friendship, induced him to submit them to the House. Their object was to shew, that the convention of 1787 was in itself a beneficial arrangement to the East India Company, independent of its putting an end to all claims of sovereignty on the part of the French. He then made a series of motions for the following papers, which met the same fate—"An Account of the Customs of Bengal, distinguishing each year, since the acquisition of the Duwanni—The Price of Salt, as fixed by the Governor-general at Calcutta, in the year 1768—An Account of the Revenue on Salt, from the acquisition of the Duwanni to the present time—The quantity of Saltpetre and Opium sold to and by the Company's Agents during the same time—All Paragraphs in Dispatches from Bengal, touching the claims of the French, from 1765 to 1787—A Copy of the Governor-general's Minute at the Secret Consultation, on the 31st July 1775—A Statement of the Claims of the Dutch to the Navigation of the Indian Seas, previous to the year 1784—And a Copy of the Treaty of Alliance entered into between the French and Batavian Republics in the year 1795."

HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 13TH, 1802.

The order of the day, for taking into consideration the *definitive treaty*, being read,

LORD GRENVILLE said, he should offer no apology for having exerted his endeavours that their Lordships might acquire previous information upon the different points to which the definitive treaty referred. The necessity and propriety of his conduct was so firmly impressed on his mind, that he was surprised at any insinuation of irregularity. The fact was, that himself and his Noble Friends had put the House in possession of arguments against the treaty, while those whose duty it was to have stated their reasons in its favour had not thought proper to defend it. The unfairness and irregularity, if any, was on the side of those who had reserved the detail of their arguments to a general debate, in which it was impossible to come to an issue on the various points connected with the subject. He was far from wishing to impute unfairness to any of their Lordships. They had considered that discussion should not precede decision: he had thought that the most favourable thing he could do with regard to the House was to court repeated discussion previous to decision. In this situation the question was now submitted, and he rose to offer such a motion as resulted from the sentiments that he entertained. In doing this, the first argument with which he had to contend was one which had equally been resorted to in and out of the House. It was asked, What was the use of discussion now, when peace was concluded? Was it wished to overthrow the treaty? If not, what benefit could arise from debating upon the subject of it? He should be sorry to bring forward any motion, if he had it not in his power to meet such an argument as that was. Whatever disadvantages might arise to the country from this unfortunate treaty, he would be one of the first to say, it was concluded by the power which had the right, by the constitution of the country, to conclude it; and therefore, whatever were its terms, Parliament was bound to accede to it. It was ratified by his Majesty, and the great seal of the kingdom affixed to it; consequently it was irrevocable; and not to carry it into effect would be to add disaster to disaster, dishonour to the loss occasioned by the treaty, and to impeach the national integrity. The first proposition he should make to the House was, to declare to his Majesty their opinion, that the public faith was pledged to the observance of the peace; that it was an obligation binding upon the country to maintain it inviolate. After such a declaration, what objection could possibly be urged against the discussion of the terms of the treaty? What inconvenience could result from pointing out to the country the injurious effects likely to proceed from them? why was he not to be allowed to urge the House to fix a mark upon those impolitic and weak Ministers who had negotiated such a treaty, and whose counsels had concluded it? It was not his wish to interrupt the treaty, now that it was made; but only to lay before the House the dangerous tendency of its provisions, that future Ministers might be warned against advising a measure so disadvantageous to the country. The object of what he should state to their Lordships was prospective; it was to

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ascertain the situation in which the country stood now the peace was settled, and its terms agreed to; it was to point out the state of danger in which the country was involved by the treaty, not for the purpose of shunning the danger, but of exciting the country to adopt the real line of courage by preparing to meet it. Such was the view with which he had desired the attendance of their Lordships this day. He should propose to them to lay before his Majesty an address, expressive of their determination to preserve inviolate the treaty; but, having done so, to represent to his Majesty the state of the country, and the means of avoiding the danger which threatened it. This was what he conceived it was the duty of their Lordships, as legislators, to perform; and it should be his task to point out his reasons for doing so. For this purpose, it was necessary to advert to the arguments which had been advanced against the preliminary articles, and the events which had taken place since. He had already stated to the House his objections to the preliminary treaty: if the definitive treaty had been conformable to the preliminary articles, and the relative situation of France and Spain had not altered by intervening circumstances, however he might have been disposed to have protested against the definitive treaty, he should not have thought it necessary to have proposed to the House the adoption of any new measure; but he found that all the grounds of the pretensions on the part of France, as contained in the preliminary treaty, had not only been confirmed by the definitive treaty, but exceeded. The terms of the latter were therefore infinitely more prejudicial than the former. He could not avoid calling the attention of the House to what had been the arguments used against the preliminary articles. It had been stated, that in all negotiations for peace there were two grounds or bases necessary to be adhered to: when, after a long contest between two nations, the respective governments were considering how they might restore the blessings of peace and tranquillity, the basis on which the negotiation proceeded was, either the *status ante bellum* (the actual situation in which the parties stood before the war), or the situation in which they stood at the time of the negotiation, which was called the *uti possidetis*. Instead of the negotiators of the definitive treaty proceeding distinctly upon one of these grounds, they had applied both in the most prejudicial manner possible to this country. They had referred to the *status ante bellum* with regard to England, by giving up all she had taken during the war to France; and they had adopted the *uti possidetis* as to France, by leaving her in possession of all that she had acquired. It was obvious, that at the commencement of negotiation each country was in possession of some advantage which operated to the disadvantage of the other. It was to our disadvantage that France possessed so much power on the continent, and it was to the disadvantage of France that we, by the superior skill and valour of our navy, were possessed of the colonies of France and Spain. The arrangement to have been desired was, that we should have diminished the power of France upon the continent, in proportion to our sacrifices with respect to the colonies that we had taken. If France could not have been persuaded to that, then it was our duty to have extended our maritime power, for the purposes of compelling her. As far as appeared by the treaty, Ministers had made no attempt whatever to reduce the power of France on the continent, but had, by concessions abroad, given her the means of weakening our colonial strength. This was not acting upon the principle adopted by Lord Chatham at the peace of 1763. That enlightened statesman had always considered that every preliminary treaty should be as definitive as possible. If the preliminary articles of 1763 were compared with the definitive, it would appear that there was scarcely any difference between them; while the direct contrary was the case with regard to the present treaty. By the incapacity of the negotiators, they had left themselves to treat with France during the pendency of a naval armistice. The question before that armistice was, whether this country would suffer the fleets of France, which were blockaded in the mouths of their harbours, to stir out. But what did occur immediately after the preliminary treaty? In direct opposition to our entreaties and threats, France sent an armament to the West Indies, and imposed on this country the necessity of also sending to the West Indies a naval force more than double of any that we had sent during the war. Thus the first fruits of the peace was the necessity of keeping an armament of thirty-five sail of the line in the West Indies. He would not enter into the pretence, on the part of France, for sending the expedition which she did send; nor would he discuss the question, whether it would or would not be better for this country if St. Domingo was under the dominion of France. He should only observe, that the more urgent and pressing were the wishes of Buonaparté to send that armament, in proportion ought it to have been the policy of the negotiators, on the part of this country, to have insisted that the French fleet should not have sailed till the preliminary articles were converted into a definitive treaty, and until he had afforded a conviction that he had no intention of obtaining such a cession as he had since obtained in Italy. Something had been said of the time and temper in which the peace had been made on the part of France, and that it afforded a proof that the person at the head of the French government had become a harmless, inoffensive neighbour, and wished to shew how much he had been misrepresented, when it had been insinuated that there were no bounds to his ambition. He would leave it to

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any man to say, whether, if peace depended upon the disposition of the republic, we should enjoy it even for the length of time the present debate would occupy. It was evident the definitive treaty contained concessions infinitely more important than the preliminary articles; and it was no less true, that the conduct of the French government evinced a design to exclude the commerce of this country from the continent of Europe. With respect to the situation in which Portugal had been placed by the definitive treaty, the House had been merely told that it was a pity it should be so; and with regard to the Prince of Orange, their Lordships were informed by one of the servants of the Crown, that he looked at the articles concerning that Prince with regret. The indemnity to the Prince of Orange was left in such a situation by the treaty, that it depended entirely upon France whether he should ever be indemnified or not. As to the Cape of Good Hope, not a word had been said, whether it would be advantageous to have it a free port or not. Why, after having stipulated that Malta should be independent, and that its independence should be guarantied by one of the powers of Europe competent to its protection, was it placed under the guarantee of six powers, who never could be brought to agree upon the subject of it? How could Malta retain its independence? How was it possible that the expense of the garrison, stores, and charges of maintaining that fortress, could be provided by a power to whom no revenues were left? The Noble Lord proceeded to shew that the expense of providing for Malta amounted to 130,000*l.* while its revenues really applicable to that expenditure did not amount to more than 20 or 25,000*l.*; and the inference that he drew from his statement was, that the election of the grand master must depend upon France, and that in all probability the whole island would shortly fall under the power of France. He next adverted to an advantage given to the French with respect to the mutual cession of the colonies. It was stipulated that the French inhabitants of Ceylon and Trinidad might retire from those islands, while nothing of the kind was admitted into the treaty with regard to the colonies that we ceded to France. His Lordship contended, that by the non-renewal of the treaty of Utrecht, this country had renounced the stipulation, that France should not acquire in Spanish America any privileges with reference to commerce that were not granted to England. It was needless to urge how much more important such a stipulation would have been at the present moment, than at the period of the treaty of Utrecht. By the treaty of 1783, we had ceded Goree and Senegal; but at the same time the cession was under a stipulation for the liberty of carrying on the gum trade; but now the cession had been confirmed without the renewal of the stipulation. That it was the intention of France to make war against our commerce, was evident from the circumstance of a decree having been issued by the government, forbidding the right of trading on the coast of that part of Africa. He should be glad if the suggestions he had stated could be repelled. If their Lordships could be satisfied that the definitive treaty would not prejudice the rights of this country, then, if he could not approve of it, he should be ready to admit that, the preliminary articles having been approved by Parliament, it was bound to sanction the definitive treaty. It had been acknowledged, that the possession of Italy by France would justify a recurrence to a state of war: this was not his own argument, but the admission of the Secretary of State. He now entreated the attention of the House to the situation in which the country stood at the time of the commencement of the negotiation. It was in a state of war, but under circumstances calculated as much as possible to alleviate its inconveniences. We had acquired the possession of colonies to an immense extent, which were valuable, not only from their military situation, but by affording the means of carrying on the war itself; the produce of the West Indies had been 2,000,000*l.* annually, from which a very considerable revenue had arisen: this resource was lost. We had by our naval power obtained such a preference, that the fleets of France could not stir; now they had been suffered to proceed to the West Indies, and we were compelled to send an expensive armament to watch them. We were also in possession of resources sufficient to have enabled us to have carried on the war till we had obtained just, adequate, and reasonable conditions of peace. Had we availed ourselves of them? No; we had left to France the whole preponderating power of the continent, and had confirmed her in the possession of Italy. We had also added to France possessions of considerable importance in India, but had omitted to stipulate that they should not be fortified. We had given up to Holland the town and port of Cochin; a situation which the French would avail themselves of for the purpose of intrigue, one in which we should have most to apprehend from the attempts of France, and be least able to counteract them. His Lordship maintained, that it was necessary for the safety of our Indian possessions, that this country should have retained the sovereignty of the Cape. In order to be able to bring home our commercial fleets from India, or to send out troops, it would be always necessary to send a convoy, and then we should be insecure. In time of war, how was a single regiment to be sent? It was true that troops might be sent directly from Great Britain to India, without touching at the Brazils or the Cape; but in such case they would not be fit for service for many months after they had landed. But the advantage we possessed in the sovereignty of the Cape was this: when the war broke out in the

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Mysore with Tippoo Sultaun, we sent a corvette to the Cape, whence a force of fresh troops was dispatched fit for immediate service, landed, marched up the country, and were present at the siege of Seringapatam. It was not, he believed, too much to say, that, by ceding the Cape to Holland, we had in point of fact ceded it to the power of France. In the West Indies we had restored to France Martinique and Tobago, and had facilitated the means of recovering St. Domingo. She was besides in possession of Louisiana, and the fruitful country of Florida; for it was a circumstance too plain to admit of a doubt, that Spain never could keep Florida while France had possession of Louisiana. In addition to these advantages, she had the means of entering Mexico at any time. Such was the comparative situation of France and England, in the East and West Indies, and America. How did we stand with respect to the Mediterranean, the next seat of our naval interest? Our naval superiority in the Mediterranean was most important; but his Majesty's Ministers had placed the country in such a situation, that he defied any one to tell him how a single ship could be sent to the Mediterranean. By this policy they had dispossessed the country of Majorca, Minorca, and even the island of Elba, which could only be useful to France for the purpose of excluding us from Leghorn. We were thus destitute of the means of maintaining any fleet in the Mediterranean. His Majesty's Ministers had put it out of the power of the King of Sardinia to open his ports to an English fleet. It was owing to the assistance afforded by the King of Naples and Sicily, that Lord Nelson had been able to refit that fleet which had effected the overthrow of the French armament at Aboukir, and disappointed the gigantic ambition of France. What was the return the English government made to him for his assistance? It had procured a stipulation that France should evacuate his dominions, but had not provided that she should not return whenever she thought proper. The inevitable consequence of such policy would be, that France would obtain the possession of Naples, and in the end we should find ourselves excluded by France from the whole commerce of the Levant. Every object of importance obtained by the valour of our navy had been surrendered by the counsels of those Ministers who had made them pass into the hands of France. Now to address their Lordships on the subject of the defence made to these various charges: the defence rested on the ground of an imperious necessity for peace. In this defence, the Noble Lord who had advanced it was at least consistent, because he had uniformly maintained that the country was not in a condition to strain every resource to carry on the war; but his Majesty's Ministers denied the existence of any such necessity. If it was true that the country was under circumstances of imperious necessity, it was not astonishing that the definitive treaty should have been agreed to; but what security had we that France would suffer us to recover from that state of necessity to which she had reduced us? Such a plea on our part would only furnish a pretence for going on from sacrifice to sacrifice, from loss to disgrace, till at last we had nothing to contend for. It was to prevent this that he had brought forward the present motion, from which, he was persuaded, every advantage would be derived. It would have the effect of declaring to the public and to the enemy, that the country was not reduced to the necessity of making a disgraceful peace: in fact, such an argument as that founded upon necessity, could not be raised by any country that was not prepared to receive the yoke of a conqueror. The question was, whether the advantages of the peace were greater than the disadvantages of the war? If it was expedient to have made this peace, it must have been so from the consideration that some advantage was obtained by it. The advantages might possibly be said to have proceeded from the extension of our commerce; or it might be by enabling the country to adopt a system of economy; or it might arise from our having obtained some security for the continuance of peace. He should consider these points separately. With respect to our commerce, the peace must evidently have operated to the diminution of it. In support of this proposition, he referred to many observations respecting the acquisition of commercial power by France under the definitive treaty. Upon the question of economy, he contended, that in order to be able to husband our revenue, it was necessary that we should be able to protect it. With this view, he recommended Government to keep a large naval and military establishment in a constant state of discipline. With regard to any naval establishment in the Mediterranean, Ministers, by their conduct, had rendered it impossible to send a fleet there. It was with peculiar satisfaction he understood it was the intention of Government to adopt the necessary measures of having a large Channel fleet ready for actual service at forty-eight hours notice. With respect to security having been obtained for not going to war again, he could assure the House that no man wished more than himself that such might be the case. If it was not so, this country would have to commence a new war under every circumstance of disadvantage. If at the end of three campaigns we recovered what we had given up by the treaty, he should think we had made a most glorious war. Such was the situation in which the country stood; and he flattered himself that the House would concur with him in the propriety of considering how we might best resist the danger that threatened us. He feared the spirit of the country would be broken, unless its councils were directed by abler men. He had deemed it necessary to desire the House to carry a

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declaration to the foot of the Throne, containing a resolution that the House was ready to attend to every practicable economy calculated to enable this country to resist every future attempt on the part of the enemy; but that, in order to do so, it would be necessary to have a scale of defence sufficient to meet the danger. The Noble Lord next adverted to the question of the right of the British flag in the navigation of the eastern seas, and the claims of France and Holland to carry on a free and independent trade. He observed, that although this country might be disposed to treat such claims as ridiculous, Holland and France might not do so. If it should be necessary to maintain a war in India for the sovereignty of the territory, he should consider such war as just and necessary; but the question was, whether France and Holland would entertain the same opinion? Perhaps the very ship that carried out the orders to give up the factories to the French, might bring back an account of actual hostilities. He deprecated the consequences of a war in India, particularly at a time when the East India Directors had stated that the Company was too poor to instruct their own servants in the rudiments of their business. His Lordship again adverted to the impolicy of suffering the treaties to expire, recapitulated his arguments, and expressed his intention of introducing into the address a hope that no time might be lost in settling by amicable adjustment those points which had not been arranged by the definitive treaty. He concluded by moving the address, which will be found in vol. i. p. 572.

The DUKE of NORFOLK differed very much from the Noble Lord who had preceded him. He approved highly of that exercise of the royal authority by which the late Ministers were dismissed from power. They involved this country in all the calamities which she had for years experienced, and therefore deserved all the disgrace which had been inflicted on them. With regard to the peace, he gave it his hearty approbation, as likely to produce all the blessings which could be expected from such a happy event. It did not meet with his concurrence because he thought it unexceptionable, but because he believed that any peace would be much more useful to mankind than the continuance of such a war. Our fleets and armies had certainly by their glorious achievements raised the national character, great and glorious as it was in history, far beyond what the warmest patriot could have expected. But, with all that splendour of achievement, he preferred peace, as more conducive to the true interest and happiness of mankind. The Noble Peer who had made the motion now before their Lordships, indicated sentiments of umbrage, if not of hostility, to the nation with whom we had lately concluded peace. Whatever his Lordship's sentiments were, he, for one, wished it to be understood, that for the preservation of that peace which we had so lately accomplished, we ought to cultivate *every mode of conciliation and friendship*. The ideas, however, which had now been suggested, were indicative of the determination of the Ex-Ministers, should they ever return to power. Instead of confirming this peace with the drawn sword against the enemy, *he begged pardon*, he meant the nation with whom we were lately at war, we ought to use every effort to remove all doubt on their part as to our sincerity. The peace had now been concluded, the national faith plighted, and he hoped never to witness a violation of the treaty, however disadvantageous it might be considered by many Noble Peers, whose opinions were opposite to those of the present Administration. He was no friend to the measures of those in power, but he was *a sincere friend to peace*. To remove all jealousy and fear on the part of France, he would therefore earnestly recommend some motion in approbation of the peace. The Noble Duke, by way of amendment to the address, moved to leave out all after the first two paragraphs, which went to acquaint his Majesty of their having taken the definitive treaty into consideration, and their resolution to aid him in carrying it into effect.

LORD PELHAM endeavoured to remove the objections which had been advanced by Lord Grenville, who had, he said, in a very elaborate speech, attempted to excite sentiments adverse, not only to the present peace, but apparently to every kind of peace whatever. The preliminaries were not, in his opinion, so very different from the definitive treaty. The spirit, if not the letter, was preserved; and, as our national faith was pledged, he conceived that no man who was hostile to peace could be friendly to the interests of the country. In the very wide range which his Lordship had taken of this important subject, there was much difficulty in following him with that precision which he might naturally wish. He therefore hoped that his Lordship and the House would make allowance for any deficiency of his pursuit through such an extensive maze of fact and argument. He would not attempt to follow him regularly, but endeavour to answer the most prominent points. The Noble Lord seemed to be instigated by such a spirit of opposition to the peace, as if he were resolved, as already mentioned, that there should be no peace at all.—With regard to the little island of Elba, he conceived it unworthy of contest, and therefore would not detain their Lordships by a long disquisition on that subject. As to Malta, it was to be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and its independence and perpetual neutrality acknowledged, under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. Such an arrangement was perfectly consonant to the wishes of those who were highly esteemed for their intelligence and pa-

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ption. Perhaps it would have been more eable to the policy of some, that Russia taken possession of Malta; and why at time such an arrangement had been post-ed or neglected, was best known to the ror, who had in the settlement of differ-s conducted himself in the most liberal ner. Many were of opinion, that his be-ing one of the guarantees was a greater rity for the independence of the Maltese, consequently the peace of Europe, than adoption of the other arrangement men-ed. Our possessions in the East and West s were much strengthened by the acquisi-which we had attained from the peace; whatever apprehensions certain Noble s might entertain for the safety of our ements in the East, when contemplating the supposed ambitious views of the ch government, he dismissed all such idle at once from his mind, as unworthy of s reflection. Our sovereignty in the East acknowledged and confirmed by various s, and therefore any apprehensions on ead were nugatory in the extreme. With d to the state of the Prince of Orange, his had by no means been abandoned; but ght to be recollected, that, however pain-s claims were on our generosity as an old faithful ally, he could not now be con-d as a sovereign; and therefore an indem-r the losses which he had sustained could e recommended on such a principle of sation. For the possessions which he ld independently of the States, he would ly receive an adequate compensation those who had the control of public affairs land. Ministers were, therefore, not to when the claims of the House of Orange called in question. They had acted with attention to the rights of that Prince, had so faithfully conducted himself for interests of this country, and that of our Great jealousies and fears had been ex-d on the subject of our commercial in-s, as if we could, on the termination of ities, expect that the same extent of erce would remain to us, which we en-d, by the gallantry of our seamen, during ar. His Lordship again earnestly recom-ded that no ideas of a hostile nature to e should be circulated as if sanctioned e British Government, which was zeal-resolved to use its best exertions for ivation of peace and friendship be-the two countries. Every measure ed by Government on such an important ct certainly challenged the investigation cussion of any Noble Peer; but the e Secretary could not help remarking, the Noble Lord who now appeared in stion to the peace might have chosen er time equally well adapted for his pur-

Lord Pelham, before he sat down, in-ed his intention of submitting to their ships, as soon as the preceding motion and amendment were disposed of, another motion for an address to his Majesty, approving of the definitive treaty now under consideration.

Lord Mulgrave announced his intention of supporting the motion of the last Noble Peer whenever he brought it forward. On this occasion, he had no hesitation to differ from his Noble Friend (Lord Grenville), because he was conscious that he thus properly discharged his duty to his country. His Lordship, who had certainly delivered a very able and animated speech, had dwelt much in condemnation of the arrangement for Malta. He, however, thought, that every candid man would acknowledge the error of the Noble Peer, who had this day, as on former debates, given the most unqualified reprobation of the peace. Malta, luckily for the interest and happiness of Europe, was to be restored to the Maltese, who were best able, under the guarantee of the powers mentioned, to govern that island. His Lordship, in opposition to Lord Grenville, could not conceive any solid ground for entertaining suspicions of the sincerity of France, so far as related to the fulfilment of the treaty; neither was he in the least alarmed for the supposed inordinate ambition of Buonaparté. He wished it to be fully understood on the part of France, that neither the British Government nor British people had the most remote intentions of violating the national faith so solemnly pledged. He saw no needless sacrifices which we had made for the attainment of peace. It could not by any reasonable man be supposed, that, on the return of that desirable event, we were not to make some sacrifice as an inducement for France to agree to terms of pacification. Notwithstanding all the sacrifices which we had made, there still remained to us great advantages, both in the East and West Indies, by the acquisition of Ceylon and Trinidad; but he confessed that he could not contemplate the state of St. Domingo without some serious apprehensions of danger to our settlements in the West Indies. It was evident, that whether Buonaparté subdued Toussaint, or formed a treaty of friendship with him, or whether Toussaint expelled the French from that island, the result would be the same to the British interests in the West Indies. It was also evident, that a very numerous and powerful black army would be retained for the emergencies of the state. An army of Europeans would not be able to encounter the dangers and difficulties incident to such a station as St. Domingo. The consequence would be, that necessity would oblige us to keep up a military establishment able to cope with that of France or Toussaint. As to the resources of this country, they were certainly capable of answering every emergency of the state, even on the renewal of a war equally bloody with that which had now terminated. But our establishments ought to be in

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proportion to our resources, as we could not perhaps render our resources, immense as they were, adequate to prodigal establishments. Cavilling at the terms of peace, and intimating a desire for the renewal of hostilities, reminded him of the foolish but whimsical conduct of an Irishman, as represented in one of our comedies: Pat, resolving on a quarrel, said to an Englishman, "Why do you contradict me?" —"I do not contradict you, friend. I have "not uttered a word. I am only thinking, "not speaking."—"Yes, but, although you "have not uttered a syllable, you may think "of a contradiction—a contradiction is a dif-"ference—and a difference with me, you must "know, is a downright quarrel!" Thus of the French government: if they dare think differently—notwithstanding their silence—we must, according to the desperate doctrine of certain men, proceed immediately to a downright quarrel, and thus renew the dreadful calamities of war. He sincerely deprecated such rash measures; and recommended that we should embrace every opportunity of cultivating a permanent peace with France.

Lord Auckland said, it had been his intention to take up a considerable share of the attention of the House, as there were some points which he thought it material to have very fully explained: but their Lordships had already heard so much upon the general subject of discussion, that he should now confine himself more than he intended. He should more particularly touch upon the most extraordinary doctrine which had been advanced upon this occasion, that the non-renewal of former treaties affected the rights of this country, and more particularly in India. The position was unquestionably in direct opposition to the law of nations, and to every established principle of common justice. The right of sovereignty of this country in India was touched, indeed, by the loose and improvident wording of the 13th article of the treaty of 1783, in consequence of which the French attempted to make innovations in our settlements in that country. This was resisted by our Government; and Colonel Cathcart, an officer of distinguished merit, and who, had he been spared, would have proved an honour to his country, was sent to make an arrangement with the French government. A convention was entered into by these two persons, but so obnoxious at home, from our right of sovereignty not being properly recognised, that he (Lord Auckland), who was then residing in a diplomatic capacity at Paris, had positive instructions from our Ministers here to disavow it *in toto*. A negotiation was then begun upon this important subject, which lasted for near a twelvemonth; when he, by directions from home, wrote a letter to the French minister, an extract from which he would read, couched in pretty strong terms of peremptory assertion with respect to the exclusive right of sovereignty, which produced the signature of the treaty of 1787, in less than three weeks from its date. [*His Lordship here read the extract.*] Though that treaty was not renewed, his Lordship contended, that the principle had been sufficiently acknowledged and acted upon by France, to establish the unquestioned right of sovereignty of this country in the Indian seas, and in the provinces conquered by the British arms. With respect to commercial treaties, he said it was perfectly competent to this country and France to enter into such treaties; but that which he had the honour to be concerned in negotiating was only as a treaty of experiment, and as such was to last only for six years; so that it had expired before the commencement of the late war. His Lordship said, he would not take up their Lordships' time by entering into the other subjects of debate, which had already been answered by some of his Noble Friends.

The Earl of Carnarvon.—"If it were possible for Parliament to remain silent, after the communication of the definitive treaty, without an implied approbation and admission that it was adequate to the just expectations of the country, and consistent with the honour and dignity of the national character, I might have been glad that public discussion could have been avoided in the perilous state in which this ill-omened peace has placed us; but the very dangers with which we are threatened, and the peculiar circumstances of this peace, make it the duty of Parliament not to shrink from the investigation of our alarming position under the operation of the definitive treaty, to which the public faith has been pledged by the King's Ministers, but to examine and point out the errors committed, and the future dangers to which those errors must expose us, and in some such terms as the Noble Lord has suggested, keep awake the watchful eye of jealousy to secure all that is not yet surrendered to France, though exposed to her ambition and her talents for cavil: nothing in the situation of the two countries had prepared us for terms so disgraceful and humiliating. With all respect for the private virtues of those who compose the present Administration, I could not look with confidence, or trust to their experience or abilities for security amidst the difficulties which surrounded us; the country at large felt more astonishment than confidence when, on their accession to power, they desired not to be judged incapable of the arduous task they had undertaken till they had been tried: they seemed to think it of trivial importance to the public whether the state vessel, exposed to the most turbulent and dangerous sea with which it has ever been assailed, should be intrusted to known and approved abilities, or to persons who had never arrested the attention of the public, till they were placed where their errors might be the country's ruin; and as if inexperience was

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essential to the good management of public interests, they pressed to their aid a Noble Lord, beloved by all men for his private virtues, but one whom flattery would not venture to qualify with the character of an able and experienced negotiator. Thus seconded, they undertook the conduct and management of the most intricate and involved interests, and opposed their private virtues and unpractised abilities to the crafty experience of men, who, for nine long years of duplicity and chicanery, had successfully practised on the hopes, fears, and credulity of the whole world, till by force and cunning, unrestrained by any moral virtue, they had raised their country to that formidable eminence from which they impressed with terror and mistrust every nation with whom they had any political relations. Under such unequal negotiators some disadvantages might naturally be expected, though the two nations were placed by the war in situations of no great disparity, though the respective countries felt equally the oppressions and burdens of the war, and looked with equal ardour to the blessings of peace. The preliminaries, however, of peace, or rather catalogue of uncompensated advantages to France and her allies, at the expense of Great Britain and her allies, staggered the most desponding advocates of peace: but the earnest wish for the return of its blessings, for the revival of all the relations of amity, and the peaceful renewal of friendly and commercial intercourse, and the extinction of all the horrors of war, overweighed all other considerations; and the preliminary articles, approved by nobody, gave a species of joy to all classes, not without hopes, and, indeed, assurances that some articles respecting our allies, affecting our national honour, would be altered: but the definitive treaty has destroyed all those hopes, for it has only heaped concession upon concession, and added disgrace to our disgrace, and invented and practised a mean to remove all security for those rights which remain unconceded; and with the security of those rights, they have removed even the hopes of stability from that peace which they have purchased by such large concessions. They have wilfully deviated, or (which I rather suspect to have been the case) submitted to a deviation from the uniform practice and caution of their predecessors, by not renewing all former treaties applicable to the present state of Europe; for it is no answer to say, as my Noble Friend (Lord Auckland) has just observed, that many treaties, formerly renewed, bear no relation to existing circumstances. By the omission to renew any former treaty, Ministers have, as far as in them lay, unadjusted all former adjusted disputes, at least they have left us to the honour and justice of France, without the customary acknowledgment of our right or pledge that she would not dispute them hereafter; they have thrown such mystery over this part of their conduct, and have defended themselves so doubtfully on this subject, that it is difficult to understand whether they avow this omission as an advantage which they have ingeniously obtained over France without discussion, or whether, having sought to renew all applicable treaties, they have been refused by France. The country have a right to know, and I call upon them in fairness to declare, on what footing this omission stands; for whatever may be my opinion on the first supposition, it must follow from the last, that the refusal to renew them is a distinct abrogation of all treaties, a distinct reservation of all old disputes, and a distinct repeal of all former adjustments: on the former supposition I shall say a few words, as I differ in some measure with my Noble Relation, though I concur with him in his inference. It has been nearly admitted by Ministers, that former treaties (by the omission of renewal) are abrogated. My Noble Relation seems to think we have lost (though not all our rights) at least our title-deeds, and specifically affirms the loss of the gum trade. I am far from thinking any of these events to have arisen simply by the tacit omission of the renewal. War does not abrogate any right, or interfere with any right (though it does with the exercise), but such as it professes to litigate by the war: it suspends, it is true, all relations of amity and commerce, all amicable intercourse; but nothing seems so obvious to common sense, as that peace has the same effect upon war as war on the preceding peace, namely, that it removes all its operations. War oppresses all the relations of peace. Peace, by removing the effects of war, removes that pressure; the oppressed energies of peace revive; the subject whose litigation made the war, must be adjusted by the peace which terminates the war, or it would be still an object of possible dispute; but no reason can be shewn why formerly adjusted disputes should be readjusted; they may be so certainly, at the will of the parties, but not necessarily. All the writers on the law of nations distinctly affirm, that peace has relation only to the war preceding, leaving all former relative situations of the two countries as before the war; and that former treaties, though not renewed expressly, remain in full effect, if not expressly abrogated in the treaty, or by private consent and acknowledgment. The uniform practice of renewing treaties, indeed, makes some little deduction from the force of this doctrine, and leaves no excuse for Ministers who have neglected it, when they might have obtained it: if it had been refused by France, the advantages of peace and its stability stand upon a different footing from that which has been made known to Parliament. We may have rights founded on the best title, supported by the best arguments; but we have no undisputed rights, all former disputes being let loose. The stability of peace depends upon acknowledged and undisputed rights, more than upon good and suffi-

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cient title. The Noble Secretary of State, who certainly did not answer any of the objections so ably detailed by my Noble Relation, for want of argument supposes (what not a syllable which fell from the Noble Mover justified), that he had argued against any peace whatever. He certainly considered the peace as inadequate to our fair expectations, but that we were pledged to its observance: he did, and I concur with him, state, that the definitive treaty was rather the preliminary articles of war, than a confirmation of peace; that we were exposed to many disputes by not renewing the treaties which had adjusted them; and the stability of peace, so dearly purchased, was thereby destroyed. With respect to the loss of right to the gum trade, by the simple omission of the treaty that relates to it, I wish to say a few words: if I am right, that peace, by removing the effects of the pressure of war (except as far as conquest has altered possession), restores all other rights to their state as before the war, in which doctrine I stand sanctioned by the writers on the law of nations, the case of the gum trade will stand thus: by the treaty of 1783 Great Britain ceded to France in full right the river Senegal and its dependencies, with certain forts, on condition that the English shall have the liberty of carrying on a trade for gum from the mouth of the river St. John to the bay of Fort Portendic; for it is impossible not to consider a right reserved in the very treaty that cedes the subject which supplies that right, as a condition of the cession, and inseparably involved in the cession. We conquered the possessions thus conditionally ceded in the course of this war. By the treaty of peace now under discussion, we cede all the conquests of this war. We did not conquer that which we enjoyed by reservation from our former grant; we did not therefore cede that which we had so reserved. This is, however, a matter of opinion, and both the conduct and argument of Ministers leave it a matter of possible dispute: they therefore have made a peace, with the reservation of a subject of quarrel in this instance; indeed it is a peace productive of no symptoms or relations of friendship and amity; it has terminated the war, in order that France may have leisure to take possession of the cessions made to her; but lest any friendly intercourse should appear intended on her part, she has shut up her ports against us. In the East Indies, my Noble Friend (Lord Auckland) has proved by his private notes, that he asserted our sovereignty: the treaties of 1783 and 1787, containing no such word, seem to prove that it was ineffectually asserted by him; and it appears by both those treaties, that we ceded the independent trade over all our possessions, which by force of the term can be dependant on nothing, not even on the treaty which stipulates such grant: the treaty becomes only an evidence of the independent right; but the limitations respecting salt, &c. in the treaty of 1787, are merely conventional, and fall with the treaties, should they be abrogated. If difference of opinion should exist on this subject, it will be at least a proof that Ministers have left points of great importance unsettled, which may, and probably will be disputed, if not now adjusted. I therefore agree with the Noble Lord who made this motion, that it is necessary to our situation, that it is a necessity produced by the conduct of Ministers, who have pledged the country to the maintenance of this peace, even under all its circumstances: I agree with him, that the King's prerogative to make war and peace is indisputable, and I acknowledge that the King has an indisputable right to choose his Ministers and his counsellors; but I do not agree with my Noble Relation, not to mean censure on those Ministers whose conduct we both disapprove: the power which appointed them cannot give them experience and ability to manage the complicated affairs and interests of a great nation. Good intentions and private virtues are not excuses for rashness in undertakings, and errors in the management of interests, on which the peace, commerce, and future importance of this country, depend."

The EARL of WESTMORLAND said, the arguments of the Noble Lord who spoke last had a tendency to make the people dissatisfied with the peace; he however gave him credit for having brought them forward with the purest motives. He nevertheless could not avoid thinking, that if there was a necessity for using such language, there was a time more suitable than the present. He declined saying any thing concerning the preliminary treaty; but he should confine himself to the articles of the definitive. The Noble Lord must not be surprised to hear some of his own arguments repeated, arguments which he appeared in some degree to have forgotten. The change of sentiment that he had sometimes seen in that House reminded him of an extraordinary metamorphosis, related, as he believed, by Swift. In a certain country the men and women changed sexes; among other strange effects of this transformation, the maids of honour became officers of the guards, and the officers of the guards became maids of honour. It was, however, remarked, that among the new maids of honour, those who had been the most profligate became the most reserved; and that among the virgins, now become military beaux, those who had been formerly the most modest became the most dissipated of the corps. He made no application, but

"Mutato sole,
"—non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

His Lordship defended the whole of the definitive treaty; and said, there were very strong reasons why the commercial treaties with France and the other powers ought not to be renewed. When former treaties had been re-

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wed, great doubts existed as to the propriety doing so. But he would ask, if it would wise to refuse treating with Holland and in through the medium of France? The aty of 1787 had been made merely to cor- t the inadvertency of 1783. If it was said t we had gained nothing by the late war, would desire Noble Lords to look at the erent states of Europe, to see what they lost, and how little we had lost in com- ison. We had fortunately a great and able tesman at the head of our affairs; and if ry other power engaged in the war had had h Ministers, we should not now have to ret the desolation of the greater part of ope. Great stress had been laid upon the ointment of Buonaparté to the presidency the Italian republic; but he would ask, if nce had gained a single inch of territory in y by that act? Certainly not: her power e could not be increased. As to the isle Elba, he would ask, where was the differ- e, whether it belonged to France, or to King of Etruria? So far from thinking the occupation of Louisiana by the French ld be dangerous to the American States, it ld only serve to awaken their jealousy inst a power which would never be able to ck them in that quarter with any success; he trusted, that in any future contests be- en us and France, we should find these es to be most friendly and watchful allies. ne of those things complained of had made an alteration in the affairs of France as ld justify Ministers in breaking off the ty and renewing the war. There was one on predominating over every other, which le it necessary for Ministers to conclude a ce—that was the general wish of the peo- ; for though he would not have Ministers guided by speeches pronounced in Guild- or Palace Yard, they were bound to regu- their conduct by the sentiments of the ple at large. The Noble Earl then drew mparison between the state of France and at Britain; the former was distracted by ties, the existence of its present government ended on the life of one man, and the coun- was not in a condition to restore either its mmerce or its navy. How different was the e of Great Britain, whose commerce and lth gave her strength, and enabled her to forth at any time all the energies of the ple, who now enjoyed a state of unex- pled tranquillity.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH, after noticing that s was the first time of his offering himself to House, said, he obtruded himself with at diffidence upon their Lordships' notice, w as he was to them; but he felt an irre- ible impulse of duty to express his gratitude an individual to those Ministers who had en the means of *raising the honour of the ntry*, and procuring it *at the same time the ssings of peace*. He was desirous likewise of refuting the opinion, that the renewal of old treaties was of any use to this country. Those treaties, indeed, were no more *than waste paper*, since they no longer applied to the actual situation and circumstances of the world; and if they had been renewed, it would have been absolutely necessary to have excepted, by specific regulations, every article in them, as they would either have been nugatory or injurious. He had read those treaties with considerable attention—they were out of the usual course of his industry; but he preferred the general and acknowledged principles of the law of nations, as less liable to misconstruction and abstract reasoning. But the Noble Lord who had brought forward this discussion, with such severe terms of reprobation of the definitive treaty, had forgot that he was not always the strenuous advocate for the renewal of treaties; for it would be found from the instructions to our negotiator at Lisle, in the drawing up of which his Lordship, he should suppose, must have had no inconsiderable share, and a copy of which was actually upon their Lordships' table, that in that negotiation there was a particular injunction against the renewal of certain stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht. Our sovereignty in India, upon the violation of which by the non-renewal of treaties so much stress had been laid, his Lordship said, he thanked God, depended upon surer and stronger ties than all the treaties that ever were made could give: it depended upon the right of conquest in a legitimate war, a war of defence, upon the public and repeated recognition of all the powers of Europe connected with commerce, and upon the established right of possession, the best right of all. Our sovereignty in India was now upwards of forty years in duration, and was older than any existing government in India. It could not be strengthened by all the treaties that could be devised; and the power that could meditate to dispute that title must be so divested of all justice and moderation, that she would not be bound by any treaties that could be devised or entered into. His Lordship next adverted to Malta, and insisted that the arrangement with respect to that island *was wise and prudent in the highest degree*. He contended, that the Order was not in such a state of poverty as the Noble Lord had represented it. The Cape of Good Hope, the cession of which was so much deplored, *he thought we were well rid of*. He would tell the Noble Lord, that *the expense of that post would have been so great, that the country would very soon have had reason to complain of its retention*. He would tell him, that we could not send a chaldron of coals thither without the expense of 26*l.* 10*s.*; and it was a well-known fact, that at the time the Dutch were sending home, during our scarcity, a small supply of grain to this country, the government there was obliged to send ships to India, to get rice and other provisions; and an urgent request came home

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for a supply of biscuit, not for the troops only, but even for the Dutch themselves. It had been urged by the Noble Lord, that, deprived of the Cape, our fleets must be employed in convoying our trade and our troops to India; but can it be forgotten, that in the war before the last we had France, Spain, and Holland against us, with a fleet more equal in power than what they now can boast of? With respect to the *idle compliment of the Dutch striking their flag to us*, he thought there was not much magnanimity in enforcing that from the weaker power, which we did not require from the stronger. Of Portugal much had been said; but he believed that that country was truly thankful for what we had done for it in the definitive arrangement for peace. He then entered into a strain of panegyric on the present Ministers, who had accepted their situation under circumstances of peculiar gloom and depression, from causes both domestic and external; and concluded by saying, that they had his most humble and sincere thanks for *their spirit* and their moderation, *their wisdom* and *their firmness*, by which they had *rescued the country from its dangers and difficulties*, INCREASED ITS GLORY, and procured *the blessings of peace*.

EARL DARNLEY said he had cheerfully given his vote for the preliminaries; but he could not give it for the definitive treaty, on account of its variations from the preliminaries. His Lordship seemed to think that Malta should not have been given up, without receiving St. Domingo or some other equivalent for it.

The EARL of ROSSLYN answered Lord Ellenborough as to what he had said, rather contemptuously, of our having omitted to insist on the Dutch lowering their colours to the British flag; and shewed that it was not trivial or ludicrous, but a matter of great and serious importance. He said, our right to the sovereignty of the seas originated so long since as the beginning of the 16th century; that in the time of James the First, the learned Grotius wrote an able book against our right to maintain it, and that the no less learned Selden gave it a full and complete answer. He lamented that for the first time in his life he must give his vote against the wishes of his Noble Friend (Lord Grenville); but there were words in this address, moved by his Noble Friend, which he could not vote for.

The LORD CHANCELLOR left the woolsack, and declared, that he had, during the greater part of his life, lived in habits of the most familiar intimacy with his Noble and Learned Brother (Ellenborough); but that the influence of private friendship had no concern with a question of national consequence. He thought his Learned Brother spoke too lightly of the ambiguity of treaties, which he feared might be attributed to their joint legal professions. His Lordship coincided with a Noble Duke (Norfolk), that *appearing to distrust the faith of the French was making peace with a drawn sword in our hands*; but at the same time he was anxious that the country should be kept in such a state of defence as might ensure our safety, without needlessly exciting the jealousy of our neighbours. His Lordship contended, that in every point of view it was not only fair but honourable both to ourselves and our allies. In our foreign possessions we were, he said, placed in a better situation without the recapitulation of any former treaties, than we should have been by enumerating and referring to them. In India the treaty of 1787 had given to France the privilege of a free trade: this was done in consequence of particular advantages granted in return; but, now that those advantages had ceased, who would deny that we were better situated with the acknowledged sovereignty of the East, unencumbered with any privileges granted to France? With respect to Honduras, our situation was likewise improved. Either Spain must allow us the right of cutting logwood, or the country is ours by the right of conquest. Towards our allies our conduct had been just, and highly honourable to ourselves. The Porte was restored to the state she held before the war. It was partly in justice to our faithful ally, and partly to preserve our own territories, that the expedition to Egypt was undertaken. In consequence of this, Portugal was left to herself, and, under the influence of duress and terror, formed the treaty of Badajos. We, by the peace, had guarantied the integrity of Portugal; but it must be observed, that her integrity as before the war was not mentioned, and the treaty could therefore only relate to her integrity as acknowledged by that treaty. For the House of Nassau we had done every thing that honour could suggest. It was true, no specific sum had been granted, nor the spot where the indemnification was to take place been pointed out; but four powers had guarantied the indemnification, and the security was surely better than if it had been guarantied by France only. It had been urged, that a separate article was signed between the French and Dutch ministers at the moment of signing the definitive treaty; but that was no concern of ours, nor any way altered the nature of the indemnity. On comparing the state of France with this country, his Lordship passed the highest encomiums on the late Ministers, who had raised Britain to such a pitch of glory. He likewise frequently panegyrized a Noble Lord (Nelson) who sat near him; and, above all, united the praises of Mr. Pitt and his Lordship for the glorious action of Copenhagen, which completely established the British right to search neutral vessels. His Lordship said, that the right of the flag was not surrendered by this treaty; it had, indeed, never been exacted, except from the Dutch, and they had complied with it ever since the year 1515. In

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no treaty with France or Spain had it ever been mentioned, nor in fact in any with Holland, but rested upon the tacit acquiescence of that country as an old and established custom. He then concluded with defending the provisions of the treaty, as far as regarded the expenses of the prisoners of war, and the losses experienced by those who deposited property in the French funds.

Earl Camden assigned his reasons for not finding himself able to vote with his Noble Friend (Lord Grenville) for his address, although he thought highly of the greater part of it; but, as those parts which he approved could be contained in the proposed amendment of the Noble Secretary of State, and the objectionable passages omitted, he should vote for the amendment; especially as he thought the address having been known to have been amended by the Secretary of State, would have a better effect, and make a more favourable impression abroad, than if it came from any Noble Lord who objected to the peace. He nevertheless declared that he did not approve of the preliminaries, and still less of the definitive treaty; but the treaty being concluded, he thought it proper to support it.

The Duke of Richmond warmly commended the speech of the Noble Lord who opened the debate (Lord Grenville), but he did not approve of the conduct of the war in all its parts. He thought the public money had been lavishly squandered in running after every petty German prince to beg him to take some of our cash; not but he approved of subsidies, when wisely applied, and when their troops were to act under our command. In our state of maritime superiority, he saw no reason of necessity for making peace, as we might have conducted the war single-handed with more advantage than we could now revive it if the French should persist in their system of aggrandizement.

Lord Hobart, in a short speech, by an explanation of two or three facts, answered several of the strongest objections stated by Lord Grenville. He particularly contended, that the Noble Lord had spoken inconsiderately when he stated that the possession of the command of the river Arawari by the French would endanger British ships in their attempts to enter Rio Janeiro, by shewing that the course of the river Arawari ran a different way towards Paita, and Rio Janeiro lay many degrees lower than the river Amazon.

Earl Spencer rose to make a single observation, in answer to a part of Lord Hobart's argument; and declared, that he had intended to speak to many particulars stated and reasoned upon by those Noble Lords who had endeavoured to answer his Noble Friend's objection; but the late hour rendered it too inconvenient to the House and himself for him to attempt it.

Lord Grenville also prefaced his explanation, by saying, that he did not at that late hour (seven in the morning) rise to reply, though he should have been extremely glad to have done so, to many curious arguments that had been opposed to his objections in the course of the debate; but he was too much exhausted, and he conceived their Lordships were so likewise; he would therefore only say one word in explanation of a gross misrepresentation of the Noble Secretary for the war department (Lord Hobart). He had not mentioned Rio Janeiro, because he well knew where it lay; but had said that the French possession of that part of Guiana bounded by the river Arawari, would, during a war, enable them to oblige the Portuguese to shut British ships out from the Brazils, where it was sometimes useful for our ships for India to call, water, and obtain provisions; and then we could put in no where nearer than Madagascar, where we should find but poor accommodation.

Lord Pelham's motion was then put, and carried without a division *.

List of the Minority.

Duke of Richmond	Earls Mansfield
Marq. of Buckingham	—— Warwick
Earls Spencer	—— Carnarvon
—— Carysfort	Lords Minto
—— Carlisle	—— Darlington
—— Fitzwilliam	—— Grenville
—— Radnor	—— Cawdor, &
—— Fortescue	—— Kenyon.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 13TH, 1802.

The order of the day for taking into consideration the definitive treaty, being read,

Mr. Windham rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—"Upon a subject which has already received a good deal of discussion, in several important points of detail, I hope I shall not be under the necessity of troubling the House with any argument of great length. If, however, I am relieved from such necessity, I owe it to that mode of proceeding to which some have objected as irregular. The best proof of the propriety of the conduct of those who brought various points of the definitive treaty separately before the House, will be the manner of our now coming to the general examination. Who can deny that every man who has attended those discussions must find himself better prepared, better informed, more competent to form a fair and accurate judgment

* For this amendment, see Register, vol. i. p. 587.—For the list of the minority on Lord Grenville's motion, see vol. i. p. 583.

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on the whole subject by the separate explanations, and the additional lights which have been derived from the preliminary debates? By having investigated the points in detail, we are qualified to pronounce a decision upon the whole case. Much ground has been cleared, many questions have been answered, many difficulties have been elucidated, which must otherwise have perplexed the consideration of a subject, in itself so full of matter, and so little susceptible of being reduced into a short compass. Assisted by those previous inquiries, we are enabled the better to shape the argument to such parts of so complicated a subject as are the most deserving our consideration.—I therefore proceed to take a view of the leading points of the definitive treaty. The order is different, and I begin with Malta. After the discussions that we have already had regarding the situation in which our interests in that island are left by the treaty, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the advantages which the French have gained by the stipulation of neutrality. It is clear, that, including the force of their allies, Spain and Holland, they may have eighteen ships of the line in its neutral port, while we have no more than six. But these points of detail are of inferior importance. The whole disposition of the island of Malta renders the stipulation of neutrality fictitious. The garrison must in fact be French. It is in vain to talk of the mummery that there shall not be this *langue* or the other *langue*. The whole is French. If any man denies this to be the case, I shall be very happy to see his opinions and his reasons recorded, that they may be compared with the future result. So far from having restored the Order of Malta, we have, by the arrangements of this treaty, made war upon it in the very spirit of French principles. This little Order, which contained in itself the great characteristics and distinctive qualities of that which the French revolution served to destroy, we have now concurred to overthrow. The little phial which contained the essence of the old principles, Ministers have diluted, and not even with common water, but with water taken from the puddle. In this degradation, how can its ancient spirit be kept up? Nay, it is already understood, that the German knights refuse to serve in a body so degraded and fallen off from its original and peculiar character. As to the notion that Neapolitan troops can form any security for the independence of the island of Malta, who does not see that the idea is wholly ridiculous? The proceeding is a perfect syllogism. If Malta is put into the hands of Naples, and Naples is in the hands of France; Malta, to be sure, is in the hands of France. In truth, the case of Malta is a virtual and total surrender, with a ridicule in the manner, infinitely disgraceful to the reputation of our national counsels. Far better would it have been to have made an absolute cession of it, and thus have acquired a claim to compensation and equivalent, than to have formed a vain and futile pretence to establish its neutrality and independence. At present our footing and interest in the Mediterranean, which used to be reckoned of so much importance, are utterly abandoned. In this and in various other points there is a marked variation between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, to the disadvantage of this country.—The Cape of Good Hope is given up in full sovereignty to the Dutch; so that the latter may, whenever they please, surrender it to the French. The question of its being made a free port is left entirely at the option of France; and with such an arbitrator we can only expect that it will be made a free port, if that mode of keeping it were to be less favourable to England than any other. But it is said, that the Cape is but a tavern. Be it so. A tavern that can furnish refreshments to armies and navies in the midst of a voyage of five or six months, is not an object of trifling consideration. Nay, without it, how can troops be sent out for the protection of your Eastern empire? Without the refreshment of that tavern, troops must arrive in India in such a state as to be unfit for service for weeks, and months possibly, after their landing, and that too on an emergency when their immediate services may be required. The only other place of stopping at is the Brazils; and how can we calculate that in time of war we should continue that facility? Our Indian empire then being our sheet anchor, every thing accessory to its preservation and defence is of the utmost importance. While we lose any advantages from the Cape, see what France gains! what she gains likewise by the restitution of Cochin to the Dutch, and the additional means of annoying our possessions, which her coalition with the Dutch must afford.—The command of the Cape and Cochin gives her the means of preparing an armament and landing it in India, before we shall have conceived in this country the least suspicion of any such design.—With respect to the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana, it appears to me, that even with the benefit of all the previous consideration, this subject, which could not before have been understood at all, is now understood but very imperfectly. Ministers seem to have been themselves completely puzzled in the transaction. It is not wonderful, therefore, that they should not be either very able or very willing to explain the particulars of it to us. The Arawari is at last agreed to be the limit; contrary to what was declared in the preliminaries, which said, that the dominions of her Most Faithful Majesty were to be restored to their integrity. The French, as appeared in the mean time, had made a most curious attempt to change the meaning of these words, by signing a treaty with the Portuguese, at Madrid, two days only before the signature of our preliminaries, and then contending that the terms *integrity of her Most Faithful Majesty's dominions* were to

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be understood with reference to the boundary settled in that treaty. This, as is evident, was a most gross and scandalous fraud, and as such was spoken of in this House; a fraud by the French on the Ministers, if the Ministers were unacquainted with the fact; a fraud by the Ministers on the country, if they could be supposed to have known the fact, and not to have mentioned it to the House. But this fraud, it seems, is not to be insisted upon. It is too bad for even the French negotiators to contend for. And therefore you suppose that the words in the preliminaries are to stand according to their original and natural meaning. But not at all. Though the French do not insist upon their fraud being carried directly and regularly into execution, they do insist upon receiving a compensation for it. And here it is that we hear for the first time of the Arawari; a boundary never thought of, as far as I have ever heard, but in the treaty of Badajos (with which this country had nothing to do, and which does not even appear to have been finally executed); and never mentioned in this House but in an answer of the Noble Lord's (Hawkesbury) to a question put to him by an individual Member. This Arawari is now taken, upon the result of a negotiation, as the compromise between the boundary understood to exist at the time of the preliminary treaty, and the boundary attempted to be imposed by the fraudulent treaty of Madrid. The first question is, why any compromise at all? Why are the French to be allowed to sell their frauds? But the next question is, at what price have they sold them? I maintain that they have gained by this pretended sacrifice all that the original attempt was calculated to procure for them: that by the possession of the Arawari, they are in possession, in effect, of the mouth of the Amazons; which is all they ever wanted. The Hon. Gentlemen (his Majesty's Ministers) were so lost in these wilds, had so confounded themselves between those different streams, between the ..... and the Arawari, the north branch, and the south branch, the Catapapatuba, and the Vincent Pinson, that having met with a civil Gentleman here, who was so good as to offer his assistance, fairly put themselves into his hands, and were led about by him, not knowing in the least where they were going, till, in the end, he brought them back precisely to the point from which they set out, that is to say, the mouth of the river Amazon. The question is one that must ultimately be ascertained by maps; and on their authority I rest the assertion, that the Portuguese have not acquired that security which it was their object to procure.—When I look also at the cession of Louisiana to France, a point acquiesced in by the definitive treatry, it is of a magnitude that I am at a loss to describe in adequate terms. Taking the indefinite extent of Guiana, and the cession of Louisiana, we may be said to give away a fourth part of the globe. We have given the command of the two greatest rivers in the world—the Mississippi in the North America, and the river of Amazons in the South. Rivers are the vital parts of countries: we may be said, therefore, without hyperbole, to have made a present to France of a brace of continents.—Never was there such a lavish, prodigal, thoughtless spirit of cession! Ministers have really scattered pearls like barleycorns; and I am amazed to see with what coldness and indifference the country has viewed transactions of such importance, by which so many of the most valuable interests have been lavished upon their rivals, and in which so many stipulations are contained pregnant with danger and pain to themselves. —In addition to these considerations with regard to foreign objects, the whole continent of Europe is abandoned to France. I should think, indeed, that instead of our being called upon to shew the danger of such a state of things, those who have acquiesced in so monstrous an innovation, are bound to shew that it can be otherwise than dangerous. While they are letting in tides which are spreading so furiously in every direction, it is their business to shew us what they will *not* inundate, what they will spare. We follow this torrent, threatening our rights in many different tracks. We see it endangering us at Honduras, we see it menacing to shake and unsettle in India the dearest part of our foreign empire. But this matter will require more particular discussion, and I am glad that it has already been the subject of debate. That the definitive treaty has not settled our rights in such a manner as to preclude all doubts, I perceive from the fact admitted last night by my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Dundas), a person conversant beyond any other in the affairs of India, who confesses that in the first instance he was alarmed, lest, by the non-renewal of treaties, particularly the convention of 1787, some danger to our Indian dominions might arise. That any uncertainty was ever felt by him, is at least a proof of the fact that uncertainty may exist. We contended, that by the abrogation of the convention of 1787, founded upon and referring to the treaties of 1783 and 1763, something was taken away, which had formerly quieted the claims of France, and secured the rights of this country. But it was said, that at the same time we were freed from the treaties which laid the foundation of those claims, and that it was better to get rid of the disease and of the remedy: and, doubtless, it is possible that a constitution may be improved by such an operation. This argument was at least to the point, whether it was conclusive or not. With regard to the arguments to prove the clearness of our Indian rights, they seemed rather less in point. We were told in lofty and magnificent phrases of the justice of our cause. But who had said that our cause was not good, that our rights were not clear? We have to contend with an adversary

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who may not choose to appeal to the House of Commons. The argument was all thrown away, for it was *coram non judice*.—The question is, what will the enemy say, and how should you have acted to meet his objections? If disputes were to be settled by a man and his own attorney, the business of Westminster Hall would not be a little diminished; but unfortunately, when the matter is very amicably settled, the adversary comes and drags the suitor into court. So, to discuss the justice of the cause here, when nobody disputes it, seems to be a waste of very excellent argument. The Hon. Gentleman, like another Ajax, is dealing his blows without mercy among us poor cattle, taking us for so many Trojans, instead of reserving his might for foes who I can assure him will furnish full employment for it, were its amount greater even than it is. We all know, that previous not only to the convention of 1787, but to 1783, claims respecting Indian trade and territory had been set up by the French. What reason have we to think that the present government of France will drop any pretensions hostile to this country which former governments had advanced? In 1783, as well as I am afraid will appear to have been the case in 1802, points were left unsettled, and new explanations became necessary. The convention of 1787 was more favourable to us, because concluded in a moment when England could negotiate with greater effect, and it gave us the most satisfactory security. The French abandoned the means of enforcing all claims of a kind that could be proved injurious to us. But why were these means now restored? on the contrary, why were not new means taken to prevent the possibility of claims by which our empire in the East may be disturbed? What has been doing for the last seven months? Our rights, whether of conquest or treaty (as so ably distinguished and demonstrated last night), are unquestionable; but is there not reason to apprehend a renewal of former cavils? From some parts of the speech of my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Dundas), I should have been led to think that he had been napping, and on his awaking had imagined that we were still at open war. He talked of drawing the sword against any power that should dispute our rights, and exultingly dwelt upon our strength in India. This was not perhaps exactly the moment when we could say, Here we stand upon our sovereignty, touch us who dare. It is very true, our strength in India may defy all attack; but does he not know, that, though the dispute is in India, the battle may be fought in Europe? Like an action at law, the right may lie in Cumberland, and the issue be tried in Westminster Hall. The French may think us strong in India and weak in Europe. We have seen already how, by a close squeeze in Europe, they have made us vomit up all that we had gorged elsewhere.—With regard to the sincerity and faith of France, let us look to some of the specimens of it as displayed in other countries. The Grand Duke was driven out of Tuscany, for the purpose of substituting in his room a figure under the name of a king. They move their duke to the other end of the board, and fill the square with a king. Still the territory, it was supposed, would remain the same: so thought Austria; so thought Great Britain. But not so. The change of government was meant only as an expedient for a change to be effected in the territory. A Prince of the House of Spain, placed in the sovereignty solely by their appointment, must do whatever they bid him; and what they direct him to do, is to make over to them in perpetuity Elba with its port and fortress. And thus by a happy *transformation*, equal to any that could be practised by the most skilful algebraist, these possessions are *exterminated* from the Dutchy of Tuscany, now become the kingdom of Etruria, and vested for ever in the hands of the French. That they may not, however, appear to deal hardly with their new friend, that they may not levy too heavy a fine upon him on his admission, may not take too large *garnish* on his entrance into their spunging-house; they devise a way for making him some amends. Porto Ferrajo, they say, and Elba, we must have. They are absolutely necessary for our purposes against England, But you shall not be altogether a loser. As we have a running account with Naples, after taking Elba from you, we will give you a draft upon Naples for Piombino. This is at once an example, as far as a single instance goes, of the benefit of the treaty, and a specimen of the character and mode of proceeding of those on whose good faith we shall have in future to depend. When we cast our eyes upon the map of Europe, and survey the growth of France, the prospect is so immense, as not to admit of a summary. The subject at length would be nothing less than the history of the war, and the history of the French revolution. To know what France can and will do, we ought to know what she has done and has willed; and this should be compared with what is likely to be done by Great Britain. As an instance of what France can do, now that it is distinctly a body of new Romans meditating the conquest of the world, let us recollect that France has effected in ten years, what Polybius mentions with wonder, as having been accomplished by Rome in little more than half a century. Their achievements have far outstripped those of their predecessors, who might exclaim in the same plaintive strain as Hosier's Ghost, in our popular ballad,

> For resistance I could fear none,
> But with twenty ships had done
> What thou, brave and happy Vernon,
> Hast achiev'd with six alone.

The French have taken the Romans for their model, and affect to imitate them in every thing. Independent of their territories, the map of Europe is but small, and only two

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great powers are left standing. Russia is powerful, but at a great distance from them; Austria alone remains strong, and perhaps not impaired, in territories; but so bereft of all external aid, so stripped of support, that in any new storm, the first heave of the sea must infallibly bring it by the board. In fact, there is no single continental power which can again dare to face France, without being instantly crushed by that enormous mace with which she is now armed. The French avow that they act upon the Roman model; they fairly acknowledge what they mean to be, and frankly tell us also what they mean us to be. —Some indeed admit that Europe is gone, and they say, Peace be with it! they think that, come what will, we may take to our boat and escape. That might have been said formerly; but the spectre of French power now pursues us in every direction. In Europe, in Asia, in America, it follows, continually scaring us with its threatening aspect. Look at the West Indies, and see France in possession by cession of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Domingo, since the preliminaries, by the permission of Ministers. It is pretended, indeed, that the recovery of the latter island from the Blacks was necessary to the security of our own colonies: such is the opinion of those who are interested in the West India islands; but is that authority conclusive? Allowing the fidelity and patriotism of these men to be unimpeached (as they certainly are), is it not possible that the regard for their property may induce them to form an opinion of the policy of our facilitating the recovery of St. Domingo, that may be inconsistent with the interest of the nation? For my part, I conceive that the power of the Blacks, confined to St. Domingo, and without the means of extending beyond it, was much less formidable to this country than the establishment of the power of France. Even though the emissaries or the example of the Blacks might have reached the other islands, still, though private property might have been endangered, the political interest of the state was less endangered. The West India proprietors might think, that, if the negroes obtained the ascendancy, their property would be ruined, while, if the islands fell under the power of France, though the value of their property might fall, it would not be entirely destroyed. This was a view of the case, however, which, politically speaking, would not lessen the injury to England. Indeed, with the possession of St. Domingo, with a port which almost commands our communications with our most important islands, it would become a most formidable neighbourhood to our colonial power, and in time of war would become a military station, from which we should be attacked, and a point which would give the enemy an opportunity to harass our trade. In fact, we have given up two continents to France. We have allowed her to be placed in a situation in which she will acquire such an influence over the American States, as at a future period may enable her to employ them with advantage against our most important interests.— Such being the means of France, what is her will? Those who expected that the peace would disarm France of her hostility, who thought that she would be contented to cultivate the advantages of commerce and manufactures without animosity towards England, must now see that she pursues more than ever the grand object of universal empire. At every period before the preliminaries, and since, she has expressed, without disguise, the spirit by which she is animated; she proceeds like a general changing his guards, sending out his parties, marking out his ground, and arranging his plan of operations. Every thing is conceived and conducted in the spirit of hostility; and after having succeeded in the war of swords, now terminated, she enters with the same disposition, and with the same hopes, upon the war of the custom-house.—What then are the means which Britain possesses, and how ought she to call them forth to ward off the dangers that assail us? In considering this, we must inquire what are the moral resources, taking that word a good deal in the French sense. What is the mind to call forth, and employ the physical means? In all animal life (states may be considered as living bodies, subject to the general laws of animated nature), it is observed, that the foresight of danger is generally accommodated to the force and means which are enjoyed to escape from that danger. It appears to me that this nation has been more defective in the foresight of danger than in the means of repelling it. From this defect a great part of the calamities of the country at this crisis have arisen. The nation has too much undervalued its danger, and its exertions have fallen short both of its means and of the occasion. At first, when the principles of the French revolution were at work, when other nations were actually in conflict with it, when the havock that it produced was seen in the example of others, it was said that all this would never reach us, that the *menstruum* might dissolve the base metals with which it came in contact, but would pass harmless over the pure gold of the British constitution. Men were not aware, that the character of the revolutionary principle was, to prey both on good and bad, nay, on the former in preference. It was not long before the pure gold of the British constitution was found as susceptible of the effects of Jacobinism, as the baser materials, which they were so fond of imputing to the composition of other governments. In the year 1792 all the establishments of this country began to fume and hiss, under the action of the new principles, like the veriest piece of copper under the touch of aquafortis. But nevertheless there seemed to be a strange and extraordinary indifference to the state of Europe and to the progress of the hostile principle. Snug was the word. People were for

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leaving other nations to shift for themselves; the high spirit and the politic maxims of our ancestors were forgotten. Even when other nations stood forward in the common cause of nations, in our defence as well as their own, there was no alacrity to participate in their exertions. The nation seemed not only to have no disposition to engage in the war, but to display a new and singular anxiety to avoid it. From this view of the state of Europe, from this estimate of the nature of the danger, arose the conduct of the war after it had become inevitable. Differences of opinion existed as to the mode of carrying it on. There were persons of great abilities and high situations with whom I had the misfortune to differ on these views of things. Agreeing in many points with them, co-operating with them in a public capacity in leading objects, and respecting their talents and their motives, I was obliged to differ from them on the grounds at which I have hinted. The war was to be viewed either as an ordinary contest between two nations, and carried on upon the usual principles of annoying and weakening your antagonist till he was brought to equitable sentiments; or we were to consider it as a new and extraordinary war, which should be carried on with a system suited to its portentous nature. Hence, therefore, it was to be carried on by attacking enemies' colonies, capturing their ships, &c. or it was to be carried on by aiming decisive blows at the seat or centre of the system from which the true principle of the war and danger proceeded. I do not mean to say that these different plans were exclusive. I only mean that the one more particularly arose out of the one view of the case, the other out of the other. Those who preferred attacking the centre of the evil did not think it wrong to aim at the advantages of the other, if the first failed; while those who directed their efforts to the colonies and marine of the enemy did not mean to say that the restoration of monarchy was not a desirable object. The whole question was, which was to be the leading and principal object, which the secondary and subordinate one. I shall not inquire which of these was the best. The one was tried, the other not; and whether that which was not tried would have succeeded, must remain a matter of judgment. I may add, however, that the plan which was not pursued was that most conformable to my own opinions. Except early in the war at Toulon, and afterwards in the melancholy affair of Quiberon, there was little or nothing attempted upon what I thought the peculiar principle of the war, and upon that plan of conduct appropriate to it. As to the Quiberon expedition, at a time when the clamour was loudest against it, a Right Hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Pitt), with great manliness and liberality, said in this House, that he took his full share of the responsibility. Yet, fully acknowledging the generosity of that conduct, I am ready to avow——"

Mr. PITT *(to order)*.—"I submit to the House, whether it be consistent with order for my Right Hon. Friend to go into an historical account of opinions respecting the conduct of the war, particularly as that inquiry is not connected with any subject immediately under the consideration of the House. I beg leave also to submit to my Right Hon. Friend, whether he can consider the obligations which were in force when he and others were his Majesty's confidential servants, as now dispensed with?"

Mr. WINDHAM.—"I do not think that the obligations to which my Right Hon. Friend alludes, can be understood as preventing me from giving that sort of explanation on which I was proceeding. I was going on to say, that I considered the expedition to Quiberon as a measure in which my Right Hon. Friend, and the majority of the cabinet, must necessarily have concurred, rather as a measure of my own, pressed by importunity——"

Mr. PITT *(to order)*.—"I cannot admit that my Right Hon. Friend, though he generously offers to undertake the whole responsibility of the Quiberon expedition, has, according to my recollection, stated correctly the extent of the share which I had in that measure. I cannot think it consistent with the duty imposed upon the station which my Right Hon. Friend filled, to divulge any consultations or opinions (supposing his statement correct), which must have been expressed in official confidence."

Mr. WINDHAM.—"I conceive that I was merely stating a circumstance personal to myself; and my Right Hon. Friend would have seen by the application, that my explanation could not have been considered as any disclosure of state secrets. I was going to shew, that, the country having misjudged the war, the conduct of it naturally partook of what I conceive to have been error. What I say of the system of war, as in my judgment best suited to the circumstances of the late contest, is not an arraignment of my Right Hon. Friend, to whose department its conduct particularly belonged (Mr. Dundas). I can bear testimony to the zeal, the diligence, the activity, the ardour, and all the other eminent qualities which are known to belong to my Right Hon. Friend, and which were never more displayed by him than during the course of this war. I do not arraign the separate plans of my Right Hon. Friend, neither do I divulge state secrets. I state what was no secret, that previous to the time when I came into public station, my Right Hon. Friend had marked opinions on the subject of the war, and that we did differ in

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our views of the subject. When I was interrupted, I was labouring to shew that the country had not rightly judged its situation, and that the mode of war pursued, contributed to confirm their error. The country never knew sufficiently why it was at war. It has been said with great force and eloquence by my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Pitt), on different occasions, that we were at war for security; we were indeed at war, because we could not be at peace; we were at sea, because we could not be on shore: yet, though reminded of this, the character of the war itself, the grand monitor, was wanting. The manner in which it was carried on did not sufficiently mark its nature. The force was centrifugal; it threw out all our operations towards the extremities. It never converged enough towards the focus from which the danger proceeded. The question, why we were at war, perpetually recurred; and people were not enough taught to see that we were at war, because the French government was such as to leave us no peace, and was necessarily in perpetual hostility with every thing which, as individuals and as a nation, it was our interest to defend.—This error has pursued us into peace. No person who looked at the causes of war, could have looked at the terms of peace without alarm. The country, however, is not sufficiently impressed with the dangers of peace, because it was never perfectly alive to the character of the war. But to return to the conduct of the war: although it has been unsuccessful in securing those objects which I thought peculiarly at stake, I do not on that account presume to say that it was wrong; I do not undertake to say, that the course which I more approved would have been more fortunate. This would be to reason as ill as the Hon. Gentlemen (on the opposition benches). The mode tried has failed: but it does not follow that any other would have succeeded. The case may possibly have been one in which success was not to be had. If I have thought otherwise, if I continue to think so now, that we are judged after the event, and with a view, as it were, of the symptoms after death, still this is only matter of opinion, in which every one must form his own judgment. Experience has not decided the question. Thinking, however, as I do, I conceive it to be the duty of every man to correct the public error. It is better to think that the country had not seen its situation in a proper light, than that, aware of its real danger, we had failed in the means of repelling it. Great as the exertions of the nation have been, they have not been so great as they ought to have been, compared either with the objects at stake, or the means we possessed. It is consolatory to think that the nation, not having seen the danger, will, seeing it, take the steps necessary to maintain its character and to ensure its safety. It is true, indeed, that there were those who perpetually laboured to promote the French cause, and by every act endeavoured to counteract those feelings of honour, magnanimity, and independence, by which nations can alone become great. If, however, the people of this country have utterly abandoned the feelings which every great nation should cultivate, and that policy, without which no nation can flourish, we must have insensibly degenerated from the principles of our ancestors; and it will confirm the remark of the writer, who says, that sometimes a silent revolution takes place in the character of nations, as decisive as could be produced by the most violent convulsions. Never was there a war carried on with such an incessant cry for peace from the very beginning of it. How, in any other war, would it have been tolerated that the justice of our cause and our proceedings, in every instance, should have been arraigned, and those of the enemy defended, in newspapers, in pamphlets, in Parliament; that every one who endeavoured to rouse the public spirit was vilified and traduced? How could it have happened (if the people had been sufficiently impressed with the nature of the war), that it was doubtful whether the processions to St. Paul's to celebrate three of the most splendid victories this nation had ever gained, would have been received with applause? How else could it have happened, that attempts should be made to depreciate one of our most brilliant naval victories, and to shew that the advantage was on the side of the enemy? To prove these circumstances, nothing more is necessary than to examine at pleasure the files of newspapers, the pamphlets that issued from the press during any period of the war. And what is the inference? Why, that such writings never could have obtained circulation, had there not been an indecision in the public mind on the subject of the war, and a total change of the very feelings and sentiments with which the nation had heretofore ever been actuated.—It is with reluctance that I acknowledge this state of the public mind to have prevailed. It certainly was not sufficiently awakened to a full sense of the nature of the danger that existed, or the extent of the exertion required.—I am afraid that I shall be obliged to speak in a style not more pleasing of the means and resources which we possessed. Perhaps we have been too much in the habit of flattering ourselves on this subject on the efforts that we have made. Certainly nothing is more agreeable than to 'praise the Athenians among the Athe-'nians;' but I rather consider it the duty of public men to speak wholesome truths. We must compare our exertions with the object. If the war was not originally just and necessary, every shilling spent was too much. If it was, as some have considered it, merely a war of experiment for a short time, to see what we could make of it, we have made too great sacrifices. If, however, it was a war for the very existence of the country, the exertions that we have made have been too little for the

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object, too little even for our means. That our exertions, however, had not injured us, would appear by considering whether the country has pined or thriven, whether it has become fat or lean, by its efforts. Surely, if, as some pretended, the country has been ruined by the war, it has not been thrown into a galloping consumption. I have, indeed, heard it argued, in the true spirit of Jacobinism, that, though individuals were rich, the country was poor; every distress incident to men and to the social state has been insidiously represented to be the offspring of war; as if the same distress did not exist in all wars, nay, in all times; as if it were not obvious that poverty must ever accompany great wealth; as if poverty were not a sort of secretion from that full and plethoric habit, which it is our constant endeavour to produce in this country, and our constant boast that we have produced. Indeed it is easy to shew how commercial wealth and poverty must be connected, because, in the fluctuations of trade and manufactures, numbers are occasionally deprived of their employment, and left destitute of their usual aliment, while the tide of prosperity flows into other channels. No less absurd is it to say, that the wealth with which the country abounds is in few hands, as if it were possible that a country could have much wealth while it was monopolized by a few; and as if such an opinion were not more notoriously untrue of this country than of any other. Unhappily, indeed, it seems to be thought by some, who acknowledge both the wealth and comfort which this country enjoys, that these blessings may be preserved without the aid of arms. The balance of power is treated as an idle chimera; and we are told, that from our insular situation we may look with indifference on the confusion and derangement of the continent. It is very well, indeed, to tell us to enjoy our own comforts; it is like the idle story told of some king of England, who, when informed that his subjects were dying of famine, is said to have asked, why they did not eat bread and cheese? The answer was, that they could not get bread and cheese to eat. So we are told to be satisfied with our own comforts and happiness, with our commerce, with our prosperity. Doubtless: if we can preserve them. But will the French allow us? Do we not see that France is acting upon a contest with us in peace, that she is lowering our dignity, plucking our honours? The notion that peace would hush up all our dangers, had induced us to give up to Holland the honour of the flag; which, however little important many may please to think it, kept up the pride and spirit of the service, and has been maintained by us for a century and a half. This it was also which induced us to submit to have the cockades taken out of our soldiers' hats in Portugal. We also allowed, under the same idea, our ambassador to remain at Amiens, kicking his heels near the hall of audience, as a lacquey, while Buonaparté, instead of communicating with him, set off for Lyons, designedly, as it should seem, to furnish a precedent for similar insults on any future occasion. Such being the situation and the feelings of the country, the next consideration is, what we ought now to do? On the supposition that Great Britain is at present in a state of infinitely less security than it was on the night when this treaty was signed; and comparing what it has given up with what remains to it, I have no hesitation in repeating my former assertion, that the fee simple of the country was worth more on the 30th of September last, than it has been since, or perhaps ever will be again. We have now, however, signed and sealed the bond; and, as Dogberry says,

"I fear we shall never be our own men again."

Our study should now be to correct those fatal dissensions which the treaty of peace may create. As to India, our rights are manifest, though we depend on those same claims being renewed which were set up by France anterior to the treaty of 1783. But while our right is liable to be called into dispute, we should keep in our hands better means of asserting it than we can have after the surrender of Malta, the Cape, and Cochin. The First Consul would not, during the negotiation, have gone to Lyons, if he did not mean to produce suspicion and uneasiness with respect to the peace. The Ministers think that we talk too freely upon these subjects, and are suggesting to the enemy a renewal of their claims, as if the foolish and silly French wanted us to point out to them the nature of their claims! Have they not shewn, during the war, any designs upon India? Has not the capture of Seringapatam revealed any of their intrigues? What are we to surmise from their steadiness in insisting on the possession of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and Cochin? Was not the expedition to Egypt projected in the view of a triumphant march into Hindostan? And are we, like ostriches, to put our heads in a hole, and suppose ourselves perfectly safe from our pursuers, or act as persons often do in embarrassed circumstances, and submit to be ruined sooner than look at the state of their own affairs? If France means not to pursue her claims, why not send to Paris for explanations to that effect, before we give up what she never has put into our hands? A similar explanation should be required respecting the Bay of Honduras, and many other points. Let us have a fair understanding as to the extent of our danger. I know that some may be disposed to calculate the life of a nation like that of an individual; and, regardless of posterity, say, 'though our commerce may fail in the 'end, it cannot do so for a long series of years, 'and will, at least, last during our time.' The nation which has not more foresight or feeling than that, must inevitably perish. Great stress has been laid on what is called the failure of

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the predictions respecting the result of the American war. These predictions, however, have, on the contrary, been realized. Had we had America now to support us, we never could have consented to such a peace. America has been an immense resource to the enemy during the war; and the very convoy which entered France at the time of Lord Howe's victory, was thought a sufficient compensation to that country for the destruction of its fleet. Let those who think that in spite of this peace the country will still last their time, will still furnish life and heat for their ephemeral existence, for the miserable animalculæ that are crawling upon its surface, let them take care that they do not deceive themselves. They may calculate ill who suppose the misfortune may not reach them. The fate of nations often comes upon them much quicker than is imagined: in this manner is Spain, of late a rich and powerful nation, all on a sudden become one of those states which are now the vassals of France." Mr. Windham concluded with moving the address, which will be found in vol. i. p. 572.

Lord Folkstone seconded the motion, and observed, that the subject had been so ably and so effectually argued by his Right Hon. Friend, that little remained for him to add to it. He however could not avoid remarking, that in this treaty not only a neglect, but a dereliction of our naval rights, was apparent, and the flag of Old England degraded. It was, therefore, impossible to approve of such a treaty: and he was unable to conceal that opinion; unable also was he to conceal, that when all other countries were supporting the faith of their ancient and respective treaties, Great Britain alone was neglectful of hers; and that when it was a first-rate principle with all other nations to respect and value, as well as to protect their allies, Great Britain alone was regardless of hers, and ungrateful to those who sacrificed even all that was dear to them as nations in hers and the general cause. We had entered into the contest under the avowed principle of asserting and protecting the rights of the House of Orange, and we basely deserted her; we in form, but not in substance, made a shew of our attention to that illustrious House, than which none ought to be more respected or valued in the eyes of this country, whose cause she early and effectually adopted and supported; and our return to her, in the hour of her necessity, is a vain and empty stipulation in words, a mere parade of notice, but nothing solid or substantial in it. In the case of Portugal, our conduct was even worse, and more ungenerous; for we were not content with neglecting and deserting her, but we committed her to the spoliation of her bitterest foes; though, in fact, it was not these foes who committed that spoliation; it was this country that tore from her Olivenza, it was this country that invaded and divided her territory of Guiana. These were circumstances that must strike every thinking mind with shame, horror, and disgust; but he feared very much that all he could say upon these topics would have little weight there. We had of late learned to appreciate the temporary advantage of commercial considerations, so much above all other interests, that little was to be hoped from a state so besotted with the avaricious sentiments of sordid wealth as we were. In the same impolitic view he beheld the surrender of Malta, and could impute it to nothing but an infatuation in the minds of Ministers, who, not content with ceding the East and the West, and the privileges of the British flag in the North, now also resign the Levant, and its best and only protector Malta, into the very hands of our ancient and mortal foe. For these reasons, he thought the treaty disgraceful and dishonourable, and the address should therefore have his most decided support.

Lord Hawkesbury rose, and addressed the House to the following purport:—"Sir, I have listened with the utmost attention to the observations of my Right Hon. Friend: and indeed it was impossible I should not; for though some parts of his speech were very remotely, if at all connected with the question before the House, yet the ability and ingenuity that he exhibited throughout peculiarly entitled him to attention. A great deal of the speech of my Right Hon. Friend consisted in predictions as to the consequences, and assertions as to the conditions, of the peace; but I will assure him, and the Noble Lord who seconded his motion, that were the treaty such as they have described it, and I considered it as by any means injurious to the interests, but particularly if it were degrading to the dignity of the country, no man in this House, or in the empire, would be more ready to oppose it than myself, whoever the author of it might be. I however view the negotiation in quite a different light from that in which my Right Hon. Friend seems to consider it. I am of opinion, that, though some commercial questions were not finally arranged, it was better to leave those questions for a future adjustment, than longer to defer the negotiation. I maintain, that peace, under all the circumstances, was desirable, and that it would have been extremely culpable in Ministers to have declined it; but I would not be understood to insinuate that there was no other alternative for the country, or that the peace is to be considered in any point of view dishonourable. It is such as Ministers have thought it expedient and prudent to conclude, and such as the House and the country called for. I am glad that the whole of this question is at length brought before the House. I have always objected to the discussion of it in parts, because if ever there was a subject which ought to be discussed all together, it is a treaty of peace. The parts must be ex-

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amined with reference to each other, and not distinctly; for though in one part something unfavourable may appear, yet that, upon a review of the whole, will perhaps turn out to be a concession, in order to obtain some advantage on another part. For these reasons have I for some days back deprecated the practice of Gentlemen in cavilling at particular provisions of this treaty; a mode of proceeding which tended to produce a false impression on the public mind, and even calculated to prepossess the judgment of the House. I cannot be, nor ever was, adverse to the discussion of this subject point by point; my desire was, that those points should be fairly and relatively taken, and not in that separate and detached way in which Gentlemen have been endeavouring to canvass it, without taking into account the causes which produced the commencement and conclusion of the negotiation, and the effect of the whole of the terms combined. This question has at length come to that species of investigation which I wished for, and in which, whether right or wrong, it ought to be taken. It seems to me properly to have divided itself into two heads: first, whether the terms of the definitive treaty were consistent with the basis of the preliminary articles; and, secondly, whether, if any departure from the preliminary articles had taken place, that, or any events which had occurred during the negotiation, were of such consequence as to induce Ministers to refuse to conclude the treaty? Before I proceed to remark on these heads, I beg leave to say a few words on the circumstances in which this country was involved at the time the negotiation was begun. To this Gentlemen seldom look, though it is evidently connected with, at least necessary to, a proper decision on the subject before the House. It will be remembered, that we were then left almost alone to contend with France; Austria obliged to comply with a peace dictated by the enemy; the German empire at her mercy; deserted by our allies except two, Portugal and Naples, neither capable of affording us any effectual aid; we saw ourselves, instead of being at the head of a formidable confederacy, menaced by a league of our old allies, under the influence and direction of France. Such was our situation; and in this dilemma peace was the wish of all persons, of all parties; with, I do admit, some exceptions, of whom, no doubt, my Right Hon. Friend was one, it was called for loudly by the country: it was pressed strongly by Gentlemen on the opposition side of the House, that some attempt should be made to negotiate. Accordingly negotiation was entered into, and announced by Ministers to the House on the first occasion afterwards. But this negotiation commenced under prospects very unfavourable, in the degraded state of Europe, after the important event of the treaty of Luneville, and when our ships were shut out from almost every port in Europe. Notwithstanding these disadvantageous appearances, Ministers were determined to sustain the honour and consequence of this country, and in their proposal to negotiate, they laid down three principles as the rule of their conduct: first, the complete integrity of the dominions of the British empire; secondly, fidelity to our allies; and, thirdly, *to obtain compensation out of the conquests we had made to counterpoise the acquisitions of France on the continent.* In these objects it was our firm purpose to persist, and the probability of our success in attaining them was considerably heightened by some events which gave a propitious turn to our affairs about that time, namely, the victory of the 2d of April in the Baltic, and the gallant conduct of our army in Egypt, particularly on the 19th of March, which not a little contributed to dispose the French government to peace: at all events, Ministers meant to seek compensation in the East and West Indies, as that seemed the most advisable principle. But as this subject has been so fully canvassed in the debate on the preliminaries, I shall pass it, observing, that we have annexed to our dominions two of the greatest naval stations in the East and West Indies; not that I would argue this as a proof that the peace is more or less honourable on account of this annexation; for, according to the doctrine that my Right Hon. Friend holds out, it is not an island more or less, or any conquest whatever, that will constitute the security or the advantages of peace. I doubt whether, in this view, any thing short of the total subversion of the French government would be satisfactory; but that I think must be now left entirely out of the question: that hope can scarcely exist in *rational* minds. I shall now proceed to examine the division of the question which relates to the events that occurred pending the negotiations. I agree with the sentiment expressed by my Right Hon. Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) on a former evening, that it was impossible to view some of those events without anxiety and alarm: so much for the points themselves. But it was gravely to be considered, how far these events ought to have influenced the progress of our negotiation; or whether it would have been justifiable in Ministers, on account of those events, to break off the treaty. I am no advocate for the opinion of some persons, that we ought to be insulated in our politics as in our situation, and that we should have no concern in continental politics; nor can I subscribe to the doctrine of my Right Hon. Friend, that we are on all occasions to volunteer in continental affairs; that an interference is not, as it would seem, a matter of choice, but of obligation. This interference must at all times be determined by circumstances; whether the power aggrieved, or whose rights may be invaded, should feel any desire for our assistance, or any inclination to assert her own independence, were certainly material to be con-

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sidered; otherwise an interposition would be the height of extravagance. Our connexion with the continent is relative; and when we propose to interfere in its affairs, it is but wise to consider the amount of the interest that should prompt us; if the object could be carried, what the disposition of the power immediately benefited may be; and if we should lose, what degree of injury our own country is likely to sustain. Before we engage at all in such contests, the internal situation of our own country should be taken into consideration. I believe, on a review of the circumstances of the principal transactions that took place during the negotiation, the reasons which I have stated would apply with sufficient force to dissuade any British statesman from attempting to prevent it. God forbid that we should not be influenced by obligations of honour; or that we should give up the reputation of the country, by declining to protect any power from injustice! but a strong case should be made out to persuade us to an effort attended with risk to ourselves; for the same reason which would induce an interference in favour of the Cisalpine republic, would urge us to insist upon the restoration of the Netherlands to Austria, of Holland to the Stadtholder, and of Savoy to the King of Sardinia. Even were we disposed to resist the accession of Buonaparté to the presidency of the Cisalpine republic, how could we have accomplished any thing without the aid of the continental powers? And how did the case stand? Buonaparté's newly acquired power was scarcely announced when the cabinet of Berlin congratulated him, that of Vienna acquiesced, and Russia shewed no symptom of dissatisfaction. Would it then be considered wise or prudent in us alone to renew the war in consequence of this event? He would put the question to any Gentleman in the House, whether the value of the object would even excuse such a resolution? Another event which is supposed to have changed the nature of our negotiation, is the cession of Louisiana to France. On this point, I would beg to call the attention of the House, that I do not mean to consider it an indifferent object; but it will be recollected, that Louisiana is an old French settlement, and that during the negotiation of the peace of 1763, which was generally thought the most triumphant peace this country had ever concluded, this settlement was privately transferred by France to Spain; and that transaction was much more gross than that now complained of, because Louisiana was referred to expressly in the treaty of 1763. As to the political advantages which France could derive from this possession, I doubt whether they can be of much consequence; but I have little doubt that they are not of such consequence as to have justified Ministers in rejecting the peace. Gentlemen have said a great deal of the influence which this possession threatens to give France over the United States of America. To this I shall mention, that it has been the policy of America, since its separation from this country, to keep an equal balance between France and us. Such was the system of General Washington, and such is the system of the ablest statesmen in America at the present day. The probability therefore is, that the possession of Louisiana, *by placing the French upon the back of* America, every maxim of sound policy, will incline her to cultivate a more intimate connexion with this country; but my Right Hon. Friend apprehends that France would be enabled, through this settlement, to swallow up America; he very much underrates the power, population, and spirit of the United States; for he should remember what efforts the Americans made, and with success too, alone and unaided, in the war of 1756, to resist the French, who were then in possession of Canada and Louisiana. When, therefore, the increase of American power since that period is considered, though the possession of Louisiana by the French may now be an object to excite their jealousy and caution, it by no means endangers the independence of the Americans.—With respect to the definitive treaty, Gentlemen complain of it on two grounds, namely, for faults of omission and commission. Under the first class, the principal is the non-revival of the several commercial and political treaties, and two particular conventions. As to the first, I should suppose, if Gentlemen would look into those treaties, they would not be so very solicitous for their revival. From the treaty of Westphalia, up to that of 1763, it was the practice, as the system of Europe was perpetually changing, to renew former treaties, with such alterations and additions as suited existing circumstances, until at length those treaties became so confused, inconsistent, and contradictory, as to contribute more to augment litigation than to produce the adjustment of any difference. If we made any engagements, they should be precise and explicit, not such as those treaties; besides, we ought to be cautious how we should consent to multiply our engagements. Another objection that I have to the renewal of those treaties is, that we should bind ourselves too much. I shall state the former practice as to such renewal of treaties. In 1748, when we guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction, we also guarantied Silesia to Prussia: what then; if, agreeable to such a precedent, we should have to guaranty the Netherlands and Sardinia to France? I would ask my Right Hon. Friend, whether this was not a sufficiently strong objection to the renewal of former treaties? The situation of Ministers in this case was one of extreme difficulty; they were rather willing to sacrifice some advantages than place themselves in the dilemma that I have described; and they determined, if they could not get Europe to do right, they would not be a party to her wrong. I would ask my Right Hon. Friend, whether the renewal of

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political treaties, accompanied by such consequences, was so desirable as would make us a party in the confirmation of the aggrandizement of France, and involve us in infinite difficulty? As to commercial treaties, if any person looked into them, they would be found not less objectionable than the former. Our treaty with Holland gave the Dutch the power of carrying warlike stores even in time of war to an enemy's ports: would it be advisable, after the experience of the last war, to renew such a treaty as that? Objections equally strong would be found to operate against the renewal of our former treaties with France. From these considerations I think it will scarcely be disputed that it was better *to leave commercial arrangements to be hereafter adjusted*, than to postpone the conclusion of the definitive treaty, even if the country was to be left in the state it was in before the preliminaries were signed. I contend that the inconvenience to our trade cannot be so great as Gentlemen profess to fear, because, under all the obstacles of the war, our manufactures found their way into all parts of Europe; and no prohibition that can be imposed during peace, however so severe or rigorously enforced, can put a stop to that intercourse. If any such interruption should be given to our commerce by the French government, it must be a matter of regret; but the extension of our resources, and command in the markets, it is not in the power of France or any other nation to prevent. If it is to be a war of duties, we are more than equal to meet France; for her articles of commerce are few, ours are numerous; the exclusion of her brandy and wine would severely operate against her; and we could do without these liquors, but France cannot do without the productions of our manufactures; for they are there articles of the first necessity. With regard to the East Indies, and the allusions to the stipulation in the treaty with the Dutch, respecting our flag and that of Holland, I shall say, as to the flag, it seems to be completely misunderstood by Gentlemen. It is known that we have always claimed a right to superiority in the narrow seas of India, though we have scarcely ever insisted on it, except with regard to the Dutch, with whom we once disputed the right; and therefore in a treaty of peace, a stipulation was introduced relative to the exercise of that right; and in every other treaty since, this stipulation has been renewed; but it is not by any means tantamount to a renunciation of the right which we claim, not only with respect to Holland, but as to every other power. Gentlemen seem also to misconceive the nature of our right to cut logwood, &c. in the Bay of Honduras. The fact is, that right was ceded to us by the Spaniards in 1787, in return for some lands that we gave them on the Musquito Shore; *therefore it is a settlement which we possess of right, and to which the Spaniards were as much bound to refer in the treaty as we were: it was, in truth, on our part no omission.* Gentlemen pointed their animadversions at the difference which they alleged to exist between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, which they stated to consist in these five points; as to prisoners, Portugal, Newfoundland, the Cape of Good Hope, and Malta. In these are comprised what are called the faults of commission. As to the first, though the Right Hon. Gentleman has made no allusion to it on this day, yet on a former occasion he remarked upon it so much at length, that I cannot forbear to make some observations upon it now. The state of the question is this: in the treaty of 1763 an article was inserted, that every belligerent power should maintain its own prisoners; and that article was again renewed in the peace of 1783; it is an article which humanity and justice approve, and is sanctioned by the best modern authors on the law of nations, among whom is Vattel: but the French disputed this principle with us in the late negotiation; alleging, that they did not grant it to any of the other powers with which they had concluded peace. When, therefore, they afterwards acceded to this principle, we could not claim a modification of it in our own favour, by refusing to allow a deduction for the subsistence of the Russian prisoners who were soldiers in our pay, and under our disposal when made prisoners." On the subject of Portugal, the Noble Lord went over the grounds already so often stated; adding, "Some time after I came into office, it was thought by Ministers that the Portuguese might make a much firmer stand than they did against France and Spain; and it was determined to send advice to Portugal, as to the means of resistance; and I have no hesitation in saying, that one part of that advice was, to place a more able officer at the head of their army; an advice not dictated by any disrespect to the officer then commanding, but merely because from his age he was deemed incapable. This advice, however, was not attended to; had it been, it was intended to follow it up with some succours; but Ministers would have been culpable if they had committed any part of the British army to the care of an incapable commander. Notwithstanding this conduct of Portugal, Ministers took means to communicate to her the progress we were making in negotiation, and the prospects that we had, exhorting her to hold out as long as possible, that she might obtain better terms; yet she concluded a separate peace. We afterwards stepped in, and by our interference reduced the extent of the cessions that she had herself agreed to make in Guiana; *an instance of liberality scarcely to be paralleled.* We so arranged it for her, that *her navigation of the river Amazon is perfectly secured, and not at all exposed to that interruption from the possessions which the French had obtained by the treaty*, that Gentlemen on a former evening so strenuously maintained, upon the authority of a map not quite so accurate as they have been

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taught to believe. As to the third point of difference, Newfoundland: no concession was made to France in that article; the arrangement is precisely as it stood before the war, therefore no animadversion has been made on it. The Cape of Good Hope, which forms the fourth point, has called forth many observations; but if Gentlemen would more attentively compare the terms of the preliminary and the definitive treaties, they would see that the Cape was to be surrendered, in full sovereignty, to the Dutch, and that there is no material difference between the two treaties on this head. In the opinion of *persons best qualified to judge* of the Cape, it was thought more advisable to give it up thus to the Dutch, than to make it an *entrepot* in the hands of any other power. Gentlemen dwelt upon Malta as the fifth point of difference. As to that I shall say, that whether the arrangement of that island be as good a one as could be contrived or not, it is *as good a one as circumstances would permit.* Gentlemen *could not expect that we should retain it ourselves;* for, when we blockaded it, we issued a declaration, that it was not our intention to retain, but to restore it to the Order of St. John, under certain regulations. The first object of those regulations was to ameliorate the condition of the Maltese, and at this Gentlemen seem to level their principal hostility; they are averse to the privileges granted to the inhabitants; they do not seem to think of the important point we have gained, in the abolition of the three French *langues*, which had much domineering influence in that island, leaving only the Russian *langue*, and creating a Maltese *langue*. Gentlemen would not be so disturbed at the creation of this *langue*, or at the privileges given to the natives, if they would recollect the conduct of those natives during the siege, when under a British officer they were so active in their exertions to annoy the French, and to second our views: surely such men were entitled to our peculiar protection, and had some claim *to be relieved from the oppression to which they were liable under the ancient constitution.* Is it not of consequence to the security of the island to conciliate the population to the Order, and thus enable that Order to establish a formidable militia for its defence? A power to guaranty it, with a view to preserve it from the dominion of France, was also chosen; that guarantee was, in fact, first offered to Russia; but such is the change in the politics of courts, that Russia refused; and it was therefore put under the protection of Naples, a country which has the *deepest interest*, from the contiguity of the island of Sicily, to take care that Malta should not fall into the hands of France. This is not all; *we have the guarantee of Austria and the principal powers of Europe, for the independence of this island.* Under all the circumstances, I think there is no real departure in the definitive treaty from the basis of the preliminary articles; and I also think that no event which occurred in the interim could excuse a departure from the negotiation. From the language of Gentlemen, they seem to fear that we have lost all by the peace; but I am decidedly of opinion, that we *never stood at the conclusion of any treaty of peace in so good a relative situation to France as at present.* I do not mean to say, that any acquisitions or commercial advantages that we have made, or could make by any peace, could be a compensation for the terrible consequences of war; or that the prospect of any farther acquisitions should induce us to prosecute hostilities, for we were fatigued with the contest; not so as to shrink from it if indispensably necessary, because we felt that our resources were perfectly adequate to any occasion: but was it not wiser to foster these resources, to promote our trade and navigation, *and hold ourselves always ready to maintain the importance, dignity, and interests of the empire?* It has been said on a former day, that we should have endeavoured to secure a port in the Mediterranean, for the advantage of our trade; but the House must be aware that Holland, while it had the most important trade in the Levant, never had a port in the Mediterranean. In that trade they were enabled to exceed us, in consequence of certain injudicious regulations as to quarantine, which Parliament abolished about two years ago, but which, while existing, gave to the Dutch the opportunity of undersselling us in all the northern ports. It is rather singular, while Gentlemen speak so much of Louisiana and other comparatively unimportant additions to French power, that they never allude to our conquest of the Mysore; the destruction of that power which was the staunch ally of France, and the inveterate restless enemy of this country. What is our relative situation to France in the East Indies? Who will answer by attempting a comparison? and is not our situation in the West almost equally superior? Our islands almost trebled in produce during the war, with the addition of one of the most fertile islands in the West Indies, containing a most capacious harbour, and forming the first naval *depôt* in that quarter. What a monopoly of all the European markets for West India produce do we not possess! and when are we to expect any rivalship from France, whose principal colony, St. Domingo, is in such a distracted state, that, whatever may be the event of the war in that island, it must be left little better than a waste? It will be recollected, that the returns of France from the West India trade were no less before the war than eight millions annually, and that she derived from this source a considerable balance of trade in her favour; but what are her prospects now? Indeed, if the naval and commercial means of the two countries be duly compared after the events of the war, the power of France will in most respects appear more specious than solid, while ours will be

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found solid and safe, and supplied moreover with the means of extending itself by the extent of our capital." France (his Lordship went on to say) possessed no such means; and, in his opinion, it was better to possess *more capital* and *less territory*. For the extended dominion of France *was liable to fall to pieces*; its extent was *matter of weakness*, and the *multiplicity of her objects must frustrate their accomplishment*. The comparative superiority of our resources, when our *superior capital was attended to*, could not therefore be denied. But what was our security for the enjoyment of these advantages? This question he might answer by saying, that, under all the circumstances of our situation, we had made an honourable peace, a peace that secured all the vital springs of our strength and power. He was ready, however, to confess that the state of the world was such as could not prevent us from considering the peace as insecure; but all history, and even his own experience, taught him that the apprehension of that insecurity should be no obstacle to the conclusion of peace, when peace could be concluded on honourable terms. When a good one was within our reach, we ought to seize it, though we might not be confident of its permanent enjoyment. Here the Noble Lord referred to the peace of Ryswick; which, though deemed by King William insecure, and not so advantageous as might be expected, was, notwithstanding, deemed by that wise Prince such as should not be rashly rejected. He wished Gentlemen would bear in their recollection the speech of King William to his Parliament on that great occasion, and they would there find the sentiments which they should now entertain; they would see that it would be for them not to permit the enemy *to do that in peace which they were not able to effect in war*. He did not pretend to say that the security of peace was no consideration; all he should ask was, *could a better peace have been secured, had the contest been protracted longer?* If not, was it not better to take the *chance of it*, such as it could be obtained, under all the circumstances of our situation? In acceding to that peace, there was another motive which weighed heavily with him, and which, no doubt, must have had great weight with the House: he meant the internal state of France. France had now abandoned the principles and maxims of the revolution, and was rapidly reverting to the ancient principles of religion and civil order. The current ran that way; *and would it be wise, by renewing the contest, to replunge her in all the horrors from which she had so lately emerged, and which threatened to agitate the rest of the world?* Much had been said of the ambition of France, and of the views of her present rulers; but the ambition of France was the ambition of the French people, and was *the same under the monarchy as under her present form of government*. Neither view should make him hesitate respecting the eligibility of a peace which enabled us to escape out of a disturbed state of things, with our financial system and all our resources entire. It was *not merely an alleviation of their burdens that the people languished for; but they were anxious for peace, because their patience was worn out by the war: they sighed for the termination of a struggle which had lasted nine years*, and which they were reluctant to continue without any definite object. *If* our interests remained entire, *if* our honour was preserved, *for what purpose should the war have been longer persisted in?* He would not waste the time of the House in dwelling longer upon this topic; but as a day had been appointed, and a motion made for taking the treaty into consideration, he did not think the House should separate without coming to an opinion upon it. Of those who thought the peace dishonourable, that it affected our vital interests, and left us in a state of doubt and insecurity, he could not expect the support: but he was as confident, that those who thought our honour had been preserved; that the terms on which peace had been concluded were as good as, under all the circumstances of our situation, could have been expected; and that a peace which left our resources entire should be adhered to, that they might be *husbanded for vigorous resistance against any future encroachment*, would vote for the amendment which he should have the honour now to propose. He then moved the amendment in vol. i. p. 587.

Mr. WELLESLEY POLE seconded the amendment.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE rose to make a few observations on the reply of the Noble Lord to the speech of his Right Hon. Friend; but he must first complain of the manner in which the reasonings of his Right Hon. Friend had been misunderstood or exaggerated. The Noble Lord seemed to rest the whole of his defence on the merits of the definitive treaty; yet at the conclusion of his speech he entered into a justification of it, and owned *that the people were worn out with the war, and clamoured for peace. In this he was not prepared to acquiesce; for the spirit of the people was more alive to their liberty and independence, even in the latest period of the war, and they continued to think it necessary up to the very signing of the preliminaries; he could not, therefore, hear it said that their patience was worn out by the contest.* Another mode of exaggeration which had been employed by the Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) was such as he could not pass over. That Noble Person had asked, whether no peace was to be accepted, and whether no terms could be endured by his opponents? He had pushed this unfair mode of arguing still further; for he had asked, whether the war should have been continued for Malta, for Louisiana, or for the Italian republic, as consolidated by Buonaparté with that of France?

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"I am not of those," said Mr. Grenville, "who would have objected to any terms. About two years since I was deputed by the then Administration to negotiate a peace; and I certainly should not have accepted of the mission, if I had not been inclined to negotiate on honourable and safe terms." He thought it, however, unfair to put the question of peace or war on the ground of each individual sacrifice made by this country; and particularly as in the affair of the Italian republic, where an enormous addition was to be superadded to the sacrifices already made. He would much rather argue the question on this broad and general ground: "*Will you suffer the enemy to do you that mischief in time of peace, which they could not effect in time of war?*" We had given up the Netherlands; we had lost sight of Holland; and yet the argument was now so managed as if the evil was cured, instead of being increased by the mass of cessions. He was not for going to war again for any one of these, or for the whole of them; but he must desire, that, considered as a whole, they should not be kept entirely out of the question. He could not, for instance, but notice the accession of weight and influence which France had received by the ceding of Louisiana. This was a matter settled in a secret convention, and kept wholly out of view when the limits of French Guiana were debated, on a view of the preliminaries. Did Ministers conceal, or were they aware at that time of this convention? This was a subject on which an explanation was due to the House. They had been told, it was true, that there was in this part no naval station; but he must ask, whether this cession did not command the two Floridas? and whether, in the case of a new war, the cession of the one was not, in point of fact, a cession of the whole? This question he had pressed before, but unfortunately he had pressed it without effect. On the island of Elba he should not offer one syllable, because that question had already been debated. The Ministers had exulted in the non-renewal of treaties, considering their renewal as a matter which was fraught with danger, doubt, and insecurity. They had rejoiced in this as if they had been sent on a voyage of discovery, abandoning the beaten track of all their predecessors. These treaties, however, he must observe, had often replaced the security, and fixed the boundaries of disturbed Europe. There were difficulties, no doubt, in this instance, arising from the new limits of the Rhine and the cession of the Netherlands. But these difficulties could not be admitted to supersede the advantages arising from the renewal and recognition of former treaties. He would admit that our late enemy was not easily to be bound or debarred by treaties of this description from the objects of his ambition; but he was not prepared to accede to the statement of a Noble Lord last night, that these treaties were only worth *so much waste paper*. It was said by some persons, that we should sanction the ambitious projects and attainments of France, by entering specifically into those treaties. It was to be recollected, however, that Buonaparté, pending the congress of Amiens, had set out on his mysterious journey to Lyons. We afterwards knew, and of course lent an implied sanction to the object of this journey; for, though not expressly described, our recognition, when the matter was fully known, was not the less given to the establishment of the Italian republic. A difference, he was aware, had been laid down between all treaties considered as commercial and political. He was convinced that we could not renew a treaty which had expired, or enforce one which was not agreeable; and such, no doubt, was the case with the commercial treaty made with France in 1787. This, however, did not imply or sanction the exclusion of any treaty whatsoever. With respect to India, it was contended, that all *firmauns* of the native powers, as well as our own treaties, were cancelled by the war, and that we stood on the distinct claim of our sovereignty. But we pronounced in our own right, without considering what was the opinion of France with respect to claims which, in the late treaty, she had not recognised. A Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) condemning, for the first time, the treaty of peace in 1783, had said, that he was equally happy to get rid of the poison of that treaty, and of its antidote, administered in 1787. This opinion was evidently changed when the same Right Hon. Gentleman gave his assent to the treaty of Lisle in 1796. Mr. Grenville then proceeded to remark on our exclusion from the cutting of logwood in the Bay of Honduras, the access to which was assured by former treaties with Spain, which now were all extinguished, and the advantages of which would be but ill repaid by a return to the Musquito Shore, now a shore without settlements. On all these occasions he was for a limited right, settled by a convention, rather than for a general, and perhaps an unadmitted claim. He next proceeded to notice the situation of the House of Orange, whose claims had been loosely passed over in the definitive treaty, and to which we had taken no one step to discharge our obligations. By a separate convention, it was in fact determined that that House should not have one stiver of compensation which was not to be drawn from this country. On the relinquishment of the honour usually paid to our flag by Holland, also, the Hon. Gentleman severely animadverted. He then observed on the article by which the payment of the debt due for the maintenance of prisoners is regulated. The House were told, that the Russian troops, being not merely under pay, but subject to our control, ought to be considered in the same light as the native troops of this country. But was this really the fact? It certainly was not. The Russian troops, who were fed, clothed,

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and arrayed at our expense, were so far from being destined to the service of this country, *that they were to be employed to act offensively against us*. The French government had succeeded in detaching the Emperor of Russia from our friendship; and this was the boon which they presented to gratify their capricious ally. On the subject of the article respecting Portugal, the Noble Lord had said there was no deviation from the preliminaries of peace, by which the integrity of her territory is secured. Yes, this integrity had been a ground of stipulation; but of what description was the integrity which was secured? Was it the integrity of possessions as they existed antecedent to the war? No, said the Noble Lord; but Portugal had obtained an integrity of possession, which, when the matter came to be investigated, turned out to be a mere definition of limits. He would not entertain the House by entering into any geographical statements; but he could not avoid making one remark with regard to these limits. The Noble Lord talked of a distance of fifty miles established by the new limits which had been fixed from the river of the Amazons. How such a distance could exist, he was quite at a loss to conceive, when he reflected that the Arawari flowed into that very river. While he was on this subject, he wished to say a few words on the obligations of this country to procure for Portugal, not an integrity of the kind now described, but integrity of a substantial kind. He was not disposed to question the policy of the late Administration, in preferring the expedition to Egypt to the defence of Portugal. But what was the inference to be drawn from this arrangement? It was, that if we did not grant an old and faithful ally assistance, in a moment of difficulty and danger, we were bound by every consideration of public faith, to take care that her interests should not suffer from our preferring other objects to that of affording her protection against an enemy who had attacked her independence. This was the conduct which good faith clearly dictated; and he was amazed to hear the language of the Noble Lord in justification of the vague provision which the definitive treaty had made to secure this object. What was the natural effect of even a dereliction of the interests of our ally? It was, to estrange Portugal from our interests, and to create a spirit of hostility to a power by whom her interests had been so grossly neglected. On the article relative to the Cape, he had only one observation to make; and that was, that, by the arrangement which had been agreed upon, the Dutch might make it a free port; and thus we might lose all the advantages of the arrangement previously established by the treaty. He next touched on Malta, the regulations respecting which he censured in very severe terms. In the preliminaries, Malta was made independent; but it now appeared that this declaration of independence had been made while Ministers were ignorant of the arrangements by which this independence was fixed. The Order was to be restored: but how was the restoration of an Order to be effected, all of whose funds were lost, gone, and dispersed? From an average of ten years previous to 1798, it appeared that 130,000*l.* constituted the whole annual revenue. To the three French *langues* 58,000*l.* formerly belonged, the whole of which was confiscated. The whole of the revenues of the Spanish *langue* consisted of 27,000*l.* and this sum was also confiscated; or if the appropriation had not already taken place, it was likely to do so at no very remote period. After estimating other losses in Germany, Poland, and Bavaria, the total of the provinces left did not much exceed 23,000*l.* a year; and this was the sum allotted for the support of the Order to be restored. What, on the other hand, was the amount of the expense annually incurred on an average of ten years? It was not less than 130,000*l.*; to cover which, the sum he had just stated was allotted. So much he thought it necessary to state respecting the funds then existing for the support of the Order. The island was declared to be independent under the protection of a third power. He might first of all be permitted to ask, Was the King of Naples, by whom this protection was to be afforded, himself independent? Was he not, on the contrary, totally dependant on the power of France? To remedy this defect, however, and to secure this independence, the House was called upon to consider the powerful guarantees which had been established. On a former occasion the Noble Lord had stated, that the accession of some of these powers to this arrangement had not been received. But, admitting that they would accede, what was the consequence? France was the guarantying power nearest in situation to the island whose independence was to be secured. From the new constitution given to the Order, and the establishment of a new *langue*, tumults and broils might arise in the island. France, as an amicable guarantying power, might immediately interfere; a squadron might sail from Toulon, and take possession of the island before the design was suspected; and it was not easy to say what new changes would be introduced before these troubles were quelled. The Hon. Gentleman concluded with saying, that the original address had his cordial approbation.

Mr. DUNDAS took this opportunity of noticing some misrepresentations of what he (Mr. Dundas) had said last night. A Right Hon. Gentleman alleged that he (Mr. Dundas) had applied his observations to the convention of 1787, as containing evil provisions, which we ought not to renew. He had done no such thing. His argument was this, and he begged leave now to repeat it: that the merit of the convention of 1787 depended solely upon this,

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that it applied an antidote to the poison of the treaty of 1783; the meaning of which was, that the convention of 1787 had the merit of counteracting the treaty of 1783; but he had not said, that either the one or the other of them was the foundation of the prosperity of India. He thought it necessary to explain this, which seemed to have been misconstrued by the Right Hon. Gentleman: but this was not the main purpose for which he rose to-night to ask the attention of the House. He rose to make an observation or two which were very material. The Hon. Gentleman had put it to him, how he reconciled his conduct in assenting to the negotiation at Lisle, by which the provisions of the convention of 1787 were stipulated to be assented to on our part? His answer to this was a very short and a very plain one, and he hoped it would be a very satisfactory one. It was this: that since the year 1797 the condition of this country in India was changed most materially; and that which might have been offered in 1797, and was offered then, might have been, and would have been, improper on our part in 1802, because our situation in India had been most materially changed in that time. In 1797 we had not what we now possessed, namely, the undoubted sovereignty of India; and therefore, whatever opinion he had in 1797, he was perfectly warranted in changing that opinion in the present instance; for in the one case we were warranted in demanding more than in the other; and he was only desirous of our availing ourselves of the advantage which we now possessed. In 1797 we had no such advantage; there was, therefore, no real difference in his conduct: in both instances he had been desirous that this country should have the best possible terms of security for its tranquillity in India. Did the Right Hon. Gentleman mean to make it matter of reproach to him, that he had changed his opinion as to our situation in India upon a change of circumstances there? Did he mean to say, that, although he could discover a material change of circumstances in our situation, yet there was to be no change in his opinion as to the conduct which we were to pursue? Did he mean to urge it as a fault in him, that he had, upon an attentive perusal of documents, from 1763 down to the present period, become of opinion that our sovereignty in India was now entire? and, as he was of opinion that we were better off in this respect by not renewing any treaty than if we had renewed any of them, that he should endeavour to impress that opinion on the House? He believed that the Noble Person who had been alluded to (Lord Grenville) stated an opinion much as he had done, on the ground of our sovereignty in India, and that he had changed the opinion he had first entertained on this subject. This he learnt from the common vehicles by which the opinions of public men were conveyed to the public. But he would leave this part of the question, and take the liberty of saying a few words with regard to the question now before the House. When he heard of the signature of the preliminaries of peace, he was at a distant part of this island; he had no hesitation in saying, that when he heard of the manner in which the Cape of Good Hope was to be disposed of, he heard it with regret and sorrow. He had always considered that place as a great acquisition to this country. He was of that opinion in theory before we had it; he was confirmed in that opinion by experience of the use of it since it was in our possession. He looked upon it as a good *depôt*, and a place for the reception of our troops when we had occasion to send them to India; by their being landed and refreshed there, they went to India full of health and vigour, and were in every respect fit for immediate service. It helped us in the course of our immense fleets on their way to India. These were advantages that we had experienced. He looked upon the Cape and Ceylon as our two great bulwarks, and at no period of his life had he been of another opinion on this subject. No connexion, however close; no friendship, however cordial; no attachment, however sincere, should induce him to withhold his opinion upon this subject. That opinion was, that the Cape of Good Hope should not have been given up by this country; and he was ready to confess, however unwelcome it might be in that House, or unpopular in the country, that, had he been in administration, nothing should have induced him to be a party in agreeing to a peace upon any terms by which this country was to abandon the Cape of Good Hope. He felt this sentiment still the more strongly on account of the connexion that was now established between France and Batavia. He considered the Cape of Good Hope as almost invaluable to us, as a place of safe reception to us between Asia and Europe; but, although this was his opinion, yet he did not hold it to be any part of his duty to join those who took so much pains to render the peace an object of disapprobation with the people of this country: he saw no good that was likely to arise out of that conduct; neither did he think it was proper to cavil too much at that part of the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown, although it was done of course under the advice of Ministers. With regard to Malta, he considered it also as a place of great value, on account of the communication it had between the Mediterranean and the Levant. It was one of the finest ports in the world. It was in a commercial view most important for us to retain; but it was not in a commercial view that he felt the full importance of this place. He felt its value much more on account of the effect it would have on surrounding nations, to see the flag of Great Britain hoisted as an assurance to all who passed it, of the protection of the British arms, should they chance to stand in need of it; and when he came to add

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to this the desire of the Maltese to continue under our protection, he was the more induced to express his regret that this place had been given up. He had therefore no difficulty in saying, that, under all the circumstances, he could not have assented to the giving up of either of these places, had he been in administration. But now for the immediate question before the House. He could not agree to the address moved by his Right Hon. Friend, because it commenced with an invective against the peace. He saw no good likely to arise to this country from that course of proceeding. In the year 1783, when a peace was made, after it was admitted to be necessary on all hands, yet that peace was afterwards made use of by parties in that and the other House of Parliament, as an organ to destroy the Administration who made it. He did not like the purpose for which the parties then decried that peace; *as little did he like the course which was taken now, which he could not help regarding as a* CONSPIRACY *for the purpose of supplanting the present Ministry.* He had stated the points in the present case in which he did not concur; but he desired to be understood as not being a party to any such confederacy. He agreed, on the whole, with the amendment; and had it not been moved, probably he should have moved some amendment himself. The first address, if agreed to, he apprehended might do mischief. He approved of the amendment, because the general tendency of it was only to approve of carrying into effect the definitive treaty; because it was founded on the basis of the preliminary treaty, which had already been approved of by the two Houses of Parliament.

Mr. GRENVILLE, in explanation, vindicated his Noble Relative (Lord Grenville) from the charge of having expressed a doubt on the right of our sovereignty in India. The Hon. Member was called to order; but he was suffered to proceed, and in the course of his observation he declared, that the Noble Lord alluded to had, on the contrary, uniformly declared that our right was indisputable.

GENERAL GASCOYNE, seeing many Gentlemen desirous to deliver their sentiments, and considering the lateness of the hour (two o'clock), moved that the House should adjourn till to-morrow.

The question of adjournment being put from the Chair,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, his own feeling was in favour of a decision before the House should part. It was the interest of the country also, that no delay should take place. On the other hand, he was extremely desirous that the subject should have a full investigation. If, then, there were so many Gentlemen desirous to deliver their sentiments, the propriety of giving an opportunity to say every thing that could be said upon the subject was such, that he thought even feeling of his own, and the public consideration, should give way. He hoped, however the numbers inclined to speak were not so great as to prevent the House from proceeding in the debate.

Mr. PITT observed, that if any considerable number of persons on the one side or the other were desirous of promoting and co-operating in a more minute inquiry, and of giving more material information on a subject of so much importance, he should feel no difficulty in saying that he was ready to accede to the motion of adjournment. But for himself he could assure the House that he was PERFECTLY SATISFIED *with the tone and spirit of the address, as it was amended, as well as with the arguments so ably and successfully used by his Noble Friend.* In favour, therefore, of the amendment, he should have contented himself with giving a silent vote. There was when he reviewed what had already fallen in the course of the debate, no prospect of any new arguments which might be supposed capable of making any serious impression on the minds of Gentlemen, and of changing their opinions as they existed on either side. The Noble Friend had made but one speech, and those who disapproved of the peace had delivered three or four speeches, with all the benefit of a peroration and a summary. As he saw no probability that any additional arguments of importance would be thrown out in the course of further investigation, he should therefore press the immediate decision on the amendment.

Mr. GREY said, that, however he might be disposed to vote against the address, he was less inclined to oppose the amendment; for though he could not help thinking that the dangers of the country were greater by the definitive treaty than by the preliminary articles, yet he was convinced upon the whole that his Majesty was well advised to put an end to the contest, even on those terms, rather than continue the war. It was difficult to reconcile the conduct of the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Dundas), who was ready to concur in applauding the wisdom of the treaty, yet strongly arraigned that wisdom, *inasmuch as it had sanctioned measures which he himself would not have acceded to*, the cession of the Cape of Good Hope and Malta. The war, he was convinced, had failed in all its objects; our successes, had ever signal, had been separate, and their grand end had been consequently defeated.

The House then divided—For an adjournment 187; against it 135;—majority 52.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 14TH, 1802.

The adjourned debate was the order of the day.

Mr. SPEAKER having read the address proposed by Mr. Windham, and the amendment moved by Lord Hawkesbury;

Sir W. YOUNG said, that if it had not been for the adjournment of the debate, he should probably not have delivered his opinion upon the subject: after the very comprehensive view that had been taken of the question by the Movers of the address and of the amendment, he could not have expected, at a late hour in the night, to have fixed the attention of the House to the observations he had to offer. As to the views of the Right Hon. Gentleman who moved the address, they were beyond all question derived from patriotic principles, and a sense of the public duty that he owed to his country; nor could he bear to hear it said, that his speech had a factious tendency, or that there was any design in that Right Hon. Gentleman of taking the public opinion by surprise; he was so long connected with that Gentleman, and many of those who agreed with him in opinion, that he could say that their motives were the same as his, not proceeding from a factious spirit of opposition, but a deep felt sense of public duty. The Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) had said, that the peace was to be considered as a whole; he and his friends thought it impossible well to consider a whole, without attentively observing the parts which formed that whole, and the quality of the materials of which it was composed. If the address moved by his Right Hon. Friend, produced no other effect than the amendment proposed by the Noble Lord, still he should consider that it had not altogether failed in beneficial consequence; for, although he preferred the original address, still he was glad to see such a document come from the hands of his Majesty's Ministers as the amended address, for the amended address seemed to confess what the original address proclaimed; the object of the original address being to call the country to a sense of her danger, to shew her the precipice on which she stood, and the means of her salvation. As to the difference between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, he should first advert to the observations that had been made last night respecting Malta. It had been said, that the treaty gave a preponderance to the Maltese *langue*; they were to fill at least half the offices of the state, and might be expected to form a sufficient militia for the protection of that island. Gentlemen who held that language seemed little acquainted with the island of Malta or its inhabitants; he had himself resided there for ten weeks, and had better opportunities of being acquainted with the subject. In the whole island of Malta there were not five men who could be called merchants; and could it be expected that an Order which valued itself on its high nobility, could associate with persons of the description of gold-workers and sellers of coral in the administration of the island? If a few could so far degrade themselves, their votes would be lost in the opinion of the majority; and the island of Malta would then, instead of being restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, be in fact given up to the democracy of the Maltese. That this would be the consequence was still further apparent from this circumstance, that the noble knights of the other *langues* seldom visit the island; and therefore the management of its affairs, and all the influence attending it, must fall into the hands of the Maltese *langue*, which would soon be such a democracy as he had represented. Another important part was, the cession of Louisiana from Spain to France, directly in the teeth of the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, and many other treaties, wherein this country (properly jealous of the increasing connexion between France and Spain, and the ascendancy the former power was gaining) bargained that Spain should not cede any part of her empire to France. He differed from the Noble Lord in his opinion respecting the value of Louisiana; he thought that, both from its real value and its situation, hanging over Mexico, it was a most important acquisition to France. The probable re-conquest of St. Domingo by the French was in his view of things a subject of much danger to our W[illegible] India possessions; he should think them [illegible]r safer, were St. Domingo to be a negro [illegible]-public, than to have the whole of that lar[illegible] and most fertile island in the hands of France. At present France would require a very large army there, to conquer it, and to maintain its conquest; but it must be recollected, that when peace should be restored, the army which they will always keep up in the island, and which we cannot prevent them from keeping up, will always (in case of a dispute between this country and France) be sufficiently strong to threaten the existence of all our settlements in the West Indies. The absolute value of St. Domingo to France is incalculable; the French part alone was formerly worth all our settlements in the West Indies, and employed above 700 heavy ships in its trade. Now that the whole island is in the hands of France, much more commerce and colonial productions must be expected from it, and a new nursery of seamen is opened for the French navy. Besides the danger that impended over our own West India settlements, the dangerous situation of Mexico was also to be considered, which now lay in a manner at the foot of France. When France is in possession of St. Domingo and Louisiana, if a dispute should arise with Spain, and the French standard were unfurled, and pointed to Mexico, what myriads of adventurers would join it, in hopes of exchanging the iron of the North for the gold of Mexico! The conquest of Mexico would present no

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difficulties to France; she can have it now whenever she will. Such are the incalculably valuable acquisitions that France has obtained by the peace, in the West Indies. In Europe, and in every quarter of the world, she has exhibited the same spirit of adventure and desire of aggrandizement. She has possessed herself of the Italian republic, and the island of Elba. Were Gentlemen so little read in the history of the great military republics, as to be unaware of the enterprising spirit and aspiring genius of those men who guided their deliberations in council and their operations in the field? With such men the history of the French revolution, and of the late operations of the French army, abounded. Of such men the world must be at this day aware; France has great numbers, possessing adequate genius, and a spirit of enterprise, prompt to embark in any of those projects most competent to promote her interests, her prosperity, her power, and aggrandizement, not only in those new territorial acquisitions which she has secured in Europe, but in those new and important territories ceded to her in the West by Spain and Portugal, and thrown open to France such a field of new enterprise in the bosom of America as opens exhaustless resources of wealth and commerce. Was it then to be rationally supposed that France would fail to benefit of this new vantage-ground, on which she now stood; or that she would not, so soon as her strength and resources were at the proper pitch, pour destruction, military and commercial, upon all the powers by which she is surrounded? It had been said that capital was a tyrannic power, which could at all times secure monopoly, and defeat every attempt to meet it by any other principle in the field of commerce. Such was the boasted power of British capital; but even those who used that argument, were aware that persevering industry was the source of capital; that, by the advantageous cessions of territory in every quarter of the globe, which France had obtained by this treaty, she had acquired ample means for the employment of her industry and the acquisition of that capital, which, no sooner should she attain an addition to her power and her natural advantages, than she would studiously convert to the depression and ruin of this country, by excluding our manufactures from every port in the world where her influence could be exerted, and substituting her own. It was to truly British and legitimate industry and commerce that we owed the extent of our wealth and the great resources of our revenue; and therefore it was more peculiarly the duty of those who negotiated this treaty, to have looked with a jealous and vigilant eye to the maintenance of our commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean, where exist the principal marts of consumption for our linen and cotton manufactures. With respect to the cession of Spanish territory in America to France, it was an act in direct violation of the treaty of Utrecht; and it was a ground, in his mind, upon which, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, it was the duty of his Majesty's Ministers to appeal to Spain, and endeavour to procure an adjustment less calculated to excite apprehensions, as well in Spain herself, as in Great Britain, for the dangers of new aggrandizements to France in that quarter of the globe. Upon the whole, however, though the definitive treaty was one to which he never would have agreed to set his hand, yet, now that it was concluded, he thought the country bound in every principle of good policy and national faith to maintain it inviolate. But, in that faithful observance of the treaty, it was the duty of this country to be perpetually vigilant against similar designs, which France, tempted by her power and her ambition, might be induced to meditate. From the nature and extent of that power, the attack, whenever it should come, might be expected to come suddenly; and when he considered France as possessing in Europe a line of coast from the Netherlands to Italy, together with her influence in the other ports of the Mediterranean, her new acquisitions in the East and in the West, he trusted that his Majesty's Government would be jealously alive to the necessity of maintaining, at all times, such a military and naval establishment at home and abroad, as would be competent to enable this country to reassume hostilities with security and effect, whenever it should unfortunately become necessary. He concluded by supporting the original motion.

LORD CASTLEREAGH.—"I feel considerable reluctance, Sir, to attempt troubling the House upon a subject that has already been so ably and so fully discussed; but I must solicit a few moments of your attention, while I state the reasons which induce me to concur in the address moved by my Noble Friend. It appears to me that the question may be resolved into two points, and on those only I shall dwell, viz. how far the late treaty has provided for our security; or whether it might be better provided for by a further prosecution of the war? But before I come to a more immediate consideration of these two points, I wish to be indulged in a few observations upon the two great features which the discussion seems to have hitherto assumed. What I allude to are, the alterations that have taken place in the relative situation of the two countries between the signing of the preliminaries and the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and the proceedings which the British Government should have instituted in consequence of those alterations. As to the events that have taken place upon the continent, I am ready to agree, that they are extremely important in their nature, and that as such they might have been the ground of a new consideration; they *might be deemed sufficient to justify a breaking off of the treaty, or at least a demand for an equiva-*

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lent. But in making up my mind on this part of the question, I think it my duty to examine how far it bears on the general question. Did these alterations so endanger our security, as to make it wise in Ministers to break off the negotiation? I cannot really consider them of that magnitude with regard to us. But have Ministers made any attempt to obtain an equivalent? They may, or they may not, as far as I can pretend to say. But what could be that equivalent, the failure to obtain which would have justified them in breaking off the treaty? I am rather inclined to agree with my Noble Friend, that neither the alterations that have taken place subsequent to the signing of the preliminaries, nor an endeavour to obtain an equivalent, could have warranted Ministers, *who acted on the principle of our own security*, to forbear bringing the treaty to a final conclusion. The security of the continent, though much to be wished, was not with them the most urgent, or the most important object. But, in considering the consequences of the First Consul of France having assumed the Presidency of the Italian republic, it was material to distinguish between the direct and indirect disposal of the resources of that republic. That he indirectly influenced the resources of the Cisalpine republic, previous to the signing of the preliminaries, nobody will deny; and that since his accession to the Presidency of the Italian republic, these resources are at his more direct disposal, may be also acknowledged. But as that influence more immediately affects other countries, and as we were anxious to provide for *the security of our own*, was this change in the influence of France over Italy a sufficient cause for a renewal of the war on our part? I cannot, neither do I believe the House can think so. Indeed the cession of Louisiana appears to me of more importance. In that we are more particularly and more vitally concerned, because it may more materially affect our colonial interests. But is the chance of its affecting those interests, dear as they justly should be to us, *a justifiable ground for relinquishing the hopes of peace?* SURELY NOT. As to what the Honourable Baronet asserted, that this cession was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht, surely in that assertion he did not evince his usual accuracy of research; for Louisiana was not then considered as one of the possessions of Spain that should not be yielded to France; neither was it guarantied by that treaty. It passed to France from Spain by a secret article of the treaty of 1763. That was looked upon as a proud peace; yet the present treaty was in some points more advantageous, for by it we possess a leading and commanding station in Trinidad, which we did not possess before. But it is asked, How far will the spirit of encroachment, which actuates France, be permitted to advance? That spirit it is no doubt our duty and interest *to watch*. But I am bold to say, that it is peculiarly *incumbent upon us*, under the circumstances of our present situation, *to shew ourselves anxious to prove*, that it is our sincere wish *to embrace a system of peace*, as far as that system is compatible with our *safety*. That proof we have given by acquiescing in the alterations that have taken place in the relative situation of the two countries since the signing of the preliminaries; and, *unless France* NOW *begins to act in a different spirit from that which prompted these alterations, neither the maritime nor the continental peace that now prevails can be of any long continuance*. But it was the prerogative of his Majesty to make war and peace; and how Ministers would act in advising the former, depended on their discretion. If FUTURE *encroachments were attempted by France*, no doubt the House would be prepared to pledge themselves in support of Administration, and both Parliament and the country would unanimously and cordially combine in arresting the progress of such a spirit, that *must prove both dangerous to our own security, and subversive of the independence of Europe*. There are two other topics on which I must now beg leave briefly to touch; the one is Malta. By the preliminaries it was stipulated, that that island should be made independent of the contracting parties, and it was expected that a great power (Russia) would have garrisoned it; but this, it seems, Russia declined. —As a military station, Malta was undoubtedly of great value, especially as it favoured an attack upon Egypt. In this view it was more important than its bearings on Italy or on our commerce. But when Russia refused to garrison it, what better arrangement could have been made than that which the treaty has adopted? That it was not in a perfect state of security I am not prepared to deny; but if adequate funds were provided to support a garrison, its situation would by no means be precarious. The conduct which its inhabitants had displayed, on very trying occasions, gave a fair promise that they would again act with the same spirit for their defence. The funds indeed formed an important question; and I am happy to have found a statement of the revenues of the island, which I am led to think authentic, and which represents them in a more favourable light than they had hitherto been represented. This statement makes the revenues amount to 130,000*l.* Since that calculation was made, a new source of revenue has been opened by the establishment of new *langues* in other countries, particularly the Russian and Bavarian *langues*. So that, taking the old and new revenues together, they will now amount to about 300,000*l.* exclusive of the commercial revenues of the island at the disposal of the Grand Master. Besides, an improved regulation has lately been adopted in the customs, which promises a great increase in the revenue; and on every view of what may improve or increase its revenues, they may be expected to amount to as large a sum as they stood at previous to the war. Add to this

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an accumulated surplus left by the late Emperor of Russia, and which will now be converted to the better re-establishment of the Order. So much for the revenues of Malta.—The grand object that we had in view, Sir, in that contest, in which for nine years we were engaged, was the attainment of *general security*; and to see how far we have succeeded, I cannot do better than refer to the three leading points on which this security was to be founded. It was by the abolition of Jacobin principles, by the enemy being placed in that situation in which they could no longer hope, with the same prospect of success, to press them against this country, or by such an alteration in their application, that they could not excite any feeling of formidable danger. Sir, will any man now say that the danger from French principles exists to the same extent as at the commencement of the war? Whatever opinions may be entertained of the nature of the present government of France, it cannot be denied, *that no particular spirit of malignity is now shewn to this country*. We hear no more of those wild schemes of subverting our independence as a nation, which former governments of France were so forward to avow. The French now look to this country as a country enjoying the advantages of liberty, and as possessing a constitution which is worthy of being considered as the model of a free government. They feel for us all *that deference and respect* which it was usual to entertain under their ancient government. With reference to the second ground of security, I contend, that even supposing the French principles to exist in their full force, it is impossible to entertain the same hope of establishing them in this country. At the time the war broke out, their principles were not understood; they were apt to mislead, from their novelty; they had not produced in France those miseries and crimes which have now rendered them the just objects of universal execration. Now their real character and tendency is notorious to the world; the people of this country have for nine years had an opportunity of contemplating the enormities to which they have given birth, and to turn from the view of such disasters to the blessings of a free constitution. It would therefore, Sir, be impossible now, if these principles still remained, to propagate them with any prospect of success. The third ground of security arises partly out of the two preceding circumstances. The best test of the extinction of these principles would undoubtedly have been the re-establishment of monarchy in France; and hence, in conducting the war, we looked to this as a most desirable object, so long as any chance of its being obtained continued. I never professed, however, to say, and I am equally confident my Right Hon. Friend near me (Mr. Pitt) never professed to say, that security *could not be obtained in any other way*. We sought security by pursuing this object as long as the circumstances of Europe afforded any prospect of success; and though in this object we have failed, I maintain that, as far as our separate security is concerned, it has been fully accomplished by the conduct of the war. For, though the territorial acquisitions of France cannot be viewed without regret, I concur with my Noble Friend, that, so far as our separate security is concerned, *this extension of territory is a circumstance which ought not to excite any degree of immediate alarm*. I concur no less with him in thinking, that, *relative to France, we are now in a* GREATER *state of security than in any former period of our history*. I am indeed ready to say, that the influence which France has acquired, is *for the continent* highly disastrous, and that the state in which the balance of power is left in the general system of Europe, is extremely unsatisfactory. France, if she chooses to neglect the internal improvement of her territories, may undoubtedly carry desolation over the continent to a degree still more extensive. Whether she will, for the purpose of gratifying an inordinate lust of dominion, incur the imputation of leaving her own people the prey of barbarism, we have yet to discover; but at present the extension of her territories, as far as the safety of this country is involved, *excites in my mind no degree of apprehension*. That, by the cultivation of the arts of peace, by the introduction of habits of industry into the territories she has acquired, she may hereafter make very important advantages from her conquests, I do not deny. Nor do I mean to assert, that with regard to the security of this country these acquisitions may not, at some *future* time, acquire vast importance; but I do contend, that, as far as immediate security is concerned, as far as our interests are at present liable to be affected, *they ought not to give rise to alarm*. The dangers which may flow from them are not the dangers of the present moment; they can only be dangers of *a remote period*, a period by *far too remote to be calculated upon when judging of the effects of the present peace*. I am, indeed, surprised at the *unworthy timidity* expressed by my Hon. Friends on the other side. When I make use of this expression, I am far from meaning to insinuate that they are conscious of any such dishonourable feeling; but I cannot help saying, that the fears which they have expressed can serve no other purpose but to lower the tone and temper of the people of this country, and to elevate the tone and temper of our late enemy—*(A cry of Hear! Hear!)* On this part of the subject I beg leave shortly to take notice of the change which has taken place in the situation of the country, in consequence of the war. The Noble Lord below, in the former part of this debate, stated this alteration with such ability, that I shall at present content myself with recalling the circumstances which he enumerated, to the recollection of the House. No one more sincerely laments than I do the loss of our

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influence on the continent; but if I were called upon to say what would have the greatest effect *in restoring our influence on the continent*, I would say, that it would be the *giving back to France her colonial possessions*. Let her commerce be revived—let her colonies be cultivated, *and our interests will proportionally increase*. —Now let us see what is the comparative state of the imports and exports of the two countries. During the war our imports have increased from nineteen to thirty millions, and in the same period our exports have been augmented from twenty-four to no less than forty-three millions; our articles of British manufacture exported have risen from eighteen to twenty-four millions, and our tonnage from 1,600,000 to 2,100,000; our mercantile seamen have increased from 118,000 to 143,000: and when it is considered, that during a considerable period of the war 120,000 sailors have been employed in our navy, this accession of numbers cannot be considered without astonishment and admiration, nor fail to exhibit the most satisfactory evidence of the flourishing state of our maritime resources. Such a view of the commerce of the country, at the conclusion of a war the most expensive in which this country was ever engaged, surely affords no room for indulging any great degree of apprehension for its future prosperity. It is besides, Sir, to be considered, that during the war a considerable part of the carrying trade was in the hands of neutrals, and that it will now naturally return to its ancient channels of British conveyance. When I take these circumstances into consideration, I confess that I am astonished at the apprehensions which my Hon. Friends have expressed. How, on the other hand, Sir, does France now stand in point of commercial resources? In 1777, the latest period to which any regular account can be obtained previous to the war, the French exports were 12, and their imports about 9,000,000*l.* In the interval they had certainly increased; but, allowing for this increase, they will not differ materially from this statement. From the West Indies their imports were about 7,500,000*l.* and their exports about 2,500,000*l.* at the same period. By the report of last year the imports from the colonies did not exceed in value 61,000*l.* and the imports were not more than 41,000*l.* Suppose then that at the commencement of a commercial rivalship betwixt the two nations, the exports of France should be 7, and their imports 8,000,000*l.* while our exports amounted to 43, and our imports to 23,000,000*l.* was there any reasonable ground of apprehension about the result of such a commercial contest? Yet, Sir, by a strange inconsistency, when such is the relative situation of the two countries, we are told that our commercial greatness is on the eve of being eclipsed, that our prosperity and our wealth are on the brink of destruction. Before we give way to such groundless apprehensions, before we cherish such desponding fears, it would at least be becoming to estimate the means we enjoy of increasing that wealth which we have acquired. We ought to calculate the effect of a capital more than adequate to the territories on which it is to be employed, before we ascribe so much to the acquisition of territories, for the improvement of which, as in the case of the territories of France, capital is wanting. So far then, Sir, I see no room for apprehension, and I think there is as little to be reasonably dreaded from any prohibitions imposed on the introduction of our manufactures into France, or into the countries of her allies. How it can be the interest of a poor country to purchase dear articles instead of those that are cheaper, I confess I am altogether at a loss to discover; yet such would be the policy of France in excluding our manufactures from her ports. But, even allowing that France by this exclusion should act against all the plainest dictates of common sense, how can we imagine that she will be able to persuade the powers under her influence to consent to such prohibitions? Is it at all probable that they will choose to buy articles at a much dearer rate, when English manufactures are in their power at a lower price, and of superior quality? It is not easy to suppose that they will consent to a prohibition so obviously disadvantageous. But, Sir, let us briefly turn our attention to the state of Europe, and see how far this influence of the French can possibly be exerted. We have already seen the experiment tried, and we have seen its futility demonstrated. We have seen the trial made in a year of war, when every effort was used to ensure its success, and under circumstances far more favourable to such success than any which can exist in a period of peace. I confess, Sir, the subject is a very dry one; but it is one in which we are all much interested—one on which we are all anxious to have our minds relieved from apprehension—*(A cry of Hear! Hear!)*—In the year 1800, a year surely the most favourable for the exclusion of articles of British manufacture, our exports to the continent of Europe were to the value of 7,500,000*l.* Having stated what this amount was at a time when the prohibition against our goods was more general than at any former period, I beg leave now to turn the attention of the House to the countries which are not under French influence, and to which, consequently, the prohibition will not extend. They are Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Poland, and Germany. To these countries the exports amounted to 6,000,000*l.* in the year I have stated. Now what are the countries to which it may admit of argument whether the influence of France is so powerful as to procure an exclusion of our manufactures? They are Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the States of Italy. As to Portugal, I see no reason to believe that during

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peace the French will insist on excluding our manufactures. The prohibition only extended to the continuance of the war; and the stipulation at the conclusion of peace is, that France shall be allowed to trade with Portugal on the footing of the most favoured nations. This is all that I should ask for British commerce and British manufactures. Let a fair competition once be established, and I have no fear about the result. The greater part of Italy I allow to be under French influence; but with Venice in the hands of the Emperor at the one extremity, and with Naples at the other, I see little reason to dread the consequences of any prohibition which the French may attempt to establish. In stating that to these countries during the year I mentioned, our exports amounted to 1,300,000*l.* all that remained was only 200,000*l.* out of the value of the whole exports. We have already, therefore, seen the worst of the effects of such prohibitions during the continuance of the late contest; it is contrary to any principle of reason to suppose that we can experience worse effects during a peace, and therefore we have no reasonable ground of apprehension. If we look to America, we see the fairest prospect for the continuance of our commercial relations; and if we look to the West Indies, there is quite as little room for gloomy apprehensions. It may be said, indeed, that several important colonies are now to be restored to the enemy, and that our trade will materially suffer by this restoration. This is, in my opinion, a groundless apprehension. If we look, Sir, at the extent of British produce sent to all these islands, we shall find that it did not exceed in annual value 800,000*l.*; an amount surely, when contrasted with the great aggregate of our exports, of very inconsiderable importance. But I deny that a loss, even to this amount, will be sustained. France cannot in the present state of her manufactures supply the demands of her colonies. She will be compelled to resort to the British market to obtain the necessary supply. We find that this is nothing singular in the history of this country. For a considerable time after the peace of 1763, the restored possessions of the French were supplied with articles of British produce; the same thing took place at the peace of 1783; and it is surely much more likely that it should take place under the present circumstances of France and her manufactures. When we look to the state of the French colonies, which are now in their own possession, we see still less room for apprehension. On the situation of St. Domingo, I have only a few observations to offer; and it is the less necessary for me to enlarge, as I see an Hon. Gentleman opposite (General Maitland) who will give you much more accurate information on the subject than any to which I can pretend. I say then, Sir, that, if France succeeds in restoring industry to this important colony, this they could only do by importation. According to the most moderate calculation, about one half, *or nearly* 300,000 *of the blacks, have perished since the commencement of the first disorders in the island.* Taking the number of negroes wanted to be 300,000, and the price of each man to be 60*l.* which is not an exaggerated valuation, no less a sum than 18,000,000*l.* will be necessary to provide for the island the number necessary to fill up the place of those who have perished in the civil contests, or openly in the field. Can we suppose, that, under the present circumstances of France, she should soon possess such a redundancy of capital as to enable her to make the purchase, without which the island was without value, far less to put it on that footing which would render it as valuable as it was prior to the first insurrections which took place? The question of the probable success of the French, or of the difficulties they may experience in restoring tranquillity to the island, is one involving so many different considerations, that I am unwilling now to enter upon it. I will only remark, that the establishment of an independent Black government is what I could not contemplate without dismay. The dangerous effects of such an establishment on the tranquillity of the negroes in our own islands are sufficiently obvious; and I leave it for the consideration of the House, that with such an establishment, France might avail herself of the breaking out of the first war to annoy our islands." His Lordship concluded by expressing his conviction, that we had come out of the combat in a situation which would enable us to meet any danger that might threaten our independence or our honour. The exertions we had already made had enabled us *to sit down in peace*, if the world would allow us to continue so; and under the circumstances in which we found ourselves placed, he thought it well to discontinue the contest, since we could discontinue it in perfect consistency with our safety. He trusted that a vigorous establishment would be preserved, and that we should be ready to stand forth in any contest which might be necessary for the maintenance of our rights, our independence, or our honour.

GENERAL MAITLAND began by stating, that he rose for the purpose of making some remarks upon the speech of the Hon. Baronet who had just sat down. In these remarks he should indulge no theoretical opinions of his own; but should merely offer some practical knowledge, and some information derived from experience and observation. The worthy Baronet, in treating of the subject, had confined his observations principally to the West Indies, to the possession of St. Domingo by France, and to the cession of Louisiana. With respect to the boundaries stipulated in America, he could not conceive that much danger would arise from the fixing the boundary of the Arawari. Before the war, the French, as a Noble Lord had justly said, had pushed their settlements as far as the Arawari. With respect to the

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ourse and position of that river, different opi-
ions had been given by different Gentlemen.
'or his own part, he had no more means of
ascertaining them than those which were pos-
essed in common by every other person. But the
nswer to the observations that had been made
vas obvious. What were the boundaries?
le founded his opinion upon that of the two
:ountries the most interested upon the occa-
ion. We knew that France had conceived the
oundary that she desired, to be of such im-
portance as to carry on the war against Portu-
gal for the purpose of obtaining it. We knew
oo, that Portugal conceived also the boun-
lary to be of such moment, that she resisted it
s long as she was able. When, therefore, we
aw the importance which these two powers
ttached to it, was he to be told that they knew
othing of their own interests, and that we
were better acquainted with them than they
were? He came now to the effect of the boun-
lary of the Arawari, which was coupled with
he cession of Louisiana. Of Louisiana he
ad heard much; he had heard that it would
nable France to attack the United States on
one side, and that she would be able to pene-
rate to Mexico on the other. This, however,
vas not the first time that strange doctrines
had been maintained respecting Louisiana.
Similar ones had been held at an early period
of the last century, and upon them were found-
ed the famous Mississippi scheme, and the con-
sequent Mississippi bubble. When Louisiana, *was formerly in the possession of France*, it was
otally imbecile. During the time it had be-
onged to Spain, it had not advanced to greater
naturity. In the year 1795, its population
had not increased at all since the time it had
been ceded by France. But it was contended,
hat the possession of Louisiana would give
he French great influence eventually in the
councils of North America. There was one
observation that would apply here. *We pos-
essed Canada; yet the possession of that settlement
did not enable us to affect the United States.* If
hat were the case, how much stronger would
he arguments apply to the case of Louisiana!
f the standard of France were set up *in Loui-
iana*, and the standard of the United States
were set up *in North America*, he should, he
confessed, have no fear of the result. With
respect to Mexico, he saw no cause for those
pprehensions which seemed to have produced
uch an effect upon the minds of some Hon.
Gentlemen. He proceeded now to the general
uestion of the colonies. When Gentlemen
alked of what France could do with her colo-
ies, did they never recollect *such a thing as the
British navy?* Did it never enter their minds,
hat *she must send fleets and armies to those colo-
ies to render them powerful, and that if she did,
he must have passes from the Lords Commissioners
of his Majesty's Admiralty?* The whole argu-
ment upon this part of the subject seemed to
im to be a most curious one. When, it was
sked, did a great military power refrain from
cting upon military principles? True; but
how did this assertion apply to the colonies?
To do us injury, it was not necessary that
France should be a great military republic;
she must be also a great naval republic. He
wished now to say a few words with respect to
St. Domingo. He owned that he had been a
good deal surprised at the language which had
been held by a Right Hon. Gentleman last
night; but much more was he astonished at
the language used this day by the Hon. Baro-
net. A Noble Lord opposite to him, who had
spoken second (Lord Castlereagh), had con-
tended, that what Great Britain had obtained
by the war was security. Yet though by the
war we had got rid of the revolutionary spirit
in Europe, we had attained that end to the co-
lonies by the war. We had, however, got a
better chance of producing that effect by the
peace, than we could have had by any other
means that we could have employed. An
Hon. Member had alluded to the case of a free
republic, or, as he should call it with more
justice, a free anarchy of blacks, being esta-
blished in St. Domingo. This would be the
greatest evil that could happen to that island.
If the French *did get the better* of the existing
state of affairs in their West India islands,
then, it might be said, another kind of dan-
ger would arise. True, but that would be of
a legitimate kind, and *one against which we
could apply precautions.* The Hon Baronet had
adverted to the danger of a large French army
being maintained in St. Domingo. That this
was not an important consideration, he did not
mean to say; not that such an army could do
any injury to our islands, but that a large force
would be kept in them, till the result of the
expedition to St. Domingo was known. That
expedition he believed would not be effectual
so soon as some Gentlemen imagined. There
was one other topic to which he wished to be
permitted to allude; the situation in which we
were placed with respect to the East Indies.
An Hon. Member had confined his observa-
tions principally to Cochin; he should extend
his to all the settlements ceded; and, giving
that Hon. Member the advantage of those
cessions, he would then maintain that never
were our possessions, or indeed any posses-
sions, more secure than ours were in the East
Indies at the present moment. Pondicherry
was formerly of great importance certainly;
but the annihilation of Tippoo's power
had entirely put an end to it. Cochin was
nearer to his territories; but that settlement
now was of as little importance. The Hon.
Member proceeded next to the discussion of
the cession of the Cape. Of that possession
he was as far from undervaluing the conse-
quence as any man; he agreed with almost all
that had been said last night upon the subject.
To the cession of such a place, he should have
looked with a disapproving eye, had not our
East India possessions been so secure as they
were; and had not the annihilation of Tip-
poo's power, and the possession of Ceylon,
rendered our security doubly secure. Upon

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the subject of Malta, he should not dwell long, as it had been so much and so ably argued already. That that island was of great importance, he was prepared to admit; but still it was not sufficiently so to justify us in carrying on the war solely upon that account. But it had been said, that our fleets would not be able to go into the Mediterranean for want of ports. Lord Nelson, however, found no difficulty; and though we had no port, he was enabled to beat and annihilate the whole French fleet. After that event Malta fell into our hands, and an expedition was sent to Egypt. General Maitland here bestowed a warm eulogium upon General Abercromby, who, he contended, would, if Malta had been of that paramount importance which it was contended to be, have fitted out his force for the attack of Egypt from thence. But what did he do? He carried all his force to a Turkish port. In conclusion, he should only add, that the more he considered the whole of the treaty, and the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, the more did it appear to him that the peace was as honourable as could be made, and as likely to be permanent as any peace that had ever been concluded before.

Lord Temple said, he should not now go over the whole of the subject, as its principal points had been so thoroughly discussed. The Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) had stated the peace to be insecure, and therefore he would vote for the address, because he wished to make it secure. The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) had observed, that this country would not long remain at peace if France still pursued that line of conduct which she had adopted between the preliminary and definitive treaty: for this reason he voted for the address, because France had constantly shewn the same spirit of aggrandizement. He must a little complain of the Noble Lord who had spoken last (Castlereagh), and the other Noble Lord (Hawkesbury), with respect to the course of argument which they had adopted. They had asked, was it better to renew the war on account of the aggrandizement of France, or to make peace? But this was not the question. The question was, whether, with our successes and our resources, we were not entitled to more than his Majesty's Ministers had obtained? The question was, whether we should not have obtained a compensation for the advantages which France had in the mean time obtained? It had been said, that the definitive treaty agreed with the preliminary treaty, and therefore they were bound to agree with the amendment: he could not agree to this proposition, because the situation of Europe was not the same at the period of the definitive treaty as it was at the period of the preliminary treaty. Would the Noble Lord contend, that our situation was the same after France had become possessed of the Italian republic, or that the basis of the treaty was not changed? Under such circumstances his Majesty's Ministers ought to have obtai an adequate compensation from France for increase of power to her which had t place between the preliminary and defini treaty. What was the situation of Fr with relation to the rest of Europe? It been truly stated to be unsatisfactory. W respect to Malta, they had been told th was placed in the hands of an indepe power; it was necessary, however, before assertion could be received, to prove that ples, to whose hands it was entrusted, w independent power; it was necessary to pr that she was able to take care of her own terests, before those of others were entr to her. The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) given a statement of the trade of France, observed upon the impossibility of her i ing us; but the statement of the Noble did not relate to the present time, but t period of the monarchy: the case, how was very different now, when France added to her resources and her means be all proportion, and when she possessed tent of coast from Venice to the Texe had been stated, that Malta was of no u us in a time of peace; it might be very but it was well known, that it would se a depôt of provisions for the use of our t and that it would serve to protect us fro French expeditions, whilst it would also tect our blockade of Toulon. In view merits of this treaty he would ask, h obtained what had been so triumphant serted to be the object of the war, inde for the past, and security for the f which were the only grounds on whic country ought to make peace? Had w tained either of those objects? With r to indemnity, were we to look for it in t vantages of Europe, with whom we had a common cause? Were we to look for the indemnity given to our good allies? us look at the King of Sardinia: was he at all in the treaty? With respect t Queen of Portugal, her integrity had broken through; and so subservient was tugal to France, that he believed our a sador there had been sent home for in tions with respect to an insult which country had received there. Had w Naples independent? The isle of Elba sufficiently testify to the contrary. though not least, was the Prince of Or if ever less indemnity was offered, if a insult was offered to any ally, it was t Prince of Orange: we allowed the revi the old dispute relative to his title, and said that he should have indemnity; b had not said when or how. If any e was wanting against the treaty, it was the Noble Lord (Hawkesbury), who h clared the peace to be insecure: let th even at the address moved by the Noble tary of State, and they would find that commended the keeping up a war est ment in time of peace: in this point

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he peace was insecure. As to our trade, he hould say very little upon it; but it was of mportance to consider the means which France ow possessed of extending her trade, and of hutting many of the ports of Europe against s. With respect to the Cape, he should say othing, as the subject had been so ably dis-ussed by the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) on a former evening. He could not elp observing, however, that we had given p to France every establishment connected vith our East India possessions, where they night make, undisturbed, whatever arrange-ients they chose for the purpose of annoying ur trade and attacking our power. It had een said, that his Majesty's Ministers had given up none of our rights; but how would hey justify giving up the honour of our flag, vhich was the last privilege that ought to ave been given up? He wished to ask, who vished for war, his Majesty's Minister, who reserved a sullen silence, and refused to ex-lain any article of the treaty, or those who vished to settle those points by amicable nego-iation?

The MASTER of the ROLLS said, he did ot rise for the purpose of entering into the letails of this question, but should merely onfine himself to one or two of the most pro-ninent points. He made this choice, first, ecause it was not easy to compress the whole nto an argument of any reasonable length; nd in the next place, because the principal rticles of the treaty had been so sufficiently xplained by those who had been concerned in his negotiation, as to render it impossible for im to say any thing new upon the subject. He should confine himself to two points: It ad been said, that the definitive treaty ought ot to have been concluded, notwithstanding he preliminary treaty, on account of the large ccession in the mean time made to the power f France, which the Noble Lord asserted had hanged the face of Europe. He should not ow enter into the peace in detail, because, if he peace was unjustifiable in its principle, it nust necessarily be vitiated in detail; nor ould any argument be adduced in favour of he details until the principle was justified. A great deal of ingenuity had been employed by his Right Hon. Friend on the preceding evening, about many of whose sentiments, perhaps, there might be little difference of opinion; but he was at a loss to discover how he arguments of his Right Hon. Friend ap-lied in the present case. It had been clearly hewn that France had made many acquisi-ions, and that she had materially increased her power; but the Gentlemen on the other ide had not shewn what part of those acqui-itions, or how much of that power, had been he consequence of the peace. It was to the events of the war that France was indebted for that increase of her power. Did those Gentlemen mean to contend, that the war ought not to have been undertaken? He was persuaded, that, had as was the condition of Europe at the present moment, it would have been much worse, had it not been for the war. It might be said, that there was not a necessity for making peace; it would, however, be re-collected, that the dictates of prudence were a ground of necessity to a wise man; and cer-tainly, if there existed no visible means of bet-tering the condition of a country in a state of war, every thing concurred to induce and to render it a matter of good policy, in that country, to conclude a peace. If his Right Hon. Friend could have shewn how a change could have been effected in the situation of Europe, he would have joined his humble efforts to rouse the country to a continuance of the contest. He would have consented in that case to give up all the chances which might have been expected from pursuing that line of con-duct; but before they induced him to support a continuance of the war, they must point out to him some method of successfully effecting any good by continuing the war: for instance, while we had allies upon the continent, there was a chance that the balance of Europe might be restored; such was the period when we re-jected the first overtures of Buonaparté. We might then, perhaps, have obtained more by a treaty of peace; but we gave up whatever compensation we might have obtained, for the chance of gaining every thing. A treaty of peace, therefore, such as this, could not be consented to at that period, when there was the chance of getting more than by any treaty of peace. In alliance with the powers of the continent, we might attain the object that was sought for; but certainly we could not by our-selves. We could with the greatest certainty ascertain the utmost limits of our efforts, and we could know, that at the end of three or four years, the effect of these efforts would be still the same. What could we have done to prevent France from gaining the great acces-sion of power which she had acquired upon the continent, to have prevented her from ob-taining an influence in the Italian republic, or from obtaining from Spain the cession of Lou-isiana? It might be said, that if we did not persevere in the war for the sake of Belgium and Holland, it was no reason why we should not renew the war for the purpose of endea-vouring to prevent the influence of the First Consul over the Italian republic. It might be said, that we might as well continue the war for one object as for another; but a country must draw a line for itself. It was not to be said, that a country was to continue a war for the purpose of preventing this or that particu-lar object from being carried into execution, but to preclude a dishonourable peace. It was not that we were to fight for one object or another; but whether in either case it would have been of use, or on the other hand una-vailing, to continue the contest. The ques-tion resolved itself into this: whether the war could have been continued with any pro-spect of diminishing the resources or contract-

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ing the power of France? It had been said, that the treaty ought not to have been broken off, but that we should have insisted upon a compensation for the increased power of France: in this the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Grenville), and the Noble Lord (Temple), had differed from the Right Hon. Gentleman who had opened the discussion, who conceived that the treaty ought to have been broken off after the conduct which France had displayed in the Italian republic. With respect to compensation, was it to be taken out of the territories in our possession? He wished to know whether any islands that we possessed at the conclusion of the war would serve as a counterbalance to the power which France had acquired on the continent of Europe? It was not the power attained by preserving those islands in our possession that rendered us capable of contending with France, so far as regarded her continental power, because it was not exactly of the same sort. France had acquired a power by which other powers were less safe, but which she had rendered safe by rounding her territories; but would the possession of the West India islands have the same effect with respect to this country? So far from increasing the means of this country, it brought with it rather weakness than strength; it divided our means and our resources, and certainly the acquisition of those resources we should acquire afforded no new means of defence, nor any means of counterbalancing the advantages acquired by France in India. This was felt at the negotiation at Lisle, in which it was fully understood that the West India islands could be no counterbalance to the power of France. If we had possessed the means of counterbalancing the power of France by means of our West India islands, then it must follow that Ministers were highly to blame in giving up those means; but it had not been proved that we possessed them. It was also to be recollected, that whilst we possessed no means of controlling France upon the continent, it was only by means of the West India islands, to which she would direct her attention, that we had any means of influencing her, through the medium of the trade which she would establish and carry on in those islands. He had heard no definite proposition made as to the propriety or expediency of continuing the war: it seemed, according to the arguments of Gentlemen on the other side, that we were to carry on the war merely for the purpose of taking the chance of whatever might occur; they did not state a probability of effecting a change in the state of Europe, but they were contented with a bare possibility. According to those arguments, we were to continue the war for the mere purpose of not being at peace. We were to go to war merely for the possibility of a change in the affairs of Europe; and if this did not happen soon, we might exhaust our resources before it did happen; and supposing it did not happen in any reasonable time, we should be under the necessity of making peace upon terms much less honourable and advantageous to this country. There were Gentlemen on the other side of the House who thought it was right to make peace; but contended that the peace shewed that we had completely failed in all the objects of the war. A failure on our part there had been none: the object of the war had always been stated to be, to provide for our safety: we had not failed; so far from it, we were then in that House, after escaping from the revolutionary furor to which almost every power which had come into contact with it, except ourselves, had fallen a victim. Here we were in the midst of our ancient constitutional rights. We had been engaged with Europe, in which we could only assist; but it was never imagined that we were to overcome the enemy by dint of our own strength. They all remembered the time when the dread of French principles was so great, that Mr. Burke said it was better to be conquered by any other nation, than to yield to the principles of France, who had voluntarily torn herself from the civilized world, from which it was evident they meant to keep no terms with society. Surely, then, it was a consolation that France had now shewn a disposition to enter into the pale of society, into which she was proceeding as fast as circumstances would admit.—If Buonaparté had taken measures to extirpate jacobinism, whatever might be his conduct on other occasions, he had certainly done a real service to mankind. The conduct of Buonaparté in this instance was certainly founded on good policy, as, if jacobinism should be established in France, no other government could enjoy repose; and if jacobinism should be established any where else, it was clear that no government could exist in France. If Buonaparté wished to extirpate jacobinism, it was certainly sound policy, as, whilst it was suffered to exist, there was no security for the existence of government there or any where else. With respect to the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the value and the importance of that cession had been only *discovered within a few nights preceding*; and he believed that the question had not been overlooked before, not only by them but by their ancestors. It was *formerly in the possession of France*, when France was perfectly alive to her own interest; but she had not been able to *draw from it those advantages which it was contended might be derived from it*. Louisiana was ceded to them by the treaty of 1763. His Hon. Friend had said that Spain would feel a rankling spite against this country, for agreeing to the cession of Louisiana; but for this he could see no reason; it was the voluntary cession of Spain. With respect to *danger* arising from it, he could not perceive that degree of injury to this country which had been pourtrayed. It was ceded to France at the peace of 1763, *and no danger was then apprehended from that cession*, though *the Ministers of that day were fully con-*

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petent to discover that danger, if it really existed. The only danger likely to result from it that he could discover, arose from bringing France in contact with the United States of America. It might happen, *in the course of ages*, that some danger might result from this connexion, but it would not soon be so. He had much doubt whether the treaty of Utrecht, alluded to by the Hon. Baronet, would have prevented the cession of Louisiana by Spain. All that treaty declared was, that Spain should not cede any of her territories to France; but, Louisiana having been ceded to France by the treaty of 1763, it became a question whether the cession of it now again to France was a breach of that treaty. With respect to the non-revival of treaties, he was of opinion, that those Gentlemen who had brought forward arguments against this omission in the definitive treaty, had argued against themselves. They had brought forward claims on the part of France, which they admitted were utterly destitute of foundation. They had assumed an injustice on the part of France, and proved that former treaties ought to have been revived by the very same arguments which would render those treaties absolutely nugatory; for if France disregarded treaties for the purpose of reviving former claims which had been settled by those treaties, then all treaties with her would be useless. If this was the character of the French government, we ought to be constantly at war with her, and publicly to state the reason of it. Confidence begot confidence; and if we entertained these opinions of France, we should be acting in the same manner as the French Directory, who received every declaration of ours with a declaration on their side that they doubted our sincerity. It was certainly not fair to put into the mouth of France claims and pretensions which we ourselves reprobated and condemned. With respect to the general ground of the revival of former treaties, he was not disposed to admit the propriety of it; but he supposed that some motive which he had not been able to discover, had induced the renewal of former treaties in other negotiations. There were some instances at least, in which, as in the present case, if former treaties were renewed, they would be renewed without an object to refer to. France had generally begun in former treaties with the renewal of the treaty of Westphalia, and proceeded forward from thence. It was asserted, that we had in this instance *departed from the established law of nations*; but respecting the practice, it was not so uniform as it seemed to be supposed. Treaties had been before made with France, in which no mention was made of former treaties: in the treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht, for instance, no mention was made of former treaties; yet Europe stood as before. There were several treaties between this country and France, which, if now renewed, would not only have no object to refer to, but would be absolutely contrary, in their operation, to the present situation of affairs. In adverting to the renewal of former treaties, it should have been stated for what purpose they ought to be renewed; for unless Gentlemen could shew him some benefit to be derived from that renewal, he could see no reason for it. One effect was stated to be the consequence of this omission, which was, that all treaties, not renewed, fell to the ground: there were some of which he thought it was of little consequence whether they fell to the ground or not. For instance, if a cession was made, it became absolutely part of the dominion of the country to which it was ceded; it was of no consequence that the treaty was not renewed in the event of a war and a subsequent peace, as the territory ceded could not revert back to the party ceding. Thus, with respect to the *Bay of Honduras*, which had been alluded it, it was said to be doubtful *whether our right to cut log-wood there was not done away by the non-renewal of former treaties.* In the first place, however, it was not very clear that we derived our title to it from a treaty; and, *in the next, we were in possession of the right of property at the commencement of the war, which we had retained, and still held at the conclusion of the war. The right of property, therefore, still remained in this country, and there could not be a clause inserted in the treaty to give us that which we had never lost; we merely restored what we had taken possession of: what we had before possessed in our own right, must remain vested in the same manner, without any necessity for it's being so stipulated by treaty.* With respect to these treaties, the ground on which Gentlemen contended was, that we were left in that quarter of the globe without security or safety against the claims which France might set up against us. It was a singular circumstance, if the treaty set aside all claims, that we should still be subject to them. We had got into a whimsical debate upon the subject. They all agreed that there was no doubt as to our rights; yet they were discussing among themselves whether France might not dispute those claims with us. It seemed we were to implore France to negotiate with us on a subject, in respect of which we said there was no dispute. The offer ought to come from her. No, it was said, they must go to France, and state to her certain claims which we requested her to give up; and it was perfectly natural to suppose that France, finding she had such claims, would demand a compensation for giving them up: this was a complete inversion of our situation; we were to ask her not to attempt what she had not attempted. The definitive treaty gave France nothing but the factories and possessions which she had at the commencement of the war. Under the treaty of 1783, she might claim, according to the provisions of that treaty, various rights with respect to trade, founded upon ancient documents: but we now gave her nothing but what we had taken from her during the war. He should like to know whether a question could be set up as to

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her claims of rights of trade under that treaty. He should have thought, that France, if she set up any claims, would do it under the convention of 1787, that being in his opinion the only plausible claim which she could make. By saying that we gave her factories, it was a question which might be started, whether we gave her these rights of trade which she formerly enjoyed, whether these rights were restored as they existed before the war, or whether France only received her possessions according to the letter of her treaty? But in all his reading, he had never met with the question which was now started, that France might pass by the commencement of the war, and mount up to any indeterminate period, for the purpose of establishing claims. He had never heard any such question arise out of a treaty; the single question was, whether she acquired only by the treaty, or received the privileges which she enjoyed at the commencement of the war? If the latter was to be the case, as Gentlemen on the other side contended, and that a nation was to acquire that which she had not gained by conquest or concession, but merely because she was conquered, whilst the conqueror lost something, it was one of the most whimsical arguments he had ever heard adduced. If this doctrine of claims which were not claimed, was to be set up, it would be necessary to bring all the exertions of imagination, and the superinduction of every probability, into a negotiation, and to choose a person of the most lively fancy to assist every ambassador; he must retire to his closet, and invent and contrive every thing that his imagination could suggest, that might be made the subject of claim or dispute by the adversary. Then, let all these be inserted in the treaty. He would not trespass any further upon the House: he trusted that the peace would stand justified; and that, whilst they should prove themselves fully capable of preserving its blessings, they would be ready, if war became unavoidable, to meet it with firmness and with energy.

Dr. LAURENCE said, it was with surprise and regret that he perceived how different the conclusions were which his Right Hon. Friend, who had just sat down, drew from the same facts, to those which he inferred from them. His Right Hon. Friend had, in concert with Gentlemen of the same opinion as to the treaty, put the question, how far this or that particular island would be a justifiable cause of war—and how far any event which had occurred in the interval between the signing the preliminaries and the conclusion of the definitive treaty, would be a good ground for breaking off that negotiation. It was the custom to put this question on each of those islands or events separately, without considering the joint effects of the whole; and still more, whether Ministers might not have concluded better terms? It was rather remarkable, that the negative of this latter question was uniformly assumed, without the least evidence being adduced to shew that many of the disadvantages of the treaty arose, not so much from the want of skill and judgment in Ministers, as from the peculiar circumstances of the times. Gentlemen, in touching on the subject of Louisiana, seemed to keep aloof from any allusion to the Floridas, though they were also ceded to France, and were known to have many excellent ports and other important advantages. The Noble Lord on the Treasury Bench had observed, that Louisiana was before in the hands of the French, and that it never was deemed of much consequence in value or produce; but the true reason of that was, that the French then turned their attention to Canada, and neglected the cultivation of Louisiana. If, however, the strength of France was such at present, that it would have been criminal in Ministers to delay the definitive treaty, on account of this or that particular place, how far would that argument go; and how far was it likely to operate upon us, when the strength of France should be increased by the consolidation of their resources? The Noble Lord had observed, that during the negotiation of the peace of 1763, the French privately ceded to the Spaniards this settlement of Louisiana: but that case bore no analogy to the late clandestine proceeding; it was not known until after the treaty was ratified; and the reason of the surrender was very well known—it was given over to the Spaniards as a purchase for Minorca, which the French were to transfer to us. The Learned Gentleman endeavoured to place the arguments of Lord Hawkesbury in a different point of view from that in which they had been considered by others. He was quite dissatisfied with the arrangement respecting Malta; that island should have been a grand barrier against France; it should not have been neutral, but ought to be a naval station well fortified, and able to assist us in interrupting the progress of any fleet that France might send out to attempt a passage to our Indian possessions. France professed, five years ago, when she sent her first expedition to Egypt, that her principal object was to extinguish the system of its government and religion, as it was said, by the then governors of France, to be the centre of superstition and aristocracy; and they could now boast of having accomplished their object—for the new organization of the constitution of Malta left scarcely a vestige of the venerable old system; it innovated upon all that time had consecrated; and the island itself, instead of being under one influence, was placed under a *pic-nic* guarantee; the whole of this plan being prepared and carried into effect without the consent, or, in a great degree, the knowledge, of the Knights of the Order. He would not plead for the indiscriminate renewal of all our political and commercial treaties; but there were some which he thought it would have been wise to renew, and not to rely solely on the treaty before the House, in

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which *nothing definitive* was to be found, and yet *it was to form the basis of the future system of Europe*; the principles and practice of all former statesmen (some of whom were as wise, at least in their own presumption, as the Noble Lord) being totally rejected. *The vessel of the State was to be thrown afloat on the ocean of politics and commerce, with no rudder but the very distinct and comprehensive treaty on the table.* As to the commercial treaty of 1787, the Noble Lord last night stated, that this treaty was inconsistent with the alien bill; if so, we were the aggressors in the war. But that assertion was directly in the teeth of the arguments employed by his Right Hon. Friend behind him, when he proposed that law to the House before the war. He contended, on the whole, that Ministers gave up more *for the hollow-armed truce* which they had obtained, than they should have done had the war been unsuccessful throughout. Certainly it had been productive of much expense; so much indeed, that when Gentlemen adverted with any pride to the amount of our exports and imports, it would be curious to inquire whether that amount was equal to the interest on the national debt created by the war. Among the faults of omission, he reckoned as extremely culpable the state in which our merchants, who had settled in the ceded colonies, were left, as to the removal of their property. If that had been judiciously provided for, according to ancient custom, we should now, without augmenting the miseries of the slave-trade, be enabled from these colonies to furnish a sufficient number of negroes to cultivate our newly-acquired island of Trinidad. These were the points to which the address referred; and surely a large and respectable body of the country was discontented with *the loose conditions of the treaty. It would be a good opportunity of putting the sincerity of France to the test, by proposing some arrangement on those topics, before the restitutions should be made.* It had been often said in that House by the advocates of the peace, that it was *called for by the public opinion* —that the late Ministers advised it, and that the country received it with joy;—but he had no hesitation in stating it as his firm belief, that if a list of the concessions to be made to the enemy had accompanied the first news of the peace, instead of being the subject of exultation, even with the common people, the peace would have been received with strong murmurs of discontent. *The people of England required to be led;—they were influenced by the character of those above them; and that formed not the least part of their praise: they were capable of great exertion, and patient of suffering; they combined in their character the extremes of the good qualities of other nations; they were constant in their fortitude, loyal in their sentiments, and elevated in their spirit; they were above the idea of submitting to any peace that was dishonourable or disadvantageous, and they had too much good sense to value one that was insecure.* If, from the *imprudent security* in which this treaty had been concluded, and the *loose terms in which it is drawn up, hostilities should soon recommence*, the fault will not be in the circumstances of the period at which the negotiation commenced, as asserted—not in the conduct of the predecessors of Ministers, but in the Ministers themselves, who entered upon the negotiation, and followed it up almost to a termination, without resorting to Parliament for counsel in any step of their progress in this very important undertaking. The consequences would be attributable to them, should those apprehended arise from a peace which left so much open for discussion, constituting so many grounds of dispute and discord.

Mr. BOND said, he could not at that late hour of the night enter at large into the subject now before them, which had been so ably treated on that side of the House, particularly by his Noble Friend last night, and on that by his Right Hon. and Learned Friend, who had displayed every thing which ingenuity, learning, information, talents, and eloquence could furnish. It was impossible for him to say that he could add any thing to what had been said already upon that side of the subject; it would be the extreme of arrogance in him to suppose that he could do so: he only begged leave to call the attention of the House to what he considered to be the real question. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, and his Learned Friend who had just spoken, had displayed great ability; he would not say, whether they had, or had not, produced much effect upon the public, by the manner in which they treated the subject: he would not impute to his Learned Friend, nor to any other Gentleman on that side of the House, any intention of making unfavourable impressions upon any persons who heard him, or upon the public, by the observations which they made; but certainly such was the tendency of their arguments: it was true indeed, they professed to have no intention to censure any body; but, notwithstanding their professions, it was impossible not to perceive that the effect of all their observations was to convey censure both upon the peace, and upon the Ministers by whom it was negotiated. He wished to know whether there *was any fact by which it could be fairly concluded that better terms could have been obtained than those in the treaty now upon the table?* If there was not, *why should the treaty be disapproved of, or its authors be deserving of censure in that House, or elsewhere?* He was aware that there could not be found matter of complaint either against the treaty or its authors: it was true, indeed, that the treaty could not be declared to be perfect—no treaty was ever so: nothing could be easier than for speculative men to form expectations in their closets; but to bring them into active life and reality, was often found impracticable. Such was the case in the present instance; innumerable difficulties must occur in the course of such a negotiation, many of which were inca-

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pable of explanation, from their very nature, but a bare reference to which would be sufficient for the common sense of that House. He then proceeded to observe upon some of those difficulties; and said, that he was very far from intending to insinuate that the spirit of the people of this country was broken; but it must be admitted, that, from the circumstances of the war, they had wished for peace; nor was it unnatural that they should do so. The great load of the national debt could not be forgotten; *the pressure of scarcity which we had endured, in some instances bordering upon famine, were hardships which must have an effect upon the public:* from the consideration of this, it was the business of *every good Administration to enter into negotiation*; not that he meant to allege that peace was a matter of *absolute necessity*, but it certainly was *a matter of prudence*. Ministers, in concluding peace, had therefore, in his opinion, done every thing that prudence could dictate. That, however, was but half their work: the remaining part was to *preserve entire our resources*; and to preserve as much as possible, by wise measures, the spirit of the people, in order that, if ever the evil hour shou'd arrive, we should have the ability and disposition to oppose, with effect, the ambitious projects of our rival. It was by such preparations alone that the prosperity of this country could be secured, which he heartily hoped, and confidently trusted, we should long continue to enjoy.

Mr. WILLIAMS WYNNE expressed himself dissatisfied with several parts of the treaty of peace, although he did not wish that the good faith of it should not be preserved. In his opinion, the House ought to adopt the address moved by his Right Hon. Friend.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that in this exhausted state of the House, and, he could add, the exhausted state of the question, it would be unpardonable in him to ask the attention of the House for any considerable length of time; but there were some points to which he felt it his duty to call the attention of the House. He concurred with his Right Hon. Friend in opinion, that the turn of the argument of the Hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House, amounted to this —That the definitive treaty now upon the table was such as ought not to be approved of. He concurred with his Learned Friend (Mr. Bond), whom, for the first time, he had the happiness of hearing in that House, and whom he hoped he should often hear, that the tendency of the arguments of Gentlemen on the other side went to censure the peace, and to censure also those who advised his Majesty to enter into it. He hoped therefore he should be pardoned, if, notwithstanding the disclaiming of Gentlemen on the other side, and particularly a Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke towards the close of last night's debate, the tendency of the arguments, whatever the intention might be, was to bring the peace into disrespect, as well as to censure his Majesty's Ministers. His Right Hon. Friend, from whom the address proceeded, he was free to acknowledge, made his proposition from genuine principles (for they certainly were genuine), by which he had been influenced, not only in that motion, but during the course of the contest in which we had been engaged. He thought he perceived, from the proposition of his Right Hon. Friend, the same disposition which led him, some time ago, to declare in that House, soon after the preliminaries, his disapprobation of *the peace altogether*. That disapprobation he expressed in terms almost unqualified—he had declared his opinion against the power of France, and the usurpations of that power; and by the manner in which he made that declaration, he must have censured the peace itself, as a death-blow to the prosperity of this country. He was truly convinced that his Right Hon. Friend, if he entertained the same sentiments, which he could never disguise, nor even attempt to disguise, these sentiments went the length of considering *that any peace with the present government of France was inadmissible*. That he had signified when the peace was made, *and before he knew the terms:* he had then considered the peace itself as a death-blow to the prosperity of this country; this had *always* been the opinion of his Right Hon. Friend upon the subject; and that it was his opinion still, he thought was pretty clearly expressed by the motion he had made upon the subject. Other Gentlemen, he was persuaded, who concurred in the opinion that the peace was not such as this country had a right to expect, did not concur, however, with him in saying *that peace ought not to be made at any rate*; but his Right Hon. Friend *had always gone the full length of saying, that any peace with France in its present state was inadmissible*. He said this the more readily, because the principles and the motives which actuated his conduct were truly honourable; and he could not help adding, that if the principles of his Right Hon. Friend, as expressed by the motion now before the House, were adopted, they could not fail, but must inevitably lead to a speedy renewal of the war. The question, however, now was, not whether a definitive treaty ought not to be concluded, but whether, being concluded, it was or was not a proper measure? He could not help observing, however, that, although Gentlemen on the other side of the House had not said that this subject ought to have been discussed by piecemeal, yet they certainly conducted themselves on that principle, and had objected to the treaty by piecemeal; but Ministers had laid their claim to discuss the subject all together, and that was, in his opinion, the wiser mode: it was, therefore, by no means his intention to enter into the minute particulars of the definitive treaty, he should rather take a short review of its general effect; indeed there was not much neces-

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ary to be said by him; he would rather refer he House to what had already been said by is friends to-night, and upon the former occaion. They had treated the subject with so nuch knowledge, so much talent, so much nformation, and so much eloquence, that litle need be said in addition to what had been aid already. He was ready to rest the defence of the measure upon what had already been aid: he admitted that circumstances of a very reat and important nature had taken place before the signing of the definitive treaty, and between the signing of the preliminary and hat of the definitive treaty, points which required explanation; and there were differences between the preliminary and definitive treaties, which it would be proper for him to explain; and yet, having made all these admissions, he did not hesitate to ask the House this question, Was it or was it not a treaty which, under all the circumstances, was fit for his Majesty to engage in? Was it or was it not, under all the circumstances, a treaty which it was wise in his Majesty's Servants to advise his Majesty to assent to? Having said this, there were two or three points which he should proceed to explain, in the course of which he should have to solicit the attention of the House. On the subject of Louisiana, he should say no more than appeared to be necessary, by way of answer to the danger which had been talked of by Gentlemen on the other side. In 1762, both Canada and Louisiana were in the possession of the French, *when Great Britain had large possessions in America; and the possession of Louisiana and Canada was not enough to prevent Great Britain from being more than a match for France.* Canada certainly being important, and Louisiana being now said to be so, they were nevertheless unable to make a stand against Great Britain. What was said to endanger us now, was the power of France in that quarter, but which was not equal to our own possessions and strength; and *with the friendship*, for this purpose, at least, of an independent, and now become a powerful and populous country, namely, the United States of America. But with respect to another point, namely, the hazard to which our commercial interest was exposed in this quarter, as had been stated; thus stood the fact: there was a difference stated to exist between Louisiana and Fort Hillsborough. There was not in Louisiana a single port wherein a ship of the line could enter, and in the other a ship of the line could not anchor without taking out her guns. Nor was there any danger to our commerce in that quarter, from the cession of this place to France. *The improvement which had taken place in making copper bottoms to our ships*, and other circumstances, gave us other great advantages in that quarter, *by enabling us* to alter the course of our navigation, by going *through the Windward Passage*, instead of the Gulf of Mexico, so that we should never be annoyed in that quarter by the French, in the manner in which the Hon. Gentleman had stated it. With respect to the difference between the definitive treaty and the preliminary articles, it was a question which he would himself ask the House, Whether, under all the circumstances, they were not satisfied that this definitive treaty was a fair execution of the preliminary articles? He admitted that they were not strictly the same; and indeed if they were, there would have been no occasion for preliminary articles, because they might as well at once have been made to assume the form of a definitive treaty. There were five articles in the definitive treaty modified from those of the preliminary articles; first, the article respecting prisoners; secondly, that respecting Newfoundland; thirdly, that of the state of Portugal; fourthly, that of Malta; and, fifthly, that of the Cape of Good Hope. Now, undoubtedly, with regard to three of these articles, they were revived in the definitive treaty, and finally settled in a way that was advantageous; he meant those articles which related to the prisoners, Newfoundland, and Portugal: it was therefore only as to Malta and the Cape that any doubt could arise any where, as to the difference between the preliminary articles and the definitive treaty. Now, with respect to Portugal, he was really astonished that so much had been said on the other side of the House, after so many explanations had been given of that subject: he would not say that Gentlemen had a wilful misconception on that subject; but he really knew not how Gentlemen could state the objections they had stated so often, after the explanations which had been given to them upon that subject. He now averred again, that the treaty of Badajos was known to his Majesty's Ministers previous to the signing of the preliminary articles; and communication took place between us and the court of Lisbon on the subject of the limits of Portuguese and French Guiana; we were given to understand the limits of Portuguese Guiana, and this created a determination in us to afford them every protection possible: there was an apprehension that they would not meet their danger as danger ought to be met; and that therefore they might be induced to accept of terms still more disadvantageous than those which were included in the treaty of Badajos. What was the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers? From an understanding which Gentlemen might comprehend without calling for particulars, it was stipulated on our part, that the treaty of Badajos should be in force only in a particular manner, as far as it related to the limits of Portuguese Guiana: and it was stipulated that a subsequent treaty entered into, or which might be entered into, fixing the limits more disadvantageously to Portugal, should be null and void, as far as these limits were concerned. The treaty of Badajos, in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the French, was not ratified; but the treaty of Madrid was ratified, in which the terms were much more disadvantageous to Portugal than those of the treaty of Badajos, as far as respected the limits

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of the Portuguese Guiana. The House would recollect the explanation of his Noble Friend upon that subject, by which it appeared manifestly, that we had acted generously towards Portugal in this respect; and this was so far supported by the best evidence, that no objection was made to it on the part of the court of Lisbon. On the subject of Malta, he would, after so much had been said already, say no more than that the Noble Lord (Lord Temple) misconceived the thing, if he thought the accounts to which he referred described the whole of the Order of Malta, in point of revenue, for it related only to that part of the revenue which grew out of the customs. It had been asked, whether the King of Naples acquiesced in this matter? To which he answered, that the acceptance of the King of Naples had been signified in this particular, and therefore all objection on that article was done away. Austria had also accepted the guarantee. Having thus gone through all that appeared to him to be necessary to particularize, after what had been urged from other quarters, he would ask, whether this was or was not, under all the circumstances, fit to be entertained by the House, and worthy of its support? He was not desiring that it should be praised. He had never thought of this treaty, nor of the preliminary articles, with any sentiment of exultation; he had satisfied himself, and he remained satisfied, that it was that which, upon the whole, was the best measure that could be taken; he had never endeavoured to paint it in false colours; he had never attempted to apply to it any epithets *of praise;* he was content with the reflection that he had not tarnished the honour of the country by the measures he had adopted; he had long been of opinion, and he trusted he should never change it, that there was no extremity of distress which the nation would not rather suffer, than that its honour should be tarnished; for honour was another word for the strength of a nation; but if he were asked, under such circumstances, and after an additional proof of the ambitious views of France and of its power by the transaction of Lyons, if this country had abstained from making remonstrances, or from taking any step to signify to our adversary the feelings of his Majesty on that occasion? he would answer, that Gentlemen who argued a case like this had many advantages over a person in his situation. They would easily put questions to him which it was impossible for him to answer; and they might state obstacles which it was difficult, if not impossible, for a Minister to remove in the way of argument, in a manner that was at once satisfactory to those who made the objection, and consistent with the duty of the Minister. He would only say, that it was matter of great satisfaction with him and with the rest of his Majesty's Ministers, that they were determined, in the event of the failure of the negotiation, to have laid before the House every document which they possessed upon the subject, and possess the House of complete information upon it. He thought, after this, it would have been almost tautology in him to say, that he was at least satisfied it would appear by this information, that the honour of the country was not tarnished by any thing that was done by his Majesty's Ministers in the course of this negotiation: he trusted it would have appeared by those documents, had it become necessary to shew them to the House, that his Majesty's Ministers had felt as they ought to feel as British Ministers, and that their conduct was such as would have met with the approbation and support of that House. But if the question was put to him, he would answer it, not by any particular statement, but relying on what had been said already by his friends, who had stated the case in terms that were very forcible, that an attempt on the part of Great Britain to maintain alone the contest with France until her territorial power in Europe were abridged considerably, was an unwise measure. That the extent of that territorial power was matter of regret, was unquestionable. It could not but be matter of regret, but it was a lot which we had not the power of controlling; *we were not to presume to say the bounty of Providence was to be dispensed in the way that was most consonant to our wishes.* We ought to be contented with the conviction that *we had abundant means of providing for our security in a separate state and condition;* but we were *not able to provide for that security on a large scale which connected us with the security of other powers;* that depended upon events over which we had no control. He could only say, he was astonished that his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Windham), whose *heart*, he was persuaded, was deeply interested in these things, and who even now cherished the hope, perhaps, of recovering all that had been lost in the contest, should not long ago have been satisfied with the arguments, or rather that his own enlightened mind should not have anticipated the arguments by which the expediency of making peace was demonstrable; and that even upon the very principle of his Right Hon. Friend himself, which was this, that if ever Austria and Prussia, and other powers, should recover the power, and regain the inclination, of obtaining what they had lost in the contest—he was not saying that such a course would be advisable, but he was astonished that his Right Hon. Friend, who had this so much at heart, could not see that the only way to render this country able to give vigour and energy to such a principle was, to preserve the resources of this country from waste, and that nothing was capable of doing so, in an effectual manner, but peace. To a mind less capable of seeing the bearing of things upon one another than that of his Right Hon. Friend, it might have appeared that peace was the only means by which we could become

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able to accomplish what he desired. He should rejoice to see the resources of this country economized, as he hoped they would be by peace. "God grant," said Mr. Addington, "that peace may be preserved! It is not only my wish, but it is my earnest prayer, that we may long enjoy the blessings of peace; and that the conduct of France may be such, and that she may not use her power in such a way, as to compel us to arm against her; but if war should again take place *in two or three years* (and I hate to state the supposition), I would say, however, that it will even then be matter of great consolation to every man in this House who has done every thing in his power to avert the calamity of war, that he had done so. I am well persuaded, however, that, whatever may happen, it is the wisest course for us to preserve our resources at present, as much as possible, *that we may the better be prepared, if that should be our lot, to exert ourselves with energy and effect:* but I will go further; I do not know whether it will be satisfactory to my Right Hon. Friend or not. I will say, that if war be his object, we are pursuing the best course for it, by preserving our resources at a period when we have the opportunity of doing so; and, what is better with me, and which I own is my object, I know of nothing so likely to prevent a war, as the being prepared to meet it; nothing is so likely to keep other powers from molesting us, as the knowledge that we possess the means of vindicating our rights. I think, therefore, that we should take care not to exhaust our resources when there is nothing to be gained by it. I think it would be very unwise to go on with a contest, when there is nothing to contend for that would be worth the gaining, and where *there is much to be lost.* Let it not be supposed, that, because I say this, I am of opinion that the resources of this country have been improvidently employed; I am so far from thinking so, that I believe the very means by which we have obtained peace have arisen from the vigour with which we prosecuted the war. On this subject I should have been sorry to have been misunderstood, and therefore have said this to avoid it." Mr. Addington then proceeded to observe, that neither himself nor any of his colleagues had any plea of inadvertency for an excuse, if any part of the definitive treaty was defective in its provisions. He should think it highly unworthy to urge such a plea if he had it; but he said there was no such plea, for *they had been guided in drawing the treaty, and all the provisions of it, on our part, by Lord Eldon, whose knowledge, diligence, talents, and other excellent qualities, were too well known to render an enumeration of them necessary in that House.* The treaty, therefore, on our part, had all the advantages which belong to consummate understanding, and the habits of professional accuracy in the construction of written instruments. He was thoroughly persuaded also, that in another branch of the negotiation he should be without excuse if the treaty was defective; for there never was a period when the business of the office in Downing Street *was more ably conducted than at the present moment.* He knew that some insinuations had gone forth upon the subject of the conduct of the negotiation. He knew there were some who had doubted the propriety of that selection, to whom he would say, that *the able person* here alluded to not only conducted himself in a manner which *conciliated affection,* and attached personal respect, but shewed *great wisdom,* and exhibited a fresh and additional claim to the many that he had before exhibited, *for the affection and gratitude of the public.* He said, he felt great anxiety to be spared the necessity of dwelling long on any of the particular topics before the House; for which reason he referred to what had been said by his friends on the subject. As one of these topics, he begged to consider the point of the supposed growing power of France by way of commerce, and its becoming our rival in the way of trade. Upon this he could not do better than rely on what had been said to-night by his Noble Friend behind him (Lord Castlereagh). He should observe, however, in general, that Gentlemen who had spoken against the treaty, had taken the parts of it which appeared to them to be objectionable, without touching those which they themselves must admit we beheld with satisfaction. They had forgotten that the preliminary articles were the result of the negotiation before the fate of Egypt was known and, therefore it had so much the more merit. He was not disposed to enter at present into a comparison of power, and the probable result of it, as between Great Britain and France; but he could not help saying, it excited his astonishment, that Gentlemen, in discussing these topics, made no difference between the probable effect of power acquired by violence, and that which was the effect of virtuous exertion. He knew that language had been held, the effect of which (although not intended) was to create in the minds of the people, sentiments that were very different from what they felt. Some Gentlemen affected to say, that they believed the people of this country had altered their opinion in a great degree on the subject of this peace. He believed that the speeches and conduct of Gentlemen in that House had affected the inhabitants of the metropolis in some degree, and that this had appeared at both ends of the town, in St. James's Street, and at the Stock Exchange. He did not make it a matter of charge against these Gentlemen, but this was certainly the effect of the manner in which they had treated this subject. He did not believe, however, that any effect was produced on the mass of the people of this country; he believed they hailed the peace as a blessing; and he doubted very much whether if the arguments of his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Windham) were understood in the way he applied them, they

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would have produced the effect that they had produced. He believed the public at large agreed with his Majesty's Ministers upon the propriety of *peace*, because there was no proper object for the continuance of the war, and that the people therefore earnestly wished for peace. Some felt a pressure on account of taxes, and were impatient for the peace, under a delusion into which they had been led, that peace would immediately lessen the pressure of those taxes. Many things had been attributed to the war of which it was not the cause, and among these was the high price of provisions, of which the war was very slightly indeed, if at all, the cause. "With these feelings," said Mr. Addington, "I am convinced that the language held out by Hon. Gentlemen in this House (from a sense of their duty, I have no doubt) may have an effect, for a time at least, on the people, to disincline them to the peace, and may have an effect on the continuance of it, unless counteracted. I should, however, be grieved if that were to be the effect of it. I am sure I speak the sentiments of every individual in his Majesty's service, when I say, it is our earnest wish that the blessings of peace may be continued, and we wish to take every measure consistently with the honour of his Majesty's Government, and the safety of the country, to preserve these blessings; and *I am impressed with a thorough conviction, notwithstanding what has been said, that the probabilities of the continuance of the peace now concluded, are not less than the probabilities of the continuance of the different pacifications which have taken place at the various periods of the last century:* I mean, if the country should be disposed to make provision for its own security, without which peace cannot be lasting. We must not suppose that France is free from the disposition of taking advantage of our weakness, if we should appear at any time to be weak; but let us guard against weakness, and take care to give to ourselves the security which we have the means of giving. By this course, we shall at once inspire ourselves with confidence, and discourage those who may incline to be our enemies. If advantage they can, advantage they will take: *but I know nothing in the circumstances of the present time, I know of nothing in the disposition of the government of France, nor in the disposition of the person at the head of the government of France, that warrants any apprehension that the peace now concluded may not be lasting.* If this country be true to itself, I think a just expectation may be entertained that it will be lasting. This country is now in a state of acknowledged strength and indisputable power. It is *on an eminence*, and may continue so, by a fixed determination to pursue a right course; which is, not to invade the rights of others, nor to suffer others to invade its own. By adopting the sentiment expressed in very correct words by my Noble Friend (Lord Hawkesbury) on a former occasion, that is, by a system of *conciliation and firmness*, I am confident peace may be maintained, and the pre-eminence of this country preserved as high as it is at present. I can hardly wish it to be higher, but I trust it will never be lower. It is the wish of *my* heart, and it shall be *my* constant unremitting endeavour, to preserve, as much as *I am* able, the happiness of this country, which now is *the admiration of surrounding nations.*"

Mr. SHERIDAN.—"Sir, at this late hour (about two o'clock) it is with extreme reluctance that I rise to address the House, and to trespass on your time and patience. I shall not be singular to-night in the professions I make you of avoiding details; but, Sir, in one respect my conduct will differ from any other Gentleman's who has addressed you. I will keep my word.—*(A laugh.)*—If I feel repugnance to rise at so late an hour, I feel equally strange with respect to the unpopularity which I fear I must experience. It is natural to every person to have pleasure in voting in a majority, though to that pleasure, I believe, I have long been a stranger. Among the strange things we are continually witnessing, is the strange division of parties at present in this House. Sir, I have heard it said that there are about twelve or thirteen different parties among us; nay, some carry the number much farther. Now I scarcely expect a single vote with me beyond that little circle of a constitutional party who have for the last ten years been the objects of so much unqualified abuse; but those men who have so often been held up to public opprobrium are the very same whose every prediction has been fulfilled, and every fear realized. The discussion of this necessary but disgraceful treaty of peace to-night, is a confirmation of the propriety of their political conduct during the whole course of the war. My friends must feel poignant shame and deep humiliation at the situation to which, by these terms, this country is reduced, but which they have laboured steadily to avert. Those who oppose this peace have been arraigned by the last Speaker as aiming at a censure on the issue of the negotiations, and on the Ministers themselves; and certainly, Sir, their object is to condemn the peace, and to cast a slur on the abilities of his Majesty's Ministers. But, in this conduct of theirs, they have at least the merit of being consistent. I support the peace, because I feel confident that no better terms, considering all circumstances, could be obtained. Their predecessors had taken care of that. They had left them no choice, but between an expensive, bloody, and fruitless war, and a *perilous and hollow peace.* They have chosen the best of the alternatives. Now, says the Minister, they who oppose me, depress the country. I thank these new Oppositionists for their manly firmness in coming forward, and opposing, upon their own principles, *this degrading treaty.* Let the people of this country be fully aware of all the circum-

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stances of the peace. They have done their duty, then, in thus publicly discussing them. But a Right Hon. Gentleman, not here this evening, an Ex-Minister too, suspects something more. If he has not altered his opinion since yesterday, he suspects their motives. "They," says he, "disapprove the treaty, and "attack Administration, because they wish "to drive out Ministers, and succeed to their "places; and for that purpose they have form-"ed a confederacy." Truly, Sir, a heavy charge! But I must declare that they have never veiled their opinions. Some of them especially have been at all times very open; and I conceive that it would be high injustice to suspect them, upon slight grounds, of a dirty cabal to turn out the present Ministers. —Says the Right Hon. Gentleman, "Upon "their principles, they would never have "made peace." Why so? we have always said. It is now therefore confirmed, that a leading part of the late Ministry acted upon such principles. But as the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) yesterday denounced their foul ambition, and their design to trip up the heels of their successors, another great discovery is now made—These persons' principles were such as rendered a peace impossible, and yet the very men who say so have just been thanking them all, as the saviours of the country!!! Can the Right Hon. Gentleman account for this inconsistency? I should think not; and yet he looks so confidently, that I almost think he could. He thought I was cheering him, as if I did not suppose him a constant supporter of the war; and he assures the House "he was a steady "friend to it!" But he has now found out that it was necessary to stop. Pray, why not have stopped a little sooner? why not before you were so much exhausted? For instance, when Buonaparté made you an offer? Now, however, he finds the necessity of peace. But is this such a peace as will give us real repose? Consider your debt and taxes, and the necessity which seems to be at length coming upon us of keeping up a peace establishment unknown in this country. It is lamentable to see you all split into miserable parties, when your great enemy is uniting every possible means of extending his power!—You are squabbling about the measuring of ribands and tapes, and the paltry revenues of Malta, when much greater objects are before you! The events of every day seem to call more and more for the expression of a public feeling, that the time will come when the French encroachments and oppression must cease, and when the voice of this country must be clearly raised against their atrocities and tyrannical conduct! The Right Hon. Gentleman says, "We have pre-"served our honour!" Honour depends more on the manner of doing a thing than on the thing itself. We had a great armament at the time of negotiation, but I don't hear that it carried any point whatever! "This," says he, "is a peace in which we relinquish nothing, "and gain much!" Will any man of common sense undertake to prove that? I defy him to name the single object, ever varying, ever shifting, unrelinquished. What did we go to war for? Why, to prevent French aggrandizement. Have we done that? No. Then we are to rescue Holland! Is that accomplished or relinquished? No. Brabant was a *sine qua non!* Is it gained? No. Then come security and indemnity! Are they obtained? No. The late Minister told us, that the example of Jacobin government in Europe, founded on the ruins of the holy altar, and the tomb of a martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and infectious to Christendom, that we could never be safe while it existed, and could do nothing short of our very last effort for its destruction. Now, Sir, let us see what we have laid out for all these fine words, which at last gave way to security and indemnity. Why, near 200,000 lives, and 300 millions of money! And we have gotten Ceylon and Trinidad. I should propose, that as we have given to our heroes titles from the places where their laurels were won, our St. Vincents, Nelsons of the Nile, &c. so we should name Ceylon, Security Island; and call Trinidad, the Island of Indemnity!!! Now, if we look at the state of Europe, we find that the Noble Lord opposite has a most curious and convenient epithet, which he applies to what is rather a disagreeable object to him! (Lord Hawkesbury.) He talks of its being in an uncomfortable—was it? oh, no!—unsatisfactory state. Germany, Holland, Italy, they are all in an unsatisfactory state; and so I suppose is Switzerland, which now seems likely to undergo a division among her powerful and generous neighbours. That innocent and virtuous, suffering, venerable country is now, I suppose, in an unsatisfactory state. But Great Britain is all this time far from languor. She is in a satisfactory state. However, a grave and learned Gentleman (Master of the Rolls) tells us for our comfort, that notwithstanding all that has happened, here we are all debating and doing business, in all the old forms and customs of the House. Pray, now, could not this have happened, supposing we had never gone to war? I think he should have made that out before he congratulated us so warmly upon our present debate under all the old forms of the House! The Minister, too, goes on acceding to old forms; he has his majorities according to custom. Prussia can go on too in its old forms! Is this armed repose, this hollow peace, then, the fruit of our long and glorious war? A great deal too has been said to be gained by the disposition of France to lay aside Jacobinism. But the grand consolation of all is, in looking to Buonaparté as the extirpator of Jacobinism! A Learned Gentleman, however, states to this House, that it is the nature of Jacobinism, if driven from any country, always to look with pride and ambition to a settlement in the place

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where it had birth, and to fix itself there. So now this "Child and champion of Jacobinism," as he was styled, is to become a parricide The child of Sin is to destroy his mother! As this Jacobinism is by the late Minister stated to be a vice never to be eradicated from the bosom when it has once been implanted, all Europe will doubtless look to this Great Consul for its destruction. Indeed, he seems very desirous of extending his care to his neighbours! Suppose you make him King of Europe at once, and he will soon extirpate all the Jacobinism that infests it. My alarms begin when the alarms of some persons cease. The great question about the dangers of the French revolution were always upon the degree of the danger to be apprehended. Some danger was always allowed; but to suppose the people of this country so miserably infatuated as to fall in love with dirt, and blood, and guillotines, with all the atrocious deformities of the system of Robespierre; and that now, when France is "covered with glory," though certainly without liberty, or any thing that much resembles it —there should be nothing to dazzle and captivate, is out of my comprehension. If there be in this country men of dangerous ambition, Buonaparté is the man to hold out to them, by his ambitious and successful conduct, an example! an example much stronger than any thing that could attract the people in the exhibitions of riot and murder, unsociality and ferocity of manners! But they say—He has begged pardon of God and man by his piety and penitence!!! Yes, the pious, prostrate Buonaparté has begged pardon of God for making a tool of the Sovereign Pontiff, by bringing back the prelates of the Gallican church, and constituting them, with the salaries of curates, spies and informers. How has he begged pardon of man? By coming down on that honest, simple, hospitable people, the Swiss, and destroying the independence earned by the bravery of their ancestors. How has he acted to us? Why, by condescending to receive our humiliating submission of every thing you had acquired by the prowess of your army and navy! I must trust to our valour to defend us against his armies; and I pray Heaven to protect us against the effects of his penitence and piety! I must confess, that nothing has been stated against this peace unaccompanied by proofs. I would rather have given to France Malta, and taken the Cape, than have made this absurd arrangement! If the late Secretary for the war department were here—who is perhaps *(Looking at Mr. Pitt)* by proxy—he might have made a whimsical charge against the present Ministers. He (Mr. Dundas) said, that "the Minister who "should give up the Cape would deserve to lose "his head!!!"—There sits the Minister, however, with his head safe upon his shoulders. I have almost a mind to attack him on the authority of Mr. Dundas! Malta would have been a great acquisition to us; and therein I agree with the War Secretary. It would have stood, with the British standard flying in the centre of the Mediterranean, "like a great sea-mark, "saving those that eye it!" Ministers say, the Emperor of Russia would not take care of Malta. If they will tell me so upon their honour, I will believe them; otherwise, upon my honour, I won't believe any body that says so. That did not appear to be Paul's idea of it. Perhaps he was mad! There was, however, some method in his madness: but, Sir, there's a message which Buonaparté has sent to his Tribunate concerning some Russian soldiers, who are to go and take good care of the republic of the Seven Islands! and they may probably be intended for Alexandria, and may be connected with some plan against Turkey. Sir, if any thing in the shape of a statesman will say in this House, that he looks at that power, "at which the world turns pale," without apprehension, as the Minister seems to tell us to-night, I must say he has a prodigious stock of courage; but I cannot give him credit for wisdom as a statesman. But he has found an excellent reason for not being afraid of Buonaparté. He says, colonies will give him commerce, and that the enjoyment of trade and wealth will divert his mind from war, and be a pledge of future peace. Sir, I do not know what France will be; but I do know that she is now a hard iron republic. Buonaparté, from his military education, and the sort of company he has kept, they allow, is as yet a little rough; but then, if we could only catch him and clap him behind the counter, he will become perfectly civil and quiet. Sir, when I was reading the treaty, I thought all the names of foreign places, viz. Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Cochin, Martinico, &c. all cessions. Not they: they are all so many traps and holes to catch this silly fellow in, and make a merchant of him! I really think the best way upon such a principle would be this: let the merchants of London open a public subscription, and set Buonaparté up at once! I hear a great deal respecting a certain statue about to be erected to a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) now in my eye, at a great expense. Send all that money over to the First Consul, and give him what you talk of so much, capital, to begin trade with. I hope the Right Hon. Gentleman over the way will, like the First Consul, refuse a statue for the present, and postpone it to posterity. There is no harm, however, in marking out the place. The Right Hon. Gentleman is musing, perhaps, what square, or place, he will choose for its erection. I recommend the Bank of England. Now for the material. Not gold: no, no! he has not left enough of it. I should, however, propose *papier maché* and old bank notes! Ministers recommend us to make France commercial for the sake of peaceful habits, and then tell us how impossible it is for her to increase in trade and commerce for want of the necessary credit and capital!

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There my prospect was damped! I was going now to India, but I remember I promised to avoid detail. I must keep my word. There was some Northern logic here last night—something specious—a kind of Northern lights—pretty enough to look at, but not very useful, about our possessions having a better security in India without, than with, our enemy's recognition of our rights. This I confess I cannot understand. The Right Hon. Gentleman asks, whether they would have been justified in breaking off the treaty? That's a question between him and those who like the preliminaries; but it is otherwise with those who like neither. The Secretary at War (Mr. Yorke) has said, Buonaparté will look at us with a "soldier's eye." I think he will with that of a statesman! Now the city militia, and some other corps, are disbanded, it is not exactly a spectacle for a soldier's eye. One cannot walk along the streets without hearing doubts expressed of the nature and security of the peace! And the next great inquiry is, "Pray, who is Minister now? Is there, then, "an Interior and an Exterior Prime Minister? "—one who appears to the world, and another "secret, irresponsible, directing Minister?" Certainly in many respects I have given my testimony in behalf of the present Ministers: in nothing more than for making the best peace, perhaps, that they could, after their predecessors had left them in such a deplorable situation! But the present Ministers continue to identify themselves with the former. They have ministerially supported a refusal to inquire into the state of the country, just as they were about to take the Government; they have passed an indemnity bill, and since that a security bill, in a resolution of thanks; and these are the only indemnity and security acquired!!! The Ex-Ministers are quite separate and distinct, and yet they and the new Ministers are all Honourable Friends! What is the meaning of this mysterious connexion? Why don't the Minister defend his peace on the only good grounds of defence? Does he hold that situation only to make peace, and leave it for his predecessor? Do they bargain for support, on one side of talent, and on the other of power? No Minister of this country ever condescended to act under such an incomprehensible connexion, and to receive such equivocal support! Part of the case is clear. If the late Minister attacked the treaty, the present would turn round, and say, "You brought "me into a situation of necessity—You compelled me to sign a disgraceful treaty—You "had been arrogant, and I have put up with "indignity—Buonaparté, by his Minister Otto, "would laugh at me!—This work is yours—"You placed us in this sad dilemma!" The Minister takes no strong ground of defence: I won't say he dare not take it.—There he sits to receive the attacks of the new confederacy, who are not great in numbers, but in talents. The Ex-Minister is mounted on a kind of hill fort to fire down on the assailants, but the garrison is all manned with deserters from the principles of the war! I should like to support the present Minister on fair ground: but what is he? a sort of outside passenger; or rather a man leading the horses round a corner, while reins, and whip, and all, are in the hands of the coachman on the box!—*(Looks at Mr. P.'s elevated seat, three or four benches above that of the Treasury.)*—Why not have an union of the two Ministers, or, at least, some intelligible connexion? When the Ex-Minister quitted office, almost all the subordinate Ministers kept their places! How was it that the whole family did not move together? Had he only one covered waggon to carry away friends and goods? Or has he left directions behind him that they may know where to call? The only way in which I can solve this strange division of parts is this: Aristophanes, a Greek author, whom a Noble Lord will understand (Lord Belgrave), but whom I must translate for the benefit of the country gentlemen, tells a story somewhat in point. He says that Nycias sat so long in one posture (perhaps as long as the Ex-Minister sat on the Treasury Bench), that he adhered to the seat; so that when Hercules came to snatch him away, in the sudden jerk a certain portion of his sitting part was left behind him.—*(Loud laughing.)*—The House can make the allusion. Sir, this is not a noble, manly kind of coalition between these Gentlemen. Of the Ex-Minister I would just say, that no man admires his splendid talents more than I do. If ever there was a man formed and fitted by nature to benefit his country, and to give it lustre, he is such a man. He has too much good sense, taste, and talent, to set his mind upon ribands, stars, titles, and other appendages and idols of rank. He is of a nature not at all suited to be the creature or tool of any court.—*(Mr. Pitt bowed repeatedly.)*—But while I thus say of him no more than I think his character and great talents deserve, I must tell him how grossly he has misapplied them in the politics of this country. I must tell him again how he has augmented our national debt, and of the lives lost in this war. I must tell him he has done more against the privileges of the people, increased more the power of the Crown, and injured more the constitution of his country, than any Minister that I can mention. Respecting the resignation of the late Ministry, I don't believe one word of what is said about Catholic emancipation. I could as soon believe that it was because they had discovered the longitude. If they did go out on that ground, they were certainly at liberty so to do. But after they quitted their situations they circulated a paper in Ireland, attributing the failure of an indispensable measure to resistance in a certain quarter (and that quarter was their Sovereign), and directing the Irish Catholics to look to them for hope of relief. If this was short of high treason, how far short of it I cannot define. The non-performance of the

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promise had, I believe, withheld the heart of the people of Ireland, and might be a reason for making the peace on the terms upon which it was concluded. I consider it fair to those who have entertained the sentiments that I do of the rise and progress of the war, to record the real grounds on which we approve of a peace, the terms of which are so inadequate and so insecure. Supposing that Mr. Windham's motion will be rejected, I have framed mine in such a manner as to come as an amendment to Lord Hawkesbury's; and, according to the precedent of the other, I make it in the shape of a resolution, by leaving out all the words of the address, but *that*, and then proceed:—"It is the opinion of this House, that the "omission of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this "country, and more especially the rejection of "the overtures made by the Chief Consul of "France in January 1800, appear to this "House to have led to a state of affairs which "rendered peace so necessary as to justify the "important and painful sacrifices which his "Majesty has been advised to make for the "attainment thereof."

After some conversation, in which Messrs. Tierney, Grey, Hobhouse, and Lord Hawkesbury took part, Mr. Sheridan's amendment was rejected, and that of Lord Hawkesbury adopted.—For the address as it finally stood, see Register, vol. i. p. 587.—For the names of the minority on the original address, as moved by Mr. Windham, see vol. i. p. 592.

OBSERVATIONS *on two Articles in a London Newspaper, called* THE TIMES, *by Count Dietrichstein-Proskau, Knight of the Military Order of Maria Theresa, Chamberlain of the Emperor of Germany, and formerly Major-general in his Service.*

Extract from the Times of the 18th Dec. 1799.

"THE upper circles of the political world have been astonished at the appearance of a "letter written by Count D——— to M. de Chateler, the Austrian commandant at the siege of "Turin. In this letter it is recommended to the "German general not to press the siege till the total "departure of the Russians out of Italy. There can "be no doubt but that the cabinet of Vienna will "punish the writer of this perfidious letter, which "fell into the hands of Marshal Souworow, while "before that city, who forwarded it to his Sovereign "at Petersburgh. The worst enemies of the "House of Austria cannot believe it would have "thwarted the successes of the allies, for private "motives either of envy or ambition. But it owes "to its wounded honour to make an example of the "person who has thus committed both its honour "and its interests, for the despicable gratification "of some private intrigue."

Extract from the Observer of the 22d Dec. 1799.

"We are warranted, by assurances the most positive and unequivocal, to declare our conviction that such a letter was never written by the "Count D———; that M. de Chateler neither "was a commandant, nor possessed the rank which "entitled him to the command of the army before "Turin; and, consequently, that there could not "be an object to write to him to protract the approaches for the alleged, or for any other purpose; "and, finally, that this gallant officer, whose fame "has been thus sported with, had been dangerously "—we fear, mortally wounded, and conveyed to "Vienna, some weeks before the commencement "of this siege of Turin, &c. &c. *"

Extract from the Times of the 23d Dec. 1799.

"A Sunday paper of yesterday, apparently with no other view "than to make a paragraph, has "taken upon itself to contradict the article inserted "in the Times of last week, respecting the letter of "Count D———n to Count de Chateler, commanding a detachment of the Austrian forces in Italy, "which letter fell into Marshal Souworow's hands, "and was transmitted by him to Petersburgh. No"thing is more probable than that the Editor of the "Sunday paper should be ignorant of the fact re"lated, which is known to every diplomatist in "London; and, from the treachery of the transac"tion, has naturally been the subject of general "conversation."

Observations of Count Dietrichstein-Proskau, &c. &c.

HAVING not been acquainted with the English language before my arrival here in June last, and the papers on the continent that I saw having not copied the paragraphs in question from the *Times*, which is very little circulated there, I had at that time but a very imperfect knowledge of that libel; besides, having never been suspected by my august Sovereign, whom I acknowledge solely for the judge of my political conduct, and with whose justice and most flattering and precious marks of kindness I never ceased for an instant to be favoured; having consequently not been under the necessity of justifying myself, these impertinent trifles soon slipped my memory, and it is only in London, that, having called it to mind and satisfied my curiosity in that particular, I thought to do justice to it, if not "*make it an example*," and to do homage to truth †.—My observations will not be without some interest for "*the political world*," and will not fail to throw some light

* The Observer, in receiving my acknowledgments here for his good intentions, will permit me to observe, that the Marquis de Chateler was not wounded until a month after the surrender of the citadel of Turin; at the siege of Alexandria, the 21st July; as likewise, that I do not conceive how the *honour* of that officer *could be sported with*, or touched in any way *by a letter received*.

† Men are not agreed among themselves upon the most simple things. It was a point in dispute, whether the year 1800 began the 19th century, or closed the 18th. I expect then to be censured by some for having taken back my property where I found it; for having vindicated my unjustly impeached honour, at least as much as in my power has been: but as this is strictly personal to myself, they will allow it to be highly proper, that, in this case, I choose to consult my own feelings.

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upon the *noble* and *honest* means that have been employed to disseminate discord and mistrust amongst the allies, by rendering their agents suspected. By it the game of the enemy has been well played, and has served him better than his own armies.—It is doubtless myself that is meant under the name of D———n, these being the initial and last letters of my name.—*The reduction to the absurd* is a good demonstration in geometry; it is equally good in history, when facts and dates are brought in question, without speaking of moral absurdities; but this last sort of absurdities would not serve to convince those who pretend to have seen men, governments, or cabinets,—for we are not to forget that governments or cabinets are composed of men—who, thinking to make up for strength by craft, instead of deserving, through confidence, the protection of their defenders, mistrust them, and, by seeking to disunite them, are become the prey of the common enemy; of people that, whilst usurping a power which did not belong to them, wished to bear absolute authority over those that were at least their equals; of agents who, from prejudice, from error, credulity, vanity, spleen, or obstinacy, have adopted personal friendships or dislikes, and have sacrificed to these the greatest and dearest interests of their constituents. Most certainly I shall take care how I make mention of absurdities moral or political, as you please, to people who have seen them of that force; and resume my subject *.—The Austrian army in Italy, of which the Marquis, "*not the Count*," de Chateler, was quarter-master-general, and "*never was commandant at a siege or of a detachment there*," had opened brilliantly the campaign of 1799, by the three battles won by General Kray, upon the 26th and 30th of March, and the 5th of April. At the end of April the *auxiliary Russian corps* arrived, in the maintenance of Austria, and composed according to the old treaties existing between the two Imperial courts, with Marshal Souworow, who, in his quality of marshal in the service of Austria, took command of the army. I had left the auxiliary corps under General Rosenberg, upon the frontiers of Gallicia, ready to enter upon them still at the beginning of October 1798, when I returned from Russia, after having been charged with the affairs there to the satisfaction of my court during an absence of fourteen months that the ambassador Count de Cobenzel made to Vienna, Udine, Campoformio, Rastadt, Seltz, Dresden, and Berlin; he returned in the beginning of the year 1798 to Petersburgh, from whence I departed a few days after his arrival. I returned there in 1799, in the suite of H. R. H. the Archduke Palatine, but having been informed of the uttered and undeserved opinion which, doubtless, very atrocious calumnies had given of me to Paul the First, I went from St. Petersburgh the tenth day after my arrival, without seeing that monarch, though my presentation to him depended only upon myself. My manner of thinking did not allow me to yield to the representations which were made to me against my resolution.—It was on the 4th of June that the taking of the town of Turin was known at Vienna, and consequently that the works for the siege of the citadel were going to begin; on the 12th, it was known at Vienna that the disposition for this had been hastened; they began effectually the 10th, and on the 20th the garrison capitulated, which was known at Vienna on the 3d of July.—Employed as I was then in the foreign department, can it be supposed for a moment that I did not know *it was Lieutenant-general Kaim, and not General Chateler*, who commanded at the siege of Turin, or that I was ignorant of Macdonald's then advancing from the south of Italy to join Moreau? *that Marshal Souworow had marched on to meet him, accompanied by M. de Chateler*, leaving Lieutenant-general Kaim at the siege of Turin, and Lieutenant-general Bellegarde at the blockade of Alexandria and Tortona, making head against Moreau?—Will it be credited, in calculating the distance between Turin and Vienna, and the time necessary for the couriers—supposing that I had the power to send off any—will it be credited that I could be ignorant of the skilfulness, activity, and ardour of the Austrian engineers, and that I could believe I had time to stop them in their operations by my letters from Vienna? A major-general myself, as well as officer of engineers, is it probable that I could wish to stop the works of so interesting a siege, and give the enemy time to come and cause it to be raised? Could I have that intention in the position the Austrian army then was, divided and scattered in Piedmont, at the siege of Turin, before Mantua, Alexandria, and Tortona, and against the army of Macdonald?—It had been another thing, if, upon knowing the auxiliary corps was going in a short time to leave Italy, I might have had *an opinion* about some enterprise that I should have believed to be hazarded or dangerous, considering the diminution of the forces which must have taken place very soon, or before the finish of such

* I hope it will be found that I have not deviated widely, however difficult this may be, for a person not quite uninstructed in the train of events, talking of a particular epoch of this unhappy contest, by not enlarging upon what preceded or followed it; but we must be careful not to encroach upon the task of the historian, who, in the course of half a century hence, will be enabled, without suspicion of partiality, to put together the facts which we have been witnesses of. That will be the period when many a reputation will be placed back to its just level, and when *multa renascentur quæ jam decidere, cadentque quæ nunc sunt in honore*; when they will judge neither with a view to favour, or the contrary, of men, concerning the results which they have not been the cause of, whether efficient, immediate, or voluntary, and which they could neither foresee, create, nor hinder.

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an operation. But had I the power to stop a siege? I was neither minister of state, nor president of the Council of War. Would an Austrian general suffer himself to deviate from his duty at the instance of a private letter from a comrade or friend? Besides, was not Marshal Souworow the person who was charged with the command, and the responsibility annexed to it? Would he not have remarked delays in the execution of his orders? Who would have dared to retard it, and, I repeat it, upon a private letter?—Marshal Souworow had gained, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of June, upon the Tidone and the Trebbia, that famous battle which lasted three whole days, and which decided upon the success of so many enterprises going on at the same period, whilst General Bellegarde, after his gallant behaviour against superior forces in the Grisons, where he had been much weakened by the great detachments he was obliged to make successively from his corps, to the right and left, sustained himself on the two sides of a river against treble the forces under Moreau, covered the flank of the grand army, and maintained the blockade of Alexandria, by abandoning, for an instant, that of Tortona.—But till when did I wish to retard the conclusion of the siege of Turin? "*Till the total departure "of the Russians out of Italy.*" When did they go out of it? Could I have the will and the power to make this siege hold on for three months and longer? Let it, however, be remarked, that, to affix this term to my designs, it would be requisite for me to have known that the Russians were to go out of Italy: when had I the knowledge of this project? I could know nothing of it before the end of July, or the beginning of August; for it was not till then that this departure was determined on, and that the court of Vienna consented to it, upon the desire which the court of London had manifested to that of St. Petersburgh, of seeing the Russian auxiliary corps belonging to the Austrian army of Italy joined in Switzerland, under Marshal Souworow, to the auxiliary Russian army paid and maintained by England. It was not till the 1st or 3d of August that I arrived at the head-quarters of H. R. H. the Archduke Charles, bearer of the Emperor's orders respecting this, which intimated "that H. R. H. was to give place to the "auxiliary Russian army, according as they "should arrive in Switzerland, and not to ex-"pose them to any danger." I know the many silly discourses which have been held on this subject; they have gone on even to advance "that the Archduke resisting the orders "of his august brother, given in conformity "to the desire of the allies, I had ventured to "remind him of his duty." Certainly that Prince would have esteemed me the more for so doing, if he had reduced me to act so, and in that case I myself should have done no more by it than my own duty required of me; but one must be very little acquainted with the Archduke, and injure him deeply, to believe him capable of it.—I will acknowledge on this occasion, that, in a military as well as political point of view, my weak discernment has never allowed me to perceive the advantage that could have resulted from such a crossing over before the enemy, in the middle of a campaign, to replace, as we would relieve a sentinel, an Austrian army in Switzerland by a Russian one, containing an enormous number of horses, and as much strangers to the language as to the manners of the nation, and to the kind of warfare which the country required; to cause this army to arrive by the longest distance from Russia to the line of operation; to make it traverse Bavaria and Suabia, so many times exhausted by the armies of friends and enemies; to cause it to cross and absorb the Austrian supplies of provisions; for it is to be noted that this army, which was announced to have brought with it all it stood in need of, was obliged to come to a stand-still more than once, in want but of every thing, and ever ending with having recourse to the Austrian magazines which were laid open to it; but not without great embarrassments to the Archduke's army, and this not so much from the consumption, as by reason it had not been foreseen that it ought to have taken place upon the Austrian magazines.—Before the Austrian evacuation, such a measure necessarily heaped together, for some time, two armies in one of the smallest and poorest countries in Europe, at least in forage, after what she had been furnishing to two armies, Austrian and French. I have never conceived why they did not cause this Russian army to arrive three months sooner, without losing that time in waiting, to no purpose, for the unlikely accession of Prussia, through Franconia upon the Rhine, and allow the Austrian army to fortify and concentrate itself upon the Upper Rhine and in Switzerland, and to complete the conquest of that country, so gloriously commenced already by the German hero?—I know that my court had no more conceived this than myself; it only consented to it through complaisance to its allies, and against its own opinion. —In a conference which I had at Berlin, in March 1799, with Mr. Thomas Grenville, at Count Panin's, and before that Minister, who was of my opinion, I added to all these arguments this: if they still flattered themselves that Prussia might be brought in, a Russian army in English pay, and placed between the Austrian and Prussian armies, would be of great help to do away all influence to that pretended rivalship existing between those two armies. I do not call to mind that Mr. Grenville then made me any other objection than, "That this measure had already been adopted "and *announced* by his court." Every military man will agree, that the measure which I had proposed, to have Korsakow's army arrive upon the Rhine towards Mentz, was equally

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agreeable *to all circumstances;* but it is difficult to imagine what success, and what greater effect upon the whole of the operations of the war, the English expedition to Holland might produce, and in the season when it was undertaken, *without the concurrence of Prussia;* whilst this expedition, directed to Britany or Normandy, might have been probably more efficacious; or, if this should not be thought meet, English forces carried into Italy, at the time of the siege of Genoa, would have done more service to the common cause.—The object of my mission to Berlin was to do away the difficulties which that court might have, relatively to that of Vienna, to join itself to the coalition. This object was perfectly fulfilled; but the court of Berlin remained not the less firmly for it, as I had foreseen, in its pacific system; the reply that its ministry then made me, about the 19th or 20th of April, I believe, was frank, and, at least for that epoch, positive. I consoled myself for it, by reflecting how very few coalitions that are too complicated had had success at any time. I do not know if, since my departure, that court has let any farther probability be seen of its entering the lists again: of this, indeed, I much doubt, and very well recollect, that they flattered themselves much less of it in Russia than in England.—But, I repeat it, it was only when this army, then commanded by General Korsakow, was no longer very far from arriving at its destination, towards the end of July, or beginning of August, that I could know, and that I came to the knowledge, of my court having yielded a second time to the wish of England, by consenting for M. Souworow, with the Russian auxiliary corps of Italy, to join, *which I could not have possibly foreseen at the beginning of June.*—H. R. H. the Archduke, while I was with him in Switzerland, sorry for the delays this change had produced in the operations, resolved, upon the arrival of the head of the Russian vanguard, to save the little cantons, and deliver the greater part of Switzerland, by a vigorous and sudden *diversion:* this Prince desired to pass the Aar at Dettingen, with fifty thousand men, of which the Russian vanguard made a part. All those who, like myself, witnessed this attempt the 17th of August, know the natural obstacles it met with, and which determined H. R. H. to send *directly* nine battalions of supplies into the little cantons.—I left the army the 19th of August, in order to return to Vienna; that is to say, before Lord Mulgrave, who went from England the 9th of August, to repair to that army, had come to it. My researches led me to find this information in The Times, of the 12th of August 1799; and I make this remark, from knowing that it has likewise been fabricated that I had thwarted the object of his mission. How could that have possibly been, if I had departed from head-quarters before he arrived there? I had announced to the Archduke the arrival of this British commissary. I have heard it said since, that he had brought projects quite contrary to that which had been proposed to the court of Vienna, by the courts of Petersburgh and London, but did not believe it; for, if the British Ministry had suddenly abandoned an adopted, announced, and, during six months, firmly maintained plan, they would doubtless have perceived, that it was *at Vienna and Petersburgh* where that sudden and unexpected variance ought to have been announced, and the consent of the two Imperial courts negotiated, at an epoch which still allowed the preventing of the above-mentioned determined change, by seasonably dispatching fresh orders to the Archduke, Marshal Souworow, and General Korsakow.—According to what had been agreed between the three allied courts, one ought to be surprised at the refusal of General Korsakow to relieve the left wing of the Austrian army in Switzerland, and, by so doing, to effect a junction with the troops arriving under Marshal Souworow, of which the Austrian brigade of Strauch composed the vanguard; one ought to be so at Marshal Souworow's not arriving himself more speedily with his troops; for it is false, absolutely false, that he had experienced in this any obstacles from the Austrian army, which, besides the before-mentioned brigade of Strauch, and a good number of staff-officers, which the Marshal had asked for, had furnished him what he could of cannon and mules, not to say that the horses of the Cosacks, useless for any other purpose in Switzerland, might, from the first instant, have been turned into pack-horses. Victory remained with the Austrian army after the departure of the Marshal; witness the action of the 16th of September, and the two battles won on the 31st of October, and the 4th and 5th of November, upon the Stura.—It might be possible that this great warrior, when just upon entering Switzerland, had foreseen the obstacles which nature was going to present, for the first time, to a Russian army, and which he encountered as valiantly as against those which the enemy put in his way. He would have triumphed over it, but for the *déroute* at the Limmat. Be it as it may, the Archduke, before hastening to succour Philipsbourg, which he delivered, and to Manheim, which he took on the very first onset, covering himself with glory there, and, consequently, before hindering the enemy, by advancing anew into Germany, to menace the flank of the armies of the allies, and to deprive them of the resources already become very scarce by the aforesaid countermarch and incumbering of armies, was willing to try a general attack, which General Korsakow thought proper to decline, for reasons which are not come to my knowledge. The Archduke, at parting, left, besides the brigade of Strauch, accompanying Marshal Souworow, Lieutenant-general Hotze, with a considerable corps in Switzerland, and the Lieutenants-general Nauendorf and Kienmayer,

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with their divisions at hand, to support the Russians, insomuch as I am tempted to believe, that the number of Austrians then employed in and for Switzerland, was at least equal to that of the Russians, especially in infantry. Every military man, who knows the position of the Limmat, has it still to conceive how an army, so brave as the Russian, could possibly be driven from it: it can only be attributed to the negligence or ignorance of some subaltern general. These facts are known by every ocular witness, and might have equally been so in Russia at that time by reports which arrived there with incontestable proofs.—Having consigned here all that could nearly or remotely refer to the objects in question, I leave to the public the following decisions:—I. What are we to think of those who have fabricated such an absurdity? who have published it? or who, too much enlightened to believe it, have affected to believe it, in order to give it currency?—II. What is to be thought of those who, without examination, against plain sense, against any likelihood, all consideration, and combination of dates, facts, and individuals, have been the dupes of it, whether simple individuals, military men, or "*diplomatists in the* "*upper circles of the political world?*"—Perhaps the public will judge like myself, that "*their* "*worst enemies*" could not do a grosser injury to the character of the first, than by suspecting them of what they have forged, and to the common sense of the second, than by attributing to them that silly credulity. Perhaps the public will find, too, that the first deserve the most marked contempt, and that the second are really to be pitied.—I embrace this occasion to assure them for ever of those sentiments on my part.

London, Feb. 3, 1802.

Will of Prince Henry of Prussia, bearing date the 25th February 1802.

I WILL be left in the place where I may be, whether in bed or in a chair, till no doubt shall remain of my death; but while even uncertainty remains, the drawers and closets in the chamber where I perform the last act of life shall be sealed. When it is certain that I am no more, my corpse shall be laid on a simple tent-bed. I will not trouble my domestics to adorn me; but since custom, however, requires it, I will be dressed in my oldest regimentals; and, should my legs be swelled, my boots shall be cut open; it does not signify, so they are only fit for a dead man to wear. Besides those who place a real interest in my loss, no one shall be permitted to see me. I will not tend to an odious and disgusting spectacle, by being exhibited to the public.—Count Rœder shall announce my decease to the King; at the same time telling him, that Count de la Roche Aymon, being charged with my last will as to my interment, shall afterwards discharge a private commission, and deliver him something from me. He shall tell him that, according to this will, I am to be interred at Rheinsberg; that that same desire stood in my testament, which I request him to open speedily; that my burial-place was tolerable, and that I made an epitaph upon myself, which must remain on the stone that is to be placed at the vault on the very day of my interment. That I desire neither flambeaux nor lights around my coffin, it being to be closed as soon as it shall be ready and I put into it, not wishing to stay a moment longer above the earth than is necessary to ascertain my death.—A single person shall guard my corpse, to keep the cats and dogs from it. I do not wish to torment people after my decease, to sit up by an inanimate creature. No cords, no fringe, either in or upon my coffin. The day of interment being fixed, it shall have place at noon, if in the winter; if summer, at four or five o'clock: without any other pomp, my domestics shall carry my corpse down the stairs, and through the saloon of yellow marble, to the residence of my dissolution, which is not far off: as soon as the coffin is put in there, the tombstone, which I have had engraved, shall be placed at the entrance by the architect Reinert; and this having occurred, all is done. I belong no more then to the kingdom of the living.—I beseech the Count de la Roche Aymon to summon together the gentlemen who shall have attended me to my death, with the private secretary Le Beauld and the architect Reinert, in an apartment of the castle, after my interment. First, I profess my acknowledgments to the Count de la Roche Aymon, for his tender attachment to me all the time I had the happiness of his company. I request him to tell those gentlemen that I die grateful; that I pray them to protect each other during their lives; this being the greatest evidence they can give the world that my memory has not escaped them.—I also wish the Count de la Roche Aymon to call together all my chamberlains, cooks, musicians, and lacqueys, and to have the politeness to thank them, in my name, for the services which they have rendered me; telling them all, from the first to the last, that I have made a will, by which I have bequeathed remembrances in money or effects; that each, when the King has opened it, shall know what my friendship or gratitude bequeaths; but that it is natural, without disrespect to any one, for me to estimate those who, in my opinion, have been sincere and open, and most truly attached to me; and therefore, by favouring the one more than the other, I have only followed the impulse of my heart. That I, moreover, being only able to dispose of a part of my property, have not had it in my power to do more than it will be found I have done: but that I requested every one to be satisfied; and the property that he got, to consider as the property that I wish to all; I dying in the hope, that there can no greater proof of attachment be given to my ashes, than that no one murmurs at the little or the much of the distribution. Moreover, I have recommended those who have served me, to the King and my heirs, not doubting but that act of my last testament will be executed.—The sword which I wore in the seven years war, shall be delivered to the Count de la Roche; and I request him, after my interment, to repair to the King, and assure him of my last wishes for him and the state; at the same time handing my sword to him, with the prayer, in my name, to have it preserved in memory of the faithfulness with which I have served my country. Thus is the last act of my life terminated.—Eternally farewell!

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

Pope's Brief to the Archbishops and Bishops of France, preceded by the accompanying Letter of Monseigneur Erskine.

Illustrious and Reverend Sir,—In conformity with the orders I have received from our spiritual father, Pope Pius VII. I communicate to you the pontifical brief which you will find attached to this letter. I pray you to acknowledge the reception of it without delay, and to transmit me a suitable answer with all convenient dispatch. —His Holiness has omitted no effort for the preservation of our see; but he has beheld with the liveliest regret, that the urgency of circumstances renders your resignation indispensable. This is required equally for the sake of unity, of peace, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France. His Holiness has given me in charge farther to assure you, that he has in the warmest terms recommended your person to the regards of the Chief Consul; in the first place, with the view of inducing him to fix his choice on you in the nomination of a person to fill the vacant see; or, if that request should not be attended to, at least to prevail on him to make some provisions for your support. Such is, Monseigneur, the desire of St. Peter to contribute to your consolation and relief in every possible manner, that he will lose sight of no favourable opportunity to alleviate the weight of misfortune which presses upon you, and to provide for your personal accommodations. —Having thus fulfilled the commands entrusted to me by the sovereign Pontiff, it now only remains for me to tender you every service in my power, and to assure you that I am, Monseigneur, &c. (Signed)—*Charles Erskine.*

No. 42, Mary-la-bonne Street, 30 Aug. 1801.

THE POPE'S BRIEF.

Pius VII. to his venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops of France, having the Communion and Favour of the Apostolic Chair.

Venerable Fathers,—Health, and the apostolic benediction!—So many and so signal are the services which, both as a general body, and as individuals of the Catholic Faith, you have performed, that on this account you have ever merited from us and from our predecessor, Pius VI. now happily to rest, the highest commendations and the highest praise of your virtue.—But although what you have done for the Church, and for the advantage of the faithful, be very great and highly glorious to you, yet the state of the times forces us to notify to you, that you have not yet fulfilled that meritorious career of glory for which the counsels of divine providence have reserved your courage in these times. Greater sacrifices, O venerable fathers! still remain to be added to those by which you have distinguished yourselves, and you have still to add higher claims to those which you now have to the gratitude of the church. The preservation of the church, the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France, demand a new example of virtue and of greatness of soul in you, which may teach all nations, that the holy zeal with which you burn for the church has for its object its advantage, and not your own. Your ecclesiastical seats are voluntarily to be resigned, and the same must be freely given up into our hands. It is requiring much of you, venerable brethren; it is, however, equally necessary, both that we should make this demand, and that you should comply with it, in order to re-establish order in France in the affairs of the church. We feel, indeed, how much it must cost your hearts to abandon those flocks which are so dear to you, to the safety of which you have given so much attention, and which, even in your absence, have been the object of your most tender solicitude. But the more bitter the sacrifice, the more agreeable will it be to God; the reward which you will have to expect from it will be proportioned to your grief and to his benevolence. With the whole energy of our soul do we call upon your virtue; we call upon you, by the blessed name of Jesus, to complete this sacrifice for the preservation of unity. A knowledge of the distinguished piety, and of the remarkable virtue which we have ever remarked in you in the most trying circumstances of the church, makes us certain that you will immediately forward to us your voluntary letters of abdication. We cannot entertain a doubt that any of the wise and virtuous pastors of the French church, can for a moment hesitate to comply with our paternal advice, and to follow the illustrious example of Gregory Nazianzene, when he resigned the bishopric of Constantinople. And certainly, in the situation in which we stand, what reason can we have to suspect that any of you would resist our counsels and our entreaties, if he recollects what the church in general has resolved, and what St. Augustine has said,—Contra Crescentium, lib. 2, c. xi.—"We are not bishops for our own sakes, but for the sakes of those to whom we administer the sacraments of the Lord; and, for these, as necessity shall require, we are either to be or not to be, as it is not for ourselves, but for them that we govern."—For you know, venerable brethren, that many of the most distinguished prelates of the church, that they might conform to this principle of the church and preserve unity, have voluntarily abdicated their seats; and almost 300 Catholic bishops a little before the celebrated collation of Carthage, openly professed themselves to be ready, and thought themselves bound to abdicate their bishopries, if it should be conceived that their abdication would tend to remove the schism of the Donatists*. Many of you, indeed, venerable brethren, had before your eyes these examples, and adopted similar sentiments, when in consequence of the letter of the 3d May, 1791, of the late Pius VI. of happy memory, our predecessor, you professed yourselves willing and ready to resign your charges, if the good of religion should require it, for which that wise pontiff bestowed on them the greatest praise †. Nor were there wanting some of you lately who signified to us in your letters, that you would cheerfully do the same, if it should seem necessary for the preservation of religion in France. Now since we have arrived at those times, in which the voluntary abdication of your charge is absolutely necessary for the good of the Catholic religion, we cannot doubt that you will

* August. in lib. de Gest. cum emerito. Acta collat. Carth. tom. 1. Concil. Balluti.

† In solio facultatem concessarum die 20 Septembris 1791. Archiepiscopis Lugdunensi, Parisiensis et Viennensi, &c.

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yield this obedience to God, by making this new sacrifice, to offer which to him you know yourselves bound, and have already so laudably professed yourselves ready, should the good of the church require.—Confidently trusting, therefore, in consequence of the opinion which we have always entertained of your religion and virtue, that on perusing our letter, both to increase your mercies to the church, and to preserve the unity of it in France, you will, without delay, implicitly comply with our exhortation; we first congratulate you on account of that immortal glory which you will obtain from this splendid testimony of virtue, religion and obedience, which you are now about to give to the whole church. This glory, indeed, will be so great as to be far superior to the praises you have already obtained, by undergoing so many dangers and enduring so many calamities with so much constancy, for preserving religion in the churches entrusted to your fidelity.—For, according to what the same St. Augustin writes, in his letter to Castorius, "It is far more "glorious to have laid down the burthen of episcopacy, in order to ward off the dangers of the "church, than to have undertaken it for the sake "of ruling." *—We also congratulate you on those ample rewards to which this sacrifice will entitle you from God, the rewarder of the good. For, as the same St. Gregory Nazianzene writes, "those who abdicate thrones will not lose God, "but will acquire a heavenly throne, much higher and safer." † In the last place, we congratulate you, considering those advantages the whole priesthood will derive from these memorable examples of minds labouring, not for themselves, but for the things which belong to God and the church: these instances of obedience, humility, faith, and of all episcopal holiness, with which you are about to crown the end of your episcopacy—this virtue of yours, indeed, will shut the mouths of those detractors of the priesthood, who calumniate the ministers of the sanctuary by asserting, that they find nothing in them but pride, haughtiness and avarice. This new glory by which you will render yourselves illustrious, will extort an involuntary admiration of your virtue from men who will be obliged to confess, in regard to the church, what the same St. Augustine affirms in the above-mentioned letter to Castorius; "That there are some men in its bosom who "seek not those things which are their own, but "the things of Jesus Christ."—We are compelled by the exigency of the times, which even exercises its violence on us, to signify, that it is absolutely necessary for you to give a written answer within ten days, and that your answer be transmitted to the person by whom the present letter will be delivered to you, which you ought to testify by an authentic document, that you have received, we must also signify to you for the same urgent causes, that the answer given must be definitive, not dilatory; so that unless a definitive answer be given within ten days, (and that you will do so, we entreat you again and again); if a dilatory answer is returned, we shall be obliged to consider you as having refused to comply with our request.—But, that this you will not do, we have reason to hope, from your ardent desire both to preserve religion, and to promote the peace of the whole church; and from your obedience to us, which is the peculiar duty of children, and from that anxiety which you have always shewn of assisting by your virtue, our infirmity, under that great load of cares with which we are oppressed. Nay, we are certain that, with cheerful and ready minds, you will obey our commands, with which we are obliged to try your virtue, in order to establish the good of the church; especially, since you possess too much penetration not to know, that if you refuse to comply with our request, that no obstacles may be opposed by us to preserving the unity of the catholic religion, and restoring the tranquillity of the church—(we declare with grief, but we must declare, while so much danger hangs over the Gallician church from us) we must necessarily have recourse to that conduct which will remove all impediments, and by which alone the good of religion can be promoted.—By the favour and good will which we have already shewn towards you, venerable brethren, by the opinion we have always had of your virtue, dignity and merits, we flatter ourselves that you are so persuaded that we do not think it necessary to expend many words in assuring you, that nothing has been omitted on our part which could tend to prevent you from being exposed to this bitterness. But it is with great grief we must confess that all our anxiety, and all our labour to resist the necessity of the times has been fruitless. We are compelled to yield, that the Catholic religion may be benefited by this sacrifice. After maturely weighing these circumstances, we should seem to question the sincerity of your religious profession, if we should conclude that you will prefer your own advantage to the preservation and good order of the church, forgetting what St. Augustine said, in the name of the African bishops, to the Tribune Marcellinus, when he declared that those bishops were ready to abdicate their chairs: "Why should we hesitate "to make that sacrifice of humility to our Re"deemer? Did he descend from Heaven in the "human form that we should be members of his "body, and shall we fear to descend from our "chairs to prevent his limbs from being torn by "cruel division? Personally, we are only faithful "and obedient Christians. This we always are, "but we were ordained bishops for the Christian "people. As bishops, therefore, let us do what "may benefit Christian people, by promoting "Christian peace. If we are useful servants, "why should we prefer our temporal grandeur to "eternal gain in the Lord? The episcopal dignity "will be more fruitful to us, if by laying it down, "we collect the flock of Christ, than if we should "disperse it by retaining it, for with what face "in future can we hope for the honour promised "by Christ, if Christian unity is impeded by our "worldly honour." *—As we cannot, therefore, doubt, when we reflect on your tried virtue and religion, that you will consult the advantage of the church, and the good of the faithful, while we implore the Almighty God to strengthen your virtue, that with more readiness as becomes willing givers, you may offer to him the gift; and while we promise, as far as in us lies, to take care that you shall be hereafter provided for, we confer on you our apostolic blessing, as a pledge of our paternal love.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, under

* August. ep. 69. edit. Maurin.

† Orat. 32. tom. 1 oppo. edit. Bally.

* Epist. 88. tom. 11 oppo. edit. Maurin.

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the Fisherman's Seal, August 15th, 1801, in the second year of our pontificate. (Signed)—Pius P. P. VII. * Michael, *Patriarch of Jerusalem.*

Report made to the First Consul of France in Senate, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The First Consul having ordered me to render an account to him, in senate, of the differences subsisting between the republic of France and the regency of Algiers, and of the success of the measures which have been adopted to terminate them.—I shall first advert to the previous situation of affairs.—From the frontiers of Egypt to the Streight of Gibraltar, the North of Africa, is possessed by men ignorant of the public law of Europe. The principles and the manners, which in a great degree, have formed Europeans into one great society, and not only forbid the oppression of, but enjoin them to protect and assist, when in danger, the navigation and commerce of pacific nations—which reprobate all unjust aggression; and require that the rights of humanity be preserved sacred; these are still unknown to the people of those countries.—They acknowledge no other law of nations, than those dictated by their own police, which permits amongst them individual violence, authorizes it with respect to foreigners, and consecrates even acts of barbarity and outrage with regard to enemies—they are ignorant that the law of nations, proceeding upon general principles, abolishes those chimerical rights, which a people too much impressed with their local importance, derive from the licentiousness of their particular customs. It is, however, to the honour of Europe, that in those respects, the supremacy of its public law assigns just limits to the tolerance of particular systems of legislation, and which hereafter shall not be unknown, but in Africa.—The regency of Algiers is particularly remarkable for an audacity, which some events have tended to strengthen.—Charles the Fifth turned his victorious arms against Africa—he wished to free Europe from the incursions of Barbarians, by reducing their power; but the success was not commensurate to the greatness of the design, and fell far short of the magnitude of his preparations.—In succeeding times Louis XIV. asserted at Algiers, the honour of the French flag, and in the interval of six years, that city was three times bombarded by his orders. But the affairs of Europe claiming his attention at the time, set bounds to his vengeance. However, since that period, the Algerines have appeared to respect France, and the peace which was concluded in 1689, subsisted more than a century, when, in the course of the year 7, it was infringed at the instance of the Sublime Porte.—Of all the enemies which were opposed to France, when the First Consul took the reins of government, the regency of Algiers was the least formidable. But the First Consul, desirous that the calamities of war should every where terminate, and learning that the Dey was inclined to pacification, dispatched a negotiator to Algiers. Being preceded by the renown of those exploits of which Italy, Germany, Syria, and Egypt had been the witnesses, the consular envoy was properly received. Peace was determined upon, and even notified to the Divan: but a fresh interference of the Sublime Porte prevented the signature. War appeared to be renewed, but no actual hostilities took place. The French were permitted freely to retire from Algiers, and to dispose of their properties, and the French agent waited at Alicant until the moment when the negotiations should be resumed.—In short, a definitive treaty which assures to France all the advantages stipulated by the antient treaties, and which by new articles guaranteed more explicitly and more favourably to France the freedom of commerce and navigation to Algiers was signed the 2d of December.—General peace being concluded, commerce began to take all its accustomed courses.—But we soon learned that the armed ships of Algiers scoured the Mediterranean—desolated the French commerce, and infested the coasts. Neither the flag nor even the territory of the republic were respected by Corsairs of the regency. They conducted to Algiers, transports which had sailed from Toulon for St. Domingo. They seized a Neapolitan vessel close to the coasts of France. An Algerine officer dared to make a French trading captain undergo a most infamous treatment in the road of Tunis. The barques of the coral company, which were, by the terms of the treaty free to dispose of their fish, were violently repulsed from the coasts. The Charge d'Affaires called in vain for satisfaction—they even dared to make propositions injurious to the dignity of the French people—they even proposed—that France should pay for the execution of the treaty!—The First Consul on being informed of those circumstances, ordered that a naval division should be stationed before Algiers.—I transmitted by his orders, the instructions by which the Charge d'Affaires, citizen Dubois Thainville is to regulate his conduct, agreeably to the dictates of prudence, but at the same time with energy and dignity.—The division commanded by Rear-Admiral Leissegues, appeared before Algiers, the 5th of August, and carrying on board an officer of the palace, the adjutant Hullin, charged with a letter from the First Consul to the Dey.—On the 6th of August this officer landed—he was received with distinction, and he presented the letter of the First Consul which is conceived in the following terms:

"Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Repub-
" lic, to the Most High and Most Magnificent
" the Dey of Algiers, whom God preserve in
" prosperity and glory.

" I write this letter directly to you, because I
" know there are among your ministers some who
" deceive you, and who induce you to conduct
" yourself in a manner which may bring on you
" great misfortunes. This letter will be given
" into your own hand by an adjutant of my pa-
" lace. The object of it is to demand a prompt
" reparation, such as I have a right to expect,
" from the sentiments which you have always
" shewn for me. A French officer has been beaten
" in the road of Tunis, by one of your captains,
" Rais. The agent of the republic has de-
" manded satisfaction, and has been unable to ob-
" tain it. Two armed brigs have been taken by
" your corsairs, who carried them into Algiers,
" and retarded them in their voyage. A Neapo-
" litan vessel has been taken by your corsairs, in

* *Note of Editor.*—*The archbishops and bishops, in London, to whom this brief was addressed, wrote an answer to his Holiness, in which they gave their reasons for not complying with his request. This answer shall appear in our next Supplement.*

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" the road of Hieres, and by this they have vio-
" lated the French territory. Finally, I still want
" 150 men of the crew of the vessel that was
" wrecked on your coast last winter, who are in
" the hands of the barbarians. I demand of you
" redress for all these grievances; and having no
" doubt of your taking all the measures which I
" would in similar circumstances, I send a vessel
" to bring home the 150 men that I want. I pray
" you also to look with distrust on those of your
" ministers who are enemies to France; you can-
" not have greater enemies, and if I desire to live
" in peace with you, it is no less necessary for you
" to preserve this good understanding which has
" been re-established, and which alone can main-
" tain you in the rank and prosperity in which
" you are, *for God has decreed that all those who are un-*
" *just towards me should be punished.* If you wish to
" live in good friendship with me, you must not
" treat me as a feeble power, you must cause the
" French flag to be respected as well as that of the
" Italian Republic, which has appointed me its
" Chief, and you must give me redress for all the
" outrages which have been done to me. This
" letter, having no other object, I pray you to
" read it with attention, and to inform, by return
" of the officer whom I send to you, what you may
" think proper to do."

Whatever may have been the internal sentiments of the Dey, he shewed only the most lively desire to live in good understanding with the French Republic. " I wish, said he, to be always " the friend of Buonaparté." He promised, and actually gave, all the satisfaction required. In order to shew a particular respect for the First Consul in the person of his envoy, he wished even to deviate from the usual forms, and, contrary to the immemorial custom of the regents, he received in the most magnificent kiosck, in his gardens the officer of the palace, the Charge des Affaires of the republic, Rear-Admiral Leisseques, and his numerous staff. It was there that he gave to General Hullin the answer which he had prepared for the First Consul, and of which the tenor is as follows:

" In the name of God alone, of the man of God, " master of us, illustrious and magnificent Lord " Mustapha Pacha, Dey of Algiers, whom God " preserve in glory.—To our friend Buonaparté, " First Consul of the French republic, President " of the Italian Republic.—I salute you; the " peace of God be with you.—Hereinafter, my " friend, I notify to you, that I have received " your letter, dated the 29th Messidor (18th July); " I have read it, it was presented to me by the ge-" neral of your palace and your vekil, Dubois " Thainville. I answer you article by article.—" I. You complain of the Rais Ali Tatur. Though " he is one of my *jol dachs*, I arrested him in order " to put him to death. At the moment of execu-" tion, your vekil demanded his pardon in your " name, and for your sake I have set him free.—" II. You demand of me the Neapolitan polacre " taken, you say under the cannon of France. " The details that have been laid before you on " this head, are not exact; but according to your " desire, I have set at liberty eighteen christians, " forming her crew, and I have given them up to " your vekil.—III. You demand a Neapolitan " vessel, which is said to have sailed from Corfu " with French property. No French papers were " found; but, according to your desire, I have " given liberty to the crew, and I have given them " up to your vekil.—IV. You require of me the " punishment of the Rais who brought in here two " vessels belonging to the French Republic. Ac-" cording to your desire, I have deprived him of " his command; but I must inform you, that my " Rais do not know how to read European cha-" racters, they know nothing but the accustomed " passport; and for this reason it is proper " that the ships of war of the Republic should " make some signal, in order to be known " by my corsairs.—V. You demand 150 men, who, " you say, are in my dominions: God has willed " that these men should be lost, and I am sorry " for it.—VI. You say there are men who give me " advice, tending to produce a misunderstanding " with you. Our friendship is ancient and solid; " and all who strive to make us quarrel, shall fail. " —VII. You require me to enter into terms of " amity with the Italian Republic. At your re-" quest I shall respect its flag equally as your " own. To the same request from any other per-" son, I would not, for a million of piastres, have " agreed.—VIII. You have refused the 200,000 " piastres which I asked in compensation for the " losses I had sustained on your account; whether " you give or with-hold them we shall equally re-" main in friendship.—IX. I have settled with " your agent, my friend Dubois Thainville, every " thing respecting Calle, and your people are at " liberty to come to the coral fishery as soon as " they please. Your African company shall en-" joy its old privileges. I have directed the Bey of " Constantine to grant it, in all cases, his protec-" tion.—X. I have satisfied you to your own " wishes, I expect from you the like satisfaction.—" XI. I therefore request you to give particular " orders that no nations which are at enmity with " me, may sail under your flag, or under that of " the Italian Republic; and this to prevent all fu-" ture disputes between us that our mutual friend-" ship may be permanent.—XII. I have given or-" ders to all my commanders at sea to respect the " French flag. The first that brings a French " prize into any of my ports shall be punished.—" Should any future difference arise, write to me " directly; and it shall be settled to your wishes. " —May God preserve you in health and glory!—" Algiers, the 13th day of the lunar month Rabiad " Ewel, the year of the Hegira, 1217."

I cannot conclude this report to the First Consul without adding, that Adjutant Commandant Hullen, and Rear-Admiral Lessiesques, have executed their commission with dignity, firmness, and moderation. *Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*

The Envoys of the Republics, Guarantees of the Independence of the Valais, to the People of the Valais.—Sion, Sept. 5, 1802.

Citizens of the Vallais,—The French government, at the first moment of peace, which it had gloriously restored to Europe, occupied itself with the means of making you enjoy its beneficial effects, by putting an end to that state of indetermination among you which is always painful to the people.—The Helvetic Government, animated with the same sentiments, has been eager to concur in it, and that of the Italian Republic, has acceded with an equal sentiment of friendship.—Wishing

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to consolidate your liberty, by making you enter into relations equally beneficial with the three Republics, by which you are surrounded, the French, Italian, and Helvetic Governments, have concluded between them a solemn treaty which establishes your independence, under the support and guarantee of those three Republics. They have sent us to you to sign and deposit in the hands of your representatives assembled in Legitimate Diet this compact, which is become the foundation and the ægis of a free and happy existence to you; and they have directed us to concur, in order that you may have a constitution and a government which shall be the free result of your choice, and which shall make you speedily enjoy that independence which the Helvetic government have just solemnly granted you.—We are come to fulfil this important task; the Republic of the Valais exists, and it is only necessary that her government should be established, in order that she may occupy her station among free nations.—We consummate this work by declaring, in the name of the French, Helvetic, and Italian governments, friends of the Republic of the Valais, and guarantees of her independence, that the Council of State named by the Diet of the Valais, enters from to-day into the full possession of the rights granted to it by the constitution; and we make known to the people the following appointments which the Diet has just made, and in consequence of which we install in the name of our Government, the Citizens—Antonio Augustini, Grand Bailli of the Republic.—Charles Derivaz and Gaspard Stockalper, Counsellors of State of the Republic—Pierre Antoine Preux, Vice-Bailli—Joseph Duray de la Vallaz and Jacques Quartery, Vice-Counsellors of State of the Republic.—May the prosperity of the people of the Valais be hereafter the effect of the wisdom and solicitude of the Government; may it be the consequence of the tranquillity and order which shall reign among you. It is by a total oblivion of past vicissitudes, it is by the silence of the passions which they may have irritated, it is by a sincere return to concord and to fraternal union which formerly constituted your happiness, that you will cement it anew.—You will thus preserve the esteem and good will of our Government; it is with the sentiment of the greatest interest that we come to make you feel the first effects of them, and that we renew the assurance of them.—(Signed)—*Turreau, Lamertenghi, Muller Friedberg.*

[In the installation of the new government of the Republic of the Valais, which took place by the above proclamation, a trumpeter went first, a standard bearer, dressed in the antient Swiss costume, in red and white colours, which are those of the Valais, carried a red and white standard, with twelve stars on it, which are the emblems of the Republic of the Valais; the garrison lent the sappers which preceded the music of the 87th of the line. Three civil officers followed, in black costume, on horseback. The proclamation was preceded and followed by flourishes of music. When it had been read in all the principal places, the procession returned to the town-house, where the Diet holds its sittings. The colours were suspended from the windows, amidst universal acclamations, which the music alone put an end to. After the proclamation, the Bishop of Sion was invited by the Diet to come among them; a deputation of the Diet went to him, and accompanied him. The Diet then proceeded, with the Bishop at their head, followed by the Council of State, and the rest of the members of the Diet, to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was celebrated in grateful thanks, for the restoration of the Republic of the Valais.—The Council of State gave a splendid dinner to the Envoys of the three Republics, the Chiefs, and principal officers of the French military corps, the members of the Diet, and a great number of distinguished citizens, even from the country parts, where several toasts were drank—the first, to Napoleone Buonaparté, First Consul of France, and President of the Italian Republic, Restorer of the Valais. In the evening there were fire-works, illuminations, inscriptions, &c.; and the day concluded with a grand ball given by government, and by *feux de joie*, in all the mountains round the town, which prove that the town and the country parts are equally satisfied.]

Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate, of the 11th of September, 1802.

The Conservative Senate, the number of members being present prescribed by the 90th article of the constitution,—Having seen the project of an *Organic Senatus Consulte*, prepared in the form prescribed by the 57th article of the *Organic Senatus Consulte* of the 4th of August;—After having heard respecting the motives of the said project, the Orators of Government, and the report of its Special Committee, appointed in the sitting of the 7th instant:—The adoption having been agreed to by the number of votes prescribed by the 56th article of the *Organic Senatus Consulte*, decrees as follows:—Art. 1. The departments of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura, and Tanaro, are united to the territory of the French Republic.—2. The department of Po shall send four deputies to the Legislative Body.—The department of Marengo three deputies.—The department of Doire two; of Sezia two; of Stura three; and Tanaro three; making the number of the Legislative Body 318.—3. These deputies shall be appointed in the year 1802-3, and shall be renewed in the year to which the series belongs in which the department to which they are attached shall be placed, with the exception of the department of Stura, who shall not go out till the 6th year.—4. The department of Po shall be classed in the first series, Marengo in the second; Doire and Sezia in the third, Stura in the fourth; and Tanaro in the fifth.—5. The city of Turin shall be comprized, amongst the principal cities of the Republic, of which the mayors shall be present at the taking the oath by the Citizen appointed to succeed the First Consul, makin

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the number of those cities twenty-five.—6. The present *Organic Senatus Consulte* shall be transmitted by a message to the Consuls of the Republic.—(Signed)—CAMBACERES, Second Consul, President. —*Fargues* and *Varbois*, Secretaries.

Leissegues, Rear-Admiral, to the French Minister of Marine and the Colonies.—Toulon, Sept. 26.

"Citizen Minister,—I had the honour to transmit to you the result of my operations at Algiers. This letter contains my operations at Tunis."—The Admiral proceeds to give an account of his voyage to Tunis, where he arrived on the 26th of August, and went ashore on the 29th. On the next day he was introduced to the Bey.—The following is the account of his interview:—"At nine in the morning, accompanied by the Commissary-General, the Captains, my officers, and the French merchants, I went in ceremony to Barde (the place of the Bey's residence, about a league from Tunis). As soon as I was introduced to the Bey with my suite, I advanced to him and took him by the hand, which he pressed very affectionately.—Having taken a place by his side, I said to him, 'that the First Consul had ordered me to anchor in the harbour of Tunis, in order that I might make known to him, that he had been informed, that the Christian slaves who were in the gallies were ill-treated; that several had perished with misery, and by the blows they had received; that he would have me acquaint him that being at peace with the Neapolitan and other powers of the Mediterranean, he desired that, if he continued to make Christian slaves, he would ensure subsistence to them, that they should be treated as prisoners of war, and that care should be taken not to use them ill; that several slaves had been made by his corsairs four years ago, in a descent upon Isle St. Pierre; that these unhappy Sardinians had been taken in the house of the agent of the French Republic; that he expected him to release them immediately; that for the rest, he desired the ancient commercial relations to be renewed between Africa and the French coast; and that he hoped he would protect our commerce, and prohibit his corsairs from insulting the French flag, and the flag of the Italian Republic.'—The Bey replied that he was much flattered by the desire the First Consul had to live upon amicable terms with the Regency; that it was his own greatest desire to do the same, and that what the First Consul wished, being just and reasonable, he adhered to it with great willingness; that, for the rest, he was going to send to Paris an embassy which should be charged to treat with him, and to compliment him on his prosperity.—He then ordered coffee to be served, and took it with us, (which is the mark of the greatest distinction and politeness the prince can shew in audience).—A few moments after I quitted the Bey, and went with my suite to the Prime Minister's, who had requested me to do him that honour. He received us in a very friendly manner, had coffee served, and ordering some arms to be brought which he used, he presented me with a very fine scymetar, mounted with gold, which he requested me to accept, as a mark of friendship.—Upon my return to the Commissary General's, I received a visit from the Charges d'Affaires of England, Holland, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. —On the next day, accompanied by Citizen Devoire, I returned to the different Charges d'Affaires, as well as to the French merchants, the visit they had paid me."—The Admiral proceeds to give an account of his having visited and dined with the Prime Minister, to whom he gave in return a splendid dinner on board his ship, and whom he presented with some brocades of the manufacture of Lyons.—On the 11th of September he had another interview with the Bey.—"As soon as I arrived at the Bey's, I renewed the demand I had made in our former interview. I demanded the release of twenty-two individuals, whose mothers were born in Corsica, and which he granted with some difficulty, making complaint with respect to the slaves whose escape our sailors had occasioned. I made no difficulty in proposing to him the payment of the ransom of all the individuals whose escape had been produced by our sailors.—It was in this audience that the Bey told me, that, meaning to send an ambassador to congratulate the First Consul on his appointment to the Consulship for life, he desired I would give him a passage on board my ship. He added, that he should be much flattered by my doing him the honour to accompany him to Paris. I acquiesced in the demand, and promised to do every thing to his satisfaction that depended upon me. We separated, very well contented with each other.—On the 15th of Sept. I went to Barde to take leave of the Bey. After some compliments on his part, he renewed his entreaty with respect to his ambassador, and I took leave, loaded with marks of friendship and esteem. —The Admiral, after mentioning the arrival of the released slaves, the presents destined for the First Consul, and of the Tunisian Ambassador, says, that he set sail on the 20th September, and arrived on the 27th at Toulon. He adds, that there were not at Tunis, nor in the environs, any symptoms of the plague, nor any contagious disorder, and that he had not lost a man.—He annexes to his letter a list of the slaves released by the Dey of Algiers, and on board of his division; and of the slaves who had taken refuge in his ships at Algiers and Tunis. He annexes also a list of the Tunisian Ambassador's suite, and of the presents destined for the First Consul. They are:—Six Arab horses, for the first Consul; two mares, three lions, three ostriches, twelve antelopes, (three died on the passage), a young bitch: an Arabian horse for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one for the Minister of Marine.

Note addressed by the French Minister at the Diet of Ratisbon, to the Imperial Plenipotentiary, and to the Sub-Delegate for Bohemia, and which had been communicated to him by the said Minister, and afterwards by the Russian Minister.

The undersigned received on the 26th inst. a Note of the Imperial Plenipotentiary and the Sub-Delegates of Bohemia, containing the communication of the same wishes which they made at the opening of the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire: he finds with confidence, and with the most lively interest, the hope of the approaching co-operation of his Imperial Majesty, in the intention of the mediating powers, and is very far from doubting that his Majesty has not made propositions the most proper, to remove every difficulty. That object may, however, be accom-

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plished, without the deputation suspending its labours, which are too necessary for the tranquillity of Germany, and which at the same time will actuate the moment so much desired by his Imperial Majesty himself.—The undersigned seizes with true pleasure, this opportunity of renewing, as well to his Excellency the Imperial Plenipotentiary as to the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, the assurance of his high consideration.

Ratisbon, Oct. 30, 1802. (Signed)—*Laforêt.*

Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia at Hildesheim.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, &c. our most gracious Sovereign, after an examination of the accusations spread against the order of La Trappe, in obedience to an order of the Cabinet, of the 18th ult. has been pleased to allow the monks of La Trappe to remain in the country for the present, and until their further destination shall be arranged, but on condition that they shall neither take novices, nor bring into the country members of any other establishment of monks of La Trappe. They are also commanded, under the severest penalties, immediately to give up their establishment for the education of children, and to restore all their pupils to their parents. All parents and guardians, whose residence is not known, are hereby required immediately to take back their children, and to apply for that purpose to the magistracy at Paderborn, who are commanded to lend them all possible assistance in claiming their children.—Done at Paderborn, Nov. 1, 1802, by his Majesty's special command.—*Schulenberg.*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Organic Articles for carrying into effect the Concordat between the Pope and Buonaparté.—[For the Concordat itself, see Vol. I. p. 385.]

ORGANIC ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION OF JULY 15TH, 1801.—ART. 1. No bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, or provision, or any other act of the court of Rome, can be received, published, or printed without being authorised by government.—2. No individual calling himself a nuncio, legate, vicar, or apostolic commissary, or any other denomination, can, without being authorised in the same manner, exercise in France, or elsewhere, any function relative to the Gallican church.—3. The decrees of foreign synods, even those of general councils, cannot be published in France, before the government shall have examined their form, their conformity with the laws, the rights and privileges of the French Republic, whatever may relate in them to the public tranquillity.—4. No national or metropolitan council, no Diocesan Synod, no deliberative assembly can take place without the express permission of the government.—5. All the ecclesiastical functions are gratuitous, except such oblations as shall be authorised by the ordinances.—6. Recourse shall be had to the council of state in all cases of abuse on the part of superiors and other ecclesiastics. The cases of abuse are usurpation, or excess of power, contravening the laws and ordinances of the republic, breach of rules consecrated by canons received in France, attempts against the liberties, privileges and customs of the Gallican church, and every enterprise and procedure which in the exercise of worship might compromise the honour of the citizens, arbitrarily trouble their consciences, committing any act of oppression or public scandal.—7. Recourse shall, in the same manner, be had to the council of state, if any violence is offered to the public exercise of worship, and to the liberty which the laws guarantee to its ministers.—8. Recourse is open to every one concerned. In default of private complaint, that office shall be exercised by the prefects. The public functionary, the ecclesiastic, or other person, who wishes to have this recourse, shall address a detailed memoir signed, to the counsellor of state, who shall be charged with all affairs relating to worship, and shall be held bound to examine into the affair without delay; and upon his report, the affair shall be followed up, and definitively determined, or referred as the case demands, to competent authorities.

Of Ministers.—9. The Catholic worship shall be exercised under the direction of the bishops and archbishops in their dioceses, and under that of curates in their parishes.—10. Every privilege importing an exemption from episcopal authority is abolished.—11. The archbishops and bishops, with the authority of government, may establish cathedral chapters and seminaries in their dioceses. All other ecclesiastical establishments are suppressed.—12. The archbishops and bishops are at liberty to add to their name the title of Citizen or Monsieur. All other titles of distinction are prohibited.

Of Archbishops or Metropolitans.—13. The archbishops shall consecrate and install their suffragans. In case of any hindrance or refusal on their part, their place shall be supplied by the most ancient bishop of the metropolitan circle.—14. They shall watch over the maintenance of faith and discipline in the dioceses dependent upon their see.—15. They shall take cognizance of all complaints made against the conduct and decisions of their suffragan bishops.

Of Bishops, General Vicars, and Seminaries.—16. No one can be appointed a bishop under the age of thirty, and unless he be of French origin.—17. Before the decrét of nomination shall be expedited, he, or they, who shall be proposed, shall be obliged to bring an attestation of their good life and manners, from the bishop in whose diocese they shall have exercised the ecclesiastical functions; and they shall be examined on their learning by a bishop and two priests, who shall be commissioned by the First Consul, and shall lay the result of their examination before the counsellor of state, entrusted with all matters relative to worship.—18. The priest named by the First Consul shall use all diligence to procure the ordination of the Pope. He can exercise no function before the bull, carrying his ordination, shall have received the assent of government, and he shall, in person, have taken the oath prescribed by the convention made between the French Government and the Holy See. The oath shall be taken before the First Consul; the procès-verbal of it shall be drawn up by the secretary of state.—19. The bishops shall name and ordain the curates: nevertheless, they shall not render public the nomination; and they shall not confer the canonical ordination, till after the nomination shall have been approved by the First Consul.—20. They shall be obliged to reside in their dioceses; they shall not have the power of leaving them without the permission of the First Consul.—21. Each bishop may name two vicars-general, and each archbishop

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three: they shall choose them from among the priests, who have the qualities requisite to be made bishops.—22. They shall visit annually, and in person, a portion of their diocese: and, in five years, the whole diocese.—In case of a legal accusation, the resolution shall be made by a vicar-general.—23. The bishops shall be charged with the organization of their seminaries, and the regulations of that organization shall be submitted to the First Consul.—24. Those who shall be elected to teach in the seminaries, shall subscribe the declaration made by the clergy of France in 1682, and published by an edict of the same year; they shall undertake to teach the doctrines therein contained; and the bishops shall send a formal report of this submission to the counsellor of state entrusted with matters relative to worship.—25. The bishops shall send, every year, to the counsellor of state, the names of the persons who shall study in the seminaries, and who are destined for the clerical profession.—26. They shall not ordain any ecclesiastic, if he cannot prove himself to possess a property producing at least 300 livres a year, if he has not attained the age of five and twenty, and if he does not unite in himself the qualities required by the canons received in France.—The bishops can hold no ordination until the number of those to be ordained shall have been submitted to and approved by the government.

Of Curates.—27. The curates cannot enter upon their functions till after they have taken, before the prefect, the oath prescribed by the convention passed between the Government and the Holy See. The proces-verbal of this transaction shall be drawn up by the secretary-general of the prefecture, and a copy of it given to them.—28. They shall be put in possession by the priest or the curate whom the bishop shall appoint.—29. They shall be bound to reside in their parishes.—30. The curates shall be immediately under the control of the bishops in the exercise of their functions.—31. The vicars and assistants shall exercise their functions under the inspection and direction of the curates. They shall be approved by the bishop, and also revokable by him.—32. No stranger can be employed in the functions of the ecclesiastical ministry, without the permission of government.—33. All functions are forbidden to every ecclesiastic, even though a Frenchman, who does not belong to any diocese.—34. A priest shall not be entitled to quit his diocese to go to serve in another, without the permission of his bishop.

Of Cathedral Chapters, and the Government of Dioceses during a vacancy.—35. The archbishops and bishops who shall be inclined to use the permission granted them of establishing chapters, cannot do it without being authorised by government, as well with regard to the establishment itself, as the number of ecclesiastics destined to compose them.—36. During the vacancy of the see, the diocese shall be taken charge of by the metropolitan, and in default of him, by the oldest of the suffragan bishops.—37. The metropolitans and the cathedral chapters shall be bound, without delay, to advertise government of the vacancy of sees, and the measures which shall have been taken for the government of the vacant dioceses.—38. The vicars-general, who shall govern during the vacancy, as well as the metropolitans, or capitularies, shall not make any innovations in the usages and customs of the dioceses.

Of Worship.—39. There shall be only one liturgy, and one catechism, for all the Catholic churches of France.—40. No curate shall have the power to order public prayers in his parish, without the special permission of the bishop.—41. No festival, with the exception of Sabbath, can be established without the permission of government.—42. The ecclesiastics shall use in the ceremonies of religion, the habits and ornaments corresponding to their titles: they cannot, under any pretext, or in any case, assume the colour and ensigns appropriated to bishops. 43. All the ecclesiastics shall wear French habits and black. The bishops may add to their costume the pastoral cross, and violet trimmings.—44. Private chapels, and domestic chaplains cannot be established without the express permission of government, granted at the request of the bishop.—45. No religious ceremony can be held without the edifices consecrated to the Catholic worship, in towns where there are temples consecrated to different worships.—46. The same temple can be consecrated only to one worship.—47. There shall be a distinct place set apart in the cathedral and parish churches for the Catholics who fill the civil or military functions.—48. The bishop shall concert with the prefect the most proper manner of calling the faithful to church by the ringing of bells. They shall not be rung on any other occasion without the permission of the local police.—49. When the government shall appoint public prayers, the bishops shall concert with the prefect and the military commandant of the place, the hour, the day, and the mode of carrying the ordinance into execution.—50. The solemn preachings called sermons, and those in Advent and Lent called stations, shall only be delivered by priests who have received the special authority of the bishop.—51. The curates, at the homilies delivered at the parochial masses, shall pray, and order prayers to be made for the French Republic and the consuls.—52. They shall make use of no insinuations, direct, or indirect, in their discourses, against the character of individuals, or the other modes of worship authorised by the state.—53. They shall not bring on the pulpit any foreign publication, with regard to the exercise of worship, unless it shall have been authorised by government.—54. They shall not bestow the nuptial benediction, except on such as shall prove, in due form, that they have contracted marriage before the civil officer.—55. The registers kept by the ministers of worship, being only relative to the administration of the sacraments, can in no instance supply the registers appointed by law, to ascertain the civil state of Frenchmen.—56. In all ecclesiastic and religious acts, the equinoxial calendar, established by the laws of the republic, must be employed; the days shall be designed by the names given them in the solstitial calendar.—57. The day of rest of the public functionaries shall be on Sunday.

Of the arrangement of the bishops and archbishops.—58. There shall be in France ten archbishops or metropolitans, and fifty bishops.—59. The arrangement of the bishops and archbishops shall be made according to the following table.

Of the arrangement of parishes.—60. There shall be at least one parish in each justiceship of the peace. There shall be besides several subsidiaries appointed, in case of exigencies.—61. Each bishop, in concert with the prefect, shall regulate the number and powers of the subsidiaries. The plans fixed upon shall be submitted to the government, and shall not be capable of being put in

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execution without its authority.—62. No part of the French territory can be erected into cures or subsidiaries, without the express authority of government.—63. The priests serving as subsidiaries shall be named by the government.

Of the salary of ministers.—64. The salary of the archbishops shall be 15,000 livres.—65. The salary of the bishops shall be 10,000 livres.—66. The curates shall be divided into two classes. The salary of the curates of the first class shall be 1,500 livres; that of the curates of the second class 1000.—67. The pensions which they enjoy in consequence of the laws of the constituent assembly, shall be reckoned as part of their salary. The general councils of the great communes may give them an augmentation upon their glebes or grants, if circumstances require it.—68. The vicars and substitutes shall be chosen from among the ecclesiastics who receive pensions in consequence of the laws of the constituent assembly. These pensions, and the produce of oblations, shall form their salary.—69. The bishops shall digest the regulations relative to the oblations to be received by ecclesiastics, for administering the sacraments. The projets of regulations digested by the bishops cannot be carried into effect till after they shall have been approved by the government.—70. Every pensioned ecclesiastic shall be deprived of his pension, if he refuse, without a legitimate cause, the functions committed to him.—71. The general councils of the departments are authorised to provide convenient dwellings for the archbishops and bishops.—72. The gardens and tenements not alienated shall be restored to the curates, and to the substitute subsidiaries. In default of these possessions, the general councils of the communes shall be authorized to provide them with a house and garden.—73. The foundations intended for the support of the clergy and the churches, can consist only of rents drawn on the state; they shall be accepted by the bishop of the diocese, and cannot be executed but by the authority of government.—74. Possessions not moveable, except the houses destined for their residence, and the appertaining gardens, cannot be attached to the ecclesiastical titles, nor possessed by the clergy in consequence of their functions.

Of the edifices destined for worship.—75. The edifices anciently destined to the catholic worship, and actually in the hands of the nation, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops, by a decree of the prefect of the department. A copy of these decrees shall be sent to the counsellor of state entrusted with matters of worship.—76. Boards shall be appointed to take charge of the repairs of temples, and the distribution of alms.—77. In parishes where there is no building appropriated to worship, the bishop and the prefect shall pitch upon an edifice suitable to the purpose.

Organic articles of the protestant form of worship.—Title 1.—Art. 1. No one can exercise the functions of worship unless he be a Frenchman.—2. Neither the protestant churches, nor their ministers, can have relations with any foreign power or authority.—3. The pastors and ministers of the different protestant communions shall pray, and cause prayers to be offered up in their service for the prosperity of the French Republic and for the Consuls.—4. No doctrinal or dogmatical decisions, no formulary under the title of confession, or under any other title can be published, or become matter of instruction, till the publication or promulgation of it has been authorised by government.—5. No change in discipline can be made without being authorised in the like manner.—6. The council of state shall be made acquainted with all enterprizes of the ministers of worship, and with all the dissentions that may arise among these ministers.—7. A provision shall be made for the pastors of the consistorial churches, but it is understood that the property which these churches possess, and the offerings established by usage and fixed regulations, shall be applied to that purpose.—8. The dispositions made by the organic articles of the catholic worship, respecting the liberty of foundations, and the nature of the property which can be the object of them, shall be common to the protestant churches.—9. There shall be two academies or seminaries in the east of France, for the educating ministers of the confession of Augsburgh.—10. There shall be a seminary at Geneva for educating ministers of the reformed churches.—11. The professors of the seminaries shall be named by the First Consul.—12. No one can be chosen a minister or pastor of the church of the communion of Augsburgh, unless he has studied for a determinate time in one of the French seminaries destined to the instruction of the ministers of that communion, and unless he can produce a certificate in proper form, certifying the time he has studied, his capacity, and good morals.—13. No one can be chosen a minister or pastor of the reformed church, without having studied in the seminary of Geneva, and unless he produce a certificate in the form appointed by the preceding article.—14. The rules concerning the administration and the interior police of seminaries, the number and quality of the professors, the method of instruction and its objects, as well as the form of certificates of studies, good conduct, and capacity, shall be approved by the government.

Of the reformed Churches.—15. The reformed churches of France shall have pastors, local consistories, and synods.—16. There shall be a consistorial church for every six thousand souls of the same communion.—17. Five consistorial churches shall form the jurisdiction of a synod.

Section II.—Of the Pastors and Local Consistories.—18. The consistory of each church shall be composed of the pastor or pastors belonging to that church, lay elders, of notables chosen from the most respectable citizens inscribed in the list of direct contributions. The number of these notables shall not be less than six nor more than twelve.—19. The number of the ministers or pastors in the same consistorial church cannot be increased without the permission of government.—20. The consistories shall watch over the maintenance of discipline, and the administration of the property of the church, and of the money arising from alms.—21. The pastor, or oldest of the pastors, shall preside in the assemblies of the consistories. One of the elders or notables shall discharge the office of secretary.—22. The ordinary assemblies of the consistories shall continue to be held on the days marked out by usage.—Extraordinary assemblies cannot be held without permission from the sub-prefect, or in his absence from the mayor.—23. Every two years one half of the elders of the consistory shall be changed; at that period the elders in office shall unite to themselves an equal number of protestant citi-

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sens, heads of families, chosen from the most respectable persons inscribed in the roll of direct contributions, of the commune where the consistorial church is situated, to proceed to renew the number. The elders who go out may be re-elected.—24. In churches where there is at present no consistory, one shall be formed: the members of which shall be elected by a meeting of twenty-five heads of protestant families, the most respectable in the list of direct contributions. This meeting shall be held only by the permission and in the presence of the prefect, or sub-prefect.—25. The pastors cannot be deposed, unless the motives of deposition are presented to the government, which shall approve or reject them.—26. In case of the death, voluntary resignation, or confirmed deposition of a pastor, the consistory formed, according to the manner prescribed in the 18th article, shall choose by a majority of voices one to succeed him.—The title of election shall be presented to the First Consul by the counsellor of state, charged with all affairs concerning religious worship, in order to have his approbation.—When the approbation is given, he cannot perform the duties of his office till he has taken before the prefect the oath required from ministers of the catholic worship.—27. All pastors at present in the exercise of their functions are confirmed.—28. No church can extend itself from one department to another.

Section III.—Of Synods.—29. Each synod shall be formed of the pastor or one of the pastors, and an elder or notable of each church.—30. The synods shall watch over every thing that concerns the celebration of religious worship, teaching its doctrines, and the management of ecclesiastical affairs. All the decisions proceeding from them, of whatever nature they may be, shall be subject to the approbation of gov.—31. The synods cannot assemble without the permission of government. Notice shall be previously given to the counsellor of state, charged with all affairs concerning worship, and matters to be discussed in them. The assembly shall be held in the presence of the prefect or sub-prefect, and a copy of the proces-verbal of the deliberations shall be addressed by the prefect to the counsellor of state, charged with all affairs respecting religious worship, who shall without delay make a report of it to government.—32. The assembly of the synod can last only six days.

Title III.—Of the Organization of the Churches of the Confession of Augsburgh—Section I.—General Dispositions.—33. The churches of the Confession of Augsburgh shall have pastors, local consistories, inspections, and general consistories.

Section II.—Of the Ministers, Pastors, and local Consistories of each Church.—34. In regard to pastors, the circumscription and management of the consitorial churches, the same rules shall be followed as are prescribed by the second section of the preceding title for the reformed pastors and churches.

Section III.—Of Inspection.—35. The churches of the Confession of Augsburg shall be subordinate to inspection.—36. Five consistorial churches shall form an inspection or arrondissement.—37. Each inspection shall be composed of the minister and an elder, or notable of each church of the arrondissement. It cannot assemble without the permission of gov.: the first time it is convoked it shall be by the senior minister belonging to the churches of the arrondissement. Each inspection shall choose within itself two laymen and an ecclesiastic, who shall take the title of Inspector, and who shall be charged to watch over the ministers, and the maintenance of good order in the different churches.—The choice of inspector and the two laymen must be confirmed by the First Consul.—38. The inspection cannot assemble without the permission of gov., in the presence of the prefect, or sub-prefect, and after having informed the counsellor of state charged with all affairs relating to religious worship, of the business intended to be discussed.—39. The inspector may visit the churches of his arrondissement; he shall unite with him the two laymen, named along with him, whenever circumstances may require; he shall be charged with the convocation of a general assembly of the inspection. No decision of the general inspection can be executed until approved by government.

Section IV.—Of the General Consistories.—40. There shall be three general consistories—one at Strasburgh, for protestants of the Confession of Augsburgh, in the departments of the Upper Rhine; another at Mentz, for those of the departments of La Sare, and Mont Tonnere; and the third at Cologne, for those of the departments of Rhine and Moselle, and La Roer.—41. Each consistory shall be composed of a lay president, two ecclesiastical inspectors, and a deputy from each inspection.—The president and the two ecclesiastical inspectors shall be named by the First Consul.—The president shall take the oath required from ministers of the catholic worship before the First Consul, or the public functionary whom the First Consul shall be pleased to delegate for that purpose—The two ecclesiastical inspectors, and the lay members, shall take the same oath before the president.—42. The general consistory cannot assemble without the permission of gov., and in presence of the prefect, or sub-prefect, and notice shall be previously given to the counsellor of state charged with all affairs relating to religious worship, of the matters about to be discussed. The assembly can sit only six days.—43. In the intermediate time between one assembly and another, there shall be a directory, composed of the president, the senior of the two ecclesiastical inspectors, and three laymen, one of whom shall be named by the First Consul; the two others shall be chosen by the general consistory.—44. The privileges of the general consistory and the directory shall continue to be directed by the regulations and customs of the churches of the Confession of Augsburgh, in every thing which has not been formally abolished by the laws of the republic, and by the present laws. Approved. The First Consul BUONAPARTE.

By the First Consul.

The Secretary of State. (Signed) *H. B. Maret.*

Extract of a Letter from Gobert, Commander in Chief at Guadaloupe, to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, giving an Account of the Operations of the Army in that Colony, from the 6th May to the 5th September.

After detailing the first operations of the army, which had been given in former letters from General Richepanse, it proceeds:—On the 24th of May I encamped at Petit Bourg, and my advanced guard attacked a large body of the Brigands, and

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killed 150 of them. On the 25th we attacked a large body of them in the woods; they were under the command of Ignace, one of the most ferocious of their chiefs; they set fire to a powder magazine, but the explosion only injured themselves. We made a dreadful slaughter of them.—On the 6th in the morning, Ignace, with 400 men, took possession of Fort Bembrick, in which he was attacked by the troops from Grand Terre and Point au Pitre, but without success. I arrived with a reinforcement of 300 men, and at the same time the garrison of the fort also received a considerable reinforcement.—We then attacked the fort, and having carried it, a horrible carnage ensued; Ignace blew his brains out. On the 28th, an attack was made upon Matouba, the last and strongest refuge of the brigands, which was carried, after a desperate resistance. After the taking of Bembrick and Matouba, the fate of Guadaloupe was decided, and the remainder of the brigands retired into the woods, and are now considered in the same light as the ancient Maroon negroes, who only appeared in the night for the purposes of plunder. They were, however, so annoyed by our patrols, that their chief offered that all the blacks should return to their duty, if some advantages were granted to them. On the 14th of June, I proposed to General Richepanse to terminate the war in this manner; but as he was not accustomed to resistance, he would not listen to the proposal.—On the 27th of June they attacked the post of Bananier, but were repulsed with loss.—On the 31st of July I had certain information that the negroes had assembled in the woods of Goyave. They were entirely dispersed, and all their resources destroyed, with great slaughter.—Six hundred blacks, and five of the most formidable chiefs, were soon afterwards induced to return to their duty.—Another assemblage of brigands were attacked in the woods of Capesterre, and entirely dispersed. The wreck of this party took refuge in an old camp of the blacks, called Mondongues, which had existed for more than ten years. This camp was attacked on the 3d of August, and the last refuge of the brigands destroyed.—At present almost all the blacks have returned to their labour, and the inhabitants may rest without fear. Almost all the chiefs, and above all, those who are most feared, are in our hands. Doubtless, however, we must still be watchful.—Grand Terre enjoys a profound tranquillity, which appears to be well established.—Our greatest enemy is disease; but the sickness is now sensibly diminished. The troops have not lost more than six men in more than three months by the hands of the brigands, but their imprudence frequently costs them their lives.—He concludes his letter by paying compliments to several of the officers, few of whom have been spared, he says, by disease.

Decree of the Consuls of the French Republic, dated June 10, 1802.

ART. I. All vessels, either French or foreign, arriving in the port of Marseilles, shall be under the immediate inspection of the Board of Customs; in consequence of which, all captains or masters shall, within twenty-four hours after their arrival, present to the Board of Customs a manifest, signed by them, expressing every individual article contained in their cargoes.—II. Whenever such cargoes shall contain produce, goods, or staple articles of any kind that are prohibited at this present moment, or that shall hereafter be subject to the entrepot, the unloading of these shall be effected in a peculiar circuit fixed upon by the Director of the Customs.—That place or circuit destined for the entrepot shall shut with two keys.—III. At the time of unloading such goods, produce, or staple commodities, pointed out in the preceding article, they shall be examined, weighed, and numbered, and subject to a storage duty. At the epocha of their re-exportation, they shall be liable to a register duty *(droit d'enregistrement.)*—IV. Wines, brandies, stuffs of all descriptions, cotton yarn, iron, steel, salt-fish of all descriptions, indigoes, and oils coming from foreign countries, may, at the moment of their arrival in the port of Marseilles, be delivered to the consignee, and enjoy a *pro forma*, or fictitious entrepot; provided always, that in case of those articles not being re-exported within twelve months after their delivery, such consignee shall be bound to pay the duties to which such articles are liable.—V. All produce, staple commodities, and goods coming from foreign countries, not liable to the real or fictitious entrepot, as before stated, may enter the port of Marseilles, and be exported again, free of all duties and charges.—VI. All the above-mentioned produce, staple commodities, and goods exported from Marseilles, by land or sea, for the interior of the republic, shall pay the duties established by laws, at the first custom-house where they shall be entered.—VII. Merchants exporting into foreign countries soaps manufactured in France shall be entitled to a bounty.—This bounty shall be of four francs per quintal. The regulations relative to manufacturing of soap, the mode of verification to which soap to be exported shall be subject, the manner in which the bounty of exportation shall be received, are to be determined by peculiar statutes of public administration.—VIII. The Ministers of the Interior and Finances are entrusted, every one, in what concerns them, with the execution of the present decree.

Magallon Lamorliere, Commander in Chief in the Isle of France, to General Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic.—Isle of France, June 19.

General,—The satisfactory accounts brought to these colonies by the Themis frigate have excited our joy and gratitude.—The proclamation which is announced to them as speedily to take place on your part is expected with impatience, and will be received with enthusiasm.—Your glory, your discretion, and the new benefits which you promise to these colonies, give you a perfect assurance of their admiration, their affection, and fidelity.—If at periods when a prey to all the alarms and vicissitudes of their situation, their sentiments and their actions have been regulated according to the dangers which menaced them, the confidence which has now succeeded to a state so painful and of so long continuance, was a conquest which you only were capable of effecting. The more difficult it was to obtain that confidence, the more sincere is it, and the greater will be its durability.—All hearts are expanded anew, and give a free course to the feelings of happiness, peace, and concord.—The clouds which may have preceded so fine a day are dissipated.—The past is forgotten, the present is

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happy, the future cannot but be equally so; and all this has been effected by you.—It is with the liveliest satisfaction that I announce to you so favourable a state of things; and I have every reason to believe, that henceforth I shall only have to send you accounts equally calculated to please you.—(Signed) *Magallon Lamorliere.*

Decree of the 2d of July, 1802.

The Consuls of the republic, on the report of the Minister of Marine and Colonies, having heard the Council of State, decree,—Art. 1. It is prohibited to all foreigners to bring into the continental territory of the republic any black, mulatto, or person of colour, of either sex.—2. It is likewise prohibited to all blacks, mulattoes, or people of colour, of either sex, who shall not be in the service of the republic, to enter in future on the continental territory of the republic, for any cause, or under any pretext whatever, unless they shall be furnished with a special authority from the magistrates of the colonies from whence they come, and have not quitted the colonies without the authority of the Minister of Marine and Colonies.—3. All blacks or mulattoes who shall be introduced after the publication of the present decree, on the continental territory of the republic, without being furnished with the authority pointed out in the preceding article, shall be arrested, and detained until their transportation.—4. The Minister of Marine and Colonies is charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of laws.—(Signed) *Buonaparté.*

Head-quarters at the Cape, July 12, 1802.

The Captain-General, Commander in Chief, decrees,—I. That the catholic religion, roman and apostolical, is the sole religion of which the public worship shall be authorised in St. Domingo.—II. Two ecclesiastics, appointed by the General in Chief, shall execute the functions of apostolical vicars. These are charged to present to the General in Chief proper candidates for the offices of curé and vicar, and they are to suggest such regulations as they shall deem proper for the object in view.—III. There shall be one curé in the communes of the chief places in each quarter; the other communes shall be supplied with vicars.—IV. Sunday shall henceforth be the day of rest to all the public functionaries, and to the citizens at large; nevertheless, the dates of public and private acts shall continue to be expressed conformably to the republican calendar, as far as respects the days and the names of the months; the names of the days shall be those of the ancient calendar.—V. The present regulation is but provisional.—VI. These presents are addressed to the Colonial Prefect, in order to their publication and execution. They shall also be inserted in the Official Gazette.—The Captain-General, and Commander in Chief,—*Leclerc.*

Charles Henri Bertin, Counsellor of State of the French Republic, Colonial Prefect of Martinique and its Dependencies, to the Minister of the Marine and Colonies.—Saint Pierre, July 19, 1802.

I have the honour to transmit to you, annexed, Citizen Minister, a duplicate of the letter which I addressed to you on the 9th inst. and sent by a packet-boat which was then immediately getting under sail for London, by which I was prevented from giving those lengthened details which I wished.—I proceeded to St. Pierre with the civil and military officers, on the 14th inst. to meet Major-General Keppel, governor of the colony for his Britannic Majesty.—As soon as the corvette le Berceau, in which I sailed, was perceived in the road, the French flag was saluted by a discharge of fifteen pieces of cannon from the forts, to which I returned an equal salute; the forts then fired a second discharge, which the corvette returned as soon as she had cast anchor. I landed soon afterwards, under a discharge of artillery.—The whole of the shore was covered by an immense crowd of the inhabitants and people of colour.—The English officers and a detachment of their troops waited to escort me to the government-house. The agent of government was received with acclamations and shouts of joy, which proved the pleasure experienced by the inhabitants at the return of the French.—Nothing could be added to the distinguished frank and cordial manner with which I was received by M. Keppel. I found in him the best intentions, and the most marked eagerness to second the views of his government, in delivering up the colony with the greatest order and the utmost promptitude.—After these dispositions, I expedited on the next day the corvette le Berceau to Guadaloupe, whither the Adjutant Commandant Rewbel proceeded with dispatches from me to the Captain-General Richepanse. I address also to you those which I transmitted to him.—Three merchant vessels, of which two were from Bourdeaux, and the third from Marseilles, have arrived here. I obtained permission from General Keppel, that they, as well as those which should come here in future, should be admitted to discharge and sell their cargoes in all the ports of the colony.—As to the English vessels, they will have no duties to pay.—The declarations of the captains will be received by a French agent, in order to discharge the *acquits à caution* which they have brought from France, when they leave the island, which cannot be before the epoch when the French flag will be flying in the colony.—I continue to occupy myself with the means of procuring for the barracks and hospitals left to us by the English, all those indispensable necessaries for our troops, with which those establishments are wholly unprovided. The expense will of course be considerable, but it is necessary.—The officers of engineers and artillery are occupied at present with the inspection of the forts and military establishments. I shall send you an account the first opportunity of the result of these operations.—I have the honour to salute you.—*Bertin.*

R. Lacrosse, Rear-Admiral, Captain-General of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies, to Rear-Admiral Dacres, Minister of Marine and Colonies.—At Basseterre, Isle of Guadaloupe, 5th August, 1802.

Citizen Minister,—I have the honour to inform you that I returned yesterday to Guadaloupe, to resume the government, conformably to the instruction which you sent me. I request you may assure the First Consul of the entire devotion with which I shall execute his orders for the prosperity

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of this colony, which is at length restored to subordination and tranquillity, by the destruction or expulsion of the rebels, who had given it up to all the horrors of revolt and anarchy.—Health and respect,—*Lacrosse.*

Substance of the Report of the Government to the Legislative Body upon the Situation of the Republic.—Milan, Sept. 1, 1802.

The report begins with asserting the necessity of laying before the legislature a faithful picture of the political, moral, and economical situation of the republic; persuaded that nothing is more calculated to maintain a good understanding between two powers, which can only do good by following the same path, and to destroy those fatal errors which evil intentions and ignorance give birth to, and which blind credulity believes.—The report divides itself into four sections. The first relates to

External Relations.—Scarcely had the Consulta at Lyons consecrated this new order of things, than a thousand doubts arose upon the effects that were to result from it. Many affirmed, that the new system, so far from being consolidated, would be an obstacle to the general peace, and would light up again the flame of war upon the continent. The contrary took place. The general peace was concluded soon after, and the principal powers did not even wait to be officially informed of the result of the congress at Lyons, before they expressed their satisfaction, pleased to discover in our new constitutional system the basis of our independence, on which principally depends the future repose of Italy.—Already the House of Austria, by means of its ministers, in full and friendly correspondence with the Italian Republic, and under all circumstances, its expressions, and its relations of neighbourhood, leave no doubt with respect to the loyalty of its sentiments. The courts of Berlin, Madrid, Lisbon, Naples, Rome, Florence, Parma, the Porte itself, and the Helvetic, Batavian, Ligurian, and Lucca Republics have explained themselves in the same sense.—If all the formalities have not yet been fulfilled with all powers; if regular and direct communications have not yet been opened with every one, it is easy to see the cause in that crowd of combinations which are connected with the progressive re-establishment of the diplomatic system in Europe; but as all these things belong only to the last effects of political arrangements, and are not of a nature to alarm or injure adopted principles, we cannot reasonably discover in them the slightest subject for apprehension. And this is so true, that the powers with which even our correspondence is not established in the usual forms, have nevertheless received in a friendly manner the notification that has been made to them by the ministers of the French Republic, of the new naval flag of the Italian Republic; the English minister, among others, has recently declared, that orders would be immediately given to cause it to be respected, and to ensure to the ships of the Italian Republic (as is the practice among friends) the succours and protection of which they may stand in need. The government therefore may declare in full confidence and security, that in a short time the external relations of the Italian Republic will be completely established and regulated, as becomes its dignity, and as its interests demand.

Of the Moral Situation.—From the relations of our country with foreign powers, let us turn our eyes to its moral situation. Contrary opinions, the effect of the yet recent effervescence of the passions; erroneous opinions upon public affairs, for want of a rule and point of comparison; indecision and uncertainty, the natural result of the novelty of our position: such is the moral situation which circumstances present to the eyes of the attentive observer.—Reason, indeed, tells us, that the cruel effects of so many long and deep calamities cannot cease in a moment; but passion never reasons. The weariness of past sufferings sharpens the sentiment of present wants; the urgency of the remedy leads men to inveigh bitterly against the delay of it, and the indiscreet hope of a rapid prosperity, which is impossible, prevents them from seeing the effect of slow and gradual ameliorations, because they measure things rather upon the expectation of an imaginary future, than upon the remembrance of the past.—Some have thought that with the war ought to cease all the consequences of a revolution, which, considered by them as the means of conquest, had the usual principles and effects. Others have thought that the war could never end but by establishing the order of things which they had imagined. The course of events has proved to both that they were equally mistaken. But if so solemn a demonstration cannot yet persuade them, how shall we hope in future for faithful and zealous colleagues? how obtain ever impartial judgments among men, some of whom, nourishing regret, live in the past; while others, thrown by their vague disquietude into imaginary space, are continually impelled to the future.—Placed in this difficult situation, the government has made it a law to oppose nothing but truth to error, reason to passions, and the most severe indifference to parties, which it neither persecutes nor patronizes, leaving to Time, that judge whose rights are not to be destroyed, the triumph of true principles, which can alone consolidate the new order of things.—But they must declare to you that to accelerate that happy moment, they stand in need of the assistance and all the zeal of the first magistrates of the republic.

Public Administration.—Under this head the report takes a rapid review of the measures of the administrative system. It states that at the time when the constitutional government was carried into effect, the most contradictory measures were adopted in the different departments—measures compounded of ancient customs and new methods.

Of the Wants and extraordinary Resources for the current Year.—But the consolatory hopes of better days are insufficient for the urgent and imperious wants of the moment.—The government could have wished to have presented you a regular statement of the receipts and expenditure; but how could they establish it upon the experience of the first five months of the constitutional year, when there are not in the past data applicable to the present? If the government have shewn some sentiment of loyalty in giving you an account of the *debut* of the public administration, they will not evince less frankness and sincerity in acquainting you with what has been received and expended from the day of their installation to the end of the month of July.—This account, in proving to you, that during all that space of time, one farthing of the public revenues has not been sent out of the territory, will inform you exactly of all that has been paid into the treasury, and what has been

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paid out of it, whether for arrears, or for current services; and in analysing it attentively, you will see that the current receipt has been inferior to the expenditure in the sum of 4,149,222 livres; which deficiency has been covered by 3,299,222 livres, 12 sols, of arrears paid up, and by 850,000 livres, borrowed at interest, viz.

Deficiency	4,149,222 livres.
Covered by arrears paid up .	3,299,222
Loan	850,000
Total	4,149,222

However, whatever difference there may be between a regular and complete statement, and a partial account, such as that placed before you, though besides that account leaves some uncertainty upon the precision of the results, it seems, nevertheless, that we ought not to doubt that the probable revenue of the year will not balance the probable expense.—Yet we ought to reflect that the diminution ordered by the decree of the 8th Ventose of 1,150,000 livres in the contribution of each month for the French army, which could not have produced its full effect in the months that have elapsed, will yield all its advantages in those to come; above all we ought not to forget, that from what we know of the paternal intentions of our President, we may hope for successive reductions in the contributions for the army; and that, if he has acquired in war so many claims to our gratitude and admiration, he will not in peace acquire less by his generosity and by his conduct.—The report then touches upon the circumstance that the greater part of the expenses occasioned by the installation of the new government remain to be defrayed, that the organization of the diplomatic part is quite imperfect; that a body of gendermerie is to be formed; that the political importance of the road of the Simplon demands the resumption of the works which have been suspended; that fortifications, founderies, manufactories for arms, &c. are all indispensable.—The report proceeds to enforce the necessity of paying the public creditors, the religious bodies, and the indigent. It then takes a view of the resources by which the expenditure is to be met. They divide themselves into three sorts—loans, taxes, and sales.

Loans.—An infant state cannot have recourse to loans, because it has no right to expect good terms.

Taxes.—Indirect taxes are hazardous, because the details are not yet known. Recourse must then be had to direct taxes, and to the national property. It is from these two parts that the government proposes to raise the extraordinary charges, by re-establishing the tax of six deniers taken off last year, for the service of the current year, and by suffering the government to have recourse to the national property for the remainder of the sum required.—After having provided for the exigencies of the moment, the government deem it their duty to communicate to you what they intend to do for the future. To equal the taxes, simplify the distribution and collection, improve the produce, encourage industry, break the chains of commerce, protect agriculture, are the means upon which they rely to increase the national wealth and maintain the public prosperity.—But it is reasonable to foresee that the peace lowering the price of articles, the direct impost will appear too great. On that account it is impossible to dissemble that the revenue will not be sufficient for the expenses of the first years of the republic, there remains no other mode to be adopted than that of seeking in the increase of the indirect taxes the relief of the proprietor, by establishing a juster proportion in those two branches of the public revenue.—It is with these views that government propose new regulations upon the law of stamped paper, and a duty of registration.—The report next declares that government have established an office of general liquidation of the public debt; that they mean to propose the consolidation of the public debt liquidated, and assign for that purpose a fund destined to the payment of the annual interest and the gradual extinction of the capital.—The report concludes with expressing the regret of the government at being obliged to demand fresh sacrifices from the nation, but they say, "The time is no more in which the Italian nation could find in the repose of a long peace a reward for her political nullity." Since the armies of Europe have again learnt the road to Italy, it is proper to recollect also, that Italy one day learnt her soldiers all the roads of the known world.—"Posterity alone is capable of judging properly that genius who has set us the first example of a conqueror, establishing a nation in the midst of the din and shock of arms, and creating a power which he launched into space, like a new planet abandoned to the course of its illustrious destiny. This same posterity will judge us also; us who have so essential a share in this great work; us whom ignominy awaits, if we have not the glory of completing it."—(Signed)—*Melzi*, Vice-President.

[For the preceding part of the new Constitution see p. 169, &c.]

Arrêté of the 6th September.—Regulation for the Execution of the Senatus Consultum of the 4th of August.

TITLE I.—*Assemblies of Canton.*—Section I.—*Organization of the Assemblies of Canton, composed of Persons inscribed on the Communal List.*—Art. I. For the first assembling of the assembliers of canton, the sub-prefects shall distribute, by canton, the names inscribed on the list of the communal notables of their district, in such a manner that all the notables domiciliated in the same canton shall be entered on the same list.—II. The union of the communal notables entered in the list of each canton, shall form the cantonal assembly to the 30th Messidor, year 12 (30th July, 1804), the period fixed by the law of the 30th Ventose, year 9, for the renewal of the lists, and at which the cantonal assembly shall be formed of all the citizens of the canton, according to the 4th article of the Senatus Consultum of the 4th of August last. Till then the assemblies of canton shall not be divided into sections.—III. The acts of the appointment of the presidents of each assembly of canton shall be sent by the minister of the interior to the prefects, and by them to the sub-prefects. The sub-prefects shall send to the president of each assembly of canton, with the act of his appointment, the list of the citizens of their canton inscribed on the communal list.—IV. and V. Relate to the appointment of the scrutineers, who are to be chosen from a list, consisting of ten persons, who are the oldest, and ten who pay the most taxes on the communal list. The two first inscribed on the list who are present, and know how to write, are to be chosen by the president of the assembly.—VI. Relates to the appointment of a secretary.—VII. On the day fixed for

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the holding of the assembly, the scrutiny shall be opened at sun-rise. For the reception of the votes, the president and two scrutineers, or three scrutineers and the secretary, or four scrutineers, is sufficient.—VIII. The police of the assembly belongs to the president. No armed force is to be quartered near the assembly; and if any armed force be required by the assembly, the commandants of the gendarmerie shall obey without delay. Persons having a right to vote, shall alone enter the assembly, and there shall never be any spectators.—IX. X. XI. Relate to the scrutiny, each of which shall be written by the voter himself, or, if he cannot write, by one of the scrutineers.—XII. There are to be as many boxes to receive the scrutinies as there are functions or offices, for which the assembly is to make its elections.—XIII to the XXth. Relate to the mode of declaring the scrutiny closed, of opening the boxes, and ascertaining the result. All the elections are to be made by an absolute majority.—XXI. The prefect shall draw up, from the elections of the assemblies of cantons.—1. The test of candidates for judges of the peace.—2. Of candidates for the municipal councils.—3. For the electoral colleges of districts.—5. For the electoral colleges of department.—Section II.—*General Rules for the Convocation and holding of Assemblies of Canton.*—XXIII. to XXIX. The letters of convocation are to be signed by the First Consul, and countersigned by the minister of the interior, sent by him to the prefects, and by the prefects to the presidents of the assemblies. Each letter is to indicate the day on which the assembly shall be opened and closed, the objects that are to occupy the assembly, and the commune where it is to meet. The assembly is never to employ itself in any other operations than those prescribed to it. The letters are to be published in the chief places of the prefecture and district, ten days before the opening of the assembly. Each time the assembly is convoked, it is to name candidates to the office of judges of the peace, and substitutes, that in case of vacancy the First Consul may appoint immediately.—Section III.—*Rules for the Convocation and holding of the Assemblies of the year* 11.—XXX. XXXI. The minister of the interior is to adopt measures, in order that the assemblies of cantons of the departments forming the first series may be convoked at the latest in the month of Brumaire (23d Oct. to the 21st Nov.); the second series in Frimaire (22d Nov. to the 21st Dec.); the third in Nivose (22d Dec. to the 20th Jan.); the fourth in Pluviose (21st Jan. to 19th Feb.); the fifth in Ventose (20th Feb. to the 21st March.)—XXXII. The following operations are to be proceeded upon by the assemblies:—1. To name two citizens from whom the First Consul shall appoint the judge of the peace; and four citizens from whom he may select two substitutes.—2. To name a part of the members of the electoral college of the district, in proportion to the whole number of the electoral college and the population of the canton.—3. To name a part of the members of the electoral college of the department.—4. To present at the first convocation the number of citizens necessary for the First Consul to re-name the half of the municipal councils, in all towns having above 5,000 inhabitants.

TITLE II.—*Of the Electoral Colleges.*—Section I.—*Organization of the Assemblies of Electoral Colleges of District and Department.*—XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVI. Relate to the appointment of presidents, the list of the members, and the opening of the assembly. They are similar to the 23d, 24th, and 25th articles.—XXXVII. to XLIV. Relate to the appointment of scrutineers and a secretary, and to the scrutinies. They are little more than a repetition of the articles respecting the same operations in the assemblies of canton.—XLV. The minister of the interior is to form from the minister of the colleges, the lists of candidates for the councils of district and department, and the lists of candidates for the senate, tribunate, and legislative body.—Section II.—*General Rules for the Convocation and holding of the Electoral Colleges.*—XLVI. The convocation and holding of the assembly of the electoral colleges shall follow the mode prescribed for the assemblies of canton, Section II. Article 23, 24, and 26.—Section III.—*Rules for the Convocation and holding of the Electoral Colleges during the year* 11.—XLVII. XLVIII. Letters of convocation are to be sent in the same manner as to the assemblies of canton. The colleges of the departments forming the first series are to be convoked, at the latest, in Frimaire. The colleges of the departments forming the four other series are all to be convoked before the year 13, in order to complete the list of candidates for the tribunate; the colleges of the departments in the same series are to be convoked in the year 11, to complete the list of candidates for the senate.—XLIX. The colleges of district to assemble in the year 11, are—1. To choose eight citizens to form the list of candidates, from which the First Consul shall name the members of the council of district, who shall be renewed the first.—2. To name two candidates to form part of the list from which the members of the tribunate are to be taken.—3. To complete the number of citizens necessary to form the list from which the members of the deputation to the legislative body for the renewal of the year 11 shall be named.—L. The colleges of department of the first series to assemble in the year 11, are—1. To choose the number of citizens necessary to form a list equal to the two-thirds of the whole of the council general of each department, from which the First Consul shall take the number necessary to renew the third of the council general.—2. To name the number of citizens necessary to form the list from which shall be named the members of the deputation to the legislative body for the renewal of the year 11.—LI. The electoral colleges of departments of the four other series are to be charged in the letters of convocation to present two candidates to form the list from which the members of the senate are to be taken.—Section IV.—*Particular Regulation for the Designation of the Candidates to the Legislative Body.*—LII. to LXII. These articles relate to the lists to be formed; to the mode of proceeding in case of the number on the lists falling short or exceeding the treble number of the deputies to be named; and in case of the suffrages of the electoral colleges falling upon the same individuals.

TITLE III.—*Of the Formation of the List of the Persons paying the most Taxes.*—Section I.—*Of the List of the highest taxed in the Departments.*—LXIII. Each prefect of the department shall cause to be drawn up by the director of the contributions, from the rolls of the imposts of all kinds, a summary of the roll of the highest taxed, and he shall concentrate all that shall be paid in the department by the same person.—1. In land tax.—2. In personal, moveable, and sumptuary contribution,—3. In patents, by stated and proportional tax.—LXIV. Persons who shall pay taxes in several departments shall procure a summary conformable to the annexed plan, numbered 2, of the sums for which he shall be set down on the rolls of the departments, out of that which he lives. This summary shall be sent to the prefect of the department where he lives.—LXV. The land tax paid by the farmer or tenant in discharge of the proprietor, in virtue of an agreement, shall be reckoned to the latter.—LXVI. To the husband's shall be reckoned the contributions of all kinds paid by his wife, though the property is not in common.—LXVII. To the father's shall be

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reckoned the contributions paid upon the property of his children, minors.—LXVIII. A citizen, whose father pays a sum total of taxes large enough to be one of the 600 highest taxed in his department, may, if his father consent, be registered in his room as one of the highest taxed in the list of the persons eligible.—LXIX. The same permission is granted to a widow for one of her sons who is of age.—LXX. The prefect shall send to the minister of finance the papers and documents transmitted to him, and the list drawn up by the director of the taxes before the 10th of Vendemiaire next (Oct. 2).—LXXI. The minister of finance shall compare the lists of all the departments, add to it according to the petitions, supported by proofs, which he shall have received directly, and shall definitively draw up the list of the 600 paying the most taxes in each department. This list shall not contain the amount of taxes paid by each; but the minister shall keep the minute on which that amount shall be set down.—LXXII. and LXXIII. The lists shall be printed and sent to each prefect.—LXXIV. In order that the minister may examine and compare with more exactness the rights of the parties, he shall inscribe on the first formation, only 550 names, leaving the other 50 to be added in the course of the year 11.—LXXV. and LXXVI. The lists are to be made out anew every five years. Appeals against the formation of a list decreed by the minister are to be decided in a council of state. In no case can they stop the execution of the lists, which shall take place provisionally.—Section II.—*Of the List of the Persons paying the most Taxes of the Municipalities.*—LXXVII. A list of 100 paying the most is to be drawn up in each town containing 5000 souls. LXXVIII. To form the quota of each, the prefect shall connect—1. The quotas of land-tax of those who shall pay several in the department.—2. The personal, moveable, and sumptuary quotas.—3. The amount of patents, that is, the fixed quota and the proportional quota.—4. Quotas of land-tax on properties and patents for establishing of commerce situated out of the department.—LXXIX. and LXXX. The list shall be drawn up by the prefect and sent to the president of the cantonal assembly, and each of the persons inscribed on the list.

TITLE IV.—*Of the Renewal of Public Functionaries.*—Section I.—*Of Municipal Councils.*—LXXXI. The municipal councils shall be renewed half in the year 11 in towns containing more than 5000 souls, and the other half in the year 20, and thus every ten years.—LXXXII. Consequently from this time to the 1st Vendemiaire (Sept. 23), the prefects shall draw by lot, in presence of the council of prefecture, for each of the cities marked with an asterisk * in the Table No. I. the names of the citizens who are to go out of the municipal council. All the municipal councils of towns of more than 5000 souls, being uniformly 30, those going out shall be to the number of 15.—LXXXIII. The members may be re-elected.—Section II.—*Of the Councils of District.*—LXXXIV. The councils of communal districts in the first series of departments shall be renewed this year a third. The number of members of councils of district being uniformly 11, four shall go out this year, and three afterwards every five years.—LXXXV. The members going out are re-eligible.—Section III.—*Of the General Council of Departments.*—LXXXVI. The councils in the first series of departments shall be renewed, for the first time, one-third in the year 11. Where the councils contain 24, eight shall go out each time; where they contain 20, six shall go out this year, and seven afterwards every five years; where they contain 16, six shall go out this year, and five afterwards every five years.—LXXXVII. The councils of the departments in the other series shall be renewed when the electoral colleges shall assemble to name candidates for the legislative body.—LXXXVIII. The members going out are re-eligible.—Section IV.—*Of the Judges of the Peace.*—LXXXIX. In the fifth of the departments, the judges shall be renewed in the year 11, and every fifth, from year to year.

TITLE V.—*Particular Regulations for the City of Paris.*—XC. There shall be twelve assemblies of canton in Paris.—XCI. The minister of the interior shall adopt measures for the assemblies of each canton taking place successively, so that two cantons be never convoked at the same time.—XCII. Divides the city into four districts, each of which is to have an electoral college.—XCIII. Each canton is to appoint (like the other cantons of the Republic) a number of members of the electoral colleges of district and department, proportioned to its population, according to the general table.—XCIV. The electoral colleges of district of the city of Paris shall present (like those of other departments), candidates for the tribunate and legislative body. The general rules shall be applicable to them.—XCV. The electoral college of the department of the Seine shall meet at St. Denis.—The First Consul.—(Signed)—*Buonaparté.*—By the First Consul,—The secretary of state,—(Signed)—*H. B. Maret.*

Decree of September 11.

Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, decrees, General Brune, counsellor of state, is nominated ambassador of the French Republic to the Sublime Porte.—The minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*

By similar Decrees of the First Consul, the following Nominations have also taken place:—Citizen Lacuée, counsellor of state, to be president of the section of war, in the room of General Brune.—C. Regnaud (de St. Jean d'Angeley), counsellor of state, to be president of the section of the interior, in the room of Roederer, appointed a senator.—C. Bigot Praemenen, to be president of the section of legislation, in the room of C. Boulay.—C. Boulay counsellor of state, is charged with all litigations respecting the national domains, in the room of C. Regnier.—C. Fourcroy, counsellor of state, is charged with the care of public instruction, in the room of C. Roederer.—C. Perignon, senator, is appointed extraordinary commissioner, to regulate, agreeably to the bases of the 7th article of the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 3 between France and Spain, every thing that relates to the ratification of the boundaries of the two states towards the Pyrenees.—Chazal is appointed prefect of the department of the Upper Pyrenees.

Decree of Sept. 17.—The consuls of the republic, on the report of the Minister of the Interior, decree,—Art. 1. The measurement of the meridian of France shall be continued from Barcelona to the Belearic Islands.—2. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*

The Minister of the Interior to Citizen Doulcet Pontecoulant, Prefect of the Department of the Dyle.

The government is possessed, citizen prefect, of letters addressed by commercial houses of Ghent,

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to merchants of Antwerp, and other places, offering to smuggle contraband merchandise, sugar and tobacco.—Such speculations deserve all the rigour of the laws, and have fixed particularly the attention of the first magistrates of the republic.—The government is determined to take up and punish severely the individuals who dare to conceive plans so fatal to our industry. Yet before they adopt these measures of rigour, they wish to give this notice to the trade of Ghent, which, if they neglect, will deprive it of every kind of excuse.—I request you, therefore, to give the greatest publicity to my letter, in order that the merchants may abandon speculations which can only dishonour trade, and personally expose the authors of them to all the severity which so criminal a conduct will infallibly draw upon them.—I salute you. (Signed) *Cheptal.*

An Arrêté of the Consuls, considering that the re-establishment of order at St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and its dependencies, and the interest of trade and cultivation, depend principally upon the presence of the proprietors on their property, requires that the said white proprietors should return thither without delay, under the penalty of remaining under sequestration.—Persons under 18, widows and their daughters, the infirm and the old, soldiers under arms, and public functionaries, are excepted. No one is to receive a dispensation from personal residence, or have his sequestration taken off, unless represented by an European manager, capable of well managing a habitation in which he shall actually reside. Every proprietor is also, in order to have his sequestration taken off, to produce proofs of non-emigration, erasure or amnesty.

Another Arrêté, relative to St. Domingo, contains the following articles:

1. To the 23d of December, 1806. Debtors and their security are forbidden to be prosecuted for the payment of debts anterior to the 1st January, 1792, caused by sales of habitations, houses, and negroes, at St. Domingo, as well as for advances made for cultivation in the said colony.—2. During the same delay, the creditors of the colonists of St. Domingo, for every other cause than those specified above, shall not prosecute for the payment of their demands upon property situate in the colony.—3. In case the creditors of any colonial person, for other causes than those expressed in the 1st article, shall make demands or institute actions against the property of the said persons in France, the prohibition declared in the said 1st article shall be taken off, and all the creditors shall exercise jointly their rights upon the property situated in France.

R. Lacrosse, Rear-Admiral, Captain-General of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies, to the Minister of Marine and Colonies.

Basse-Terre, Sept. 21, 1802.—Citizen Minister,—I have to announce to you the death of General Richepanse, which happened on the 3d inst. after an illness of sixteen days.—The loss of this officer, so distinguished for his courage, his talents, and his success, has excited the regret of myself, of the army, and of all the inhabitants who have had time to appreciate his worth.—The last honours rendered to his remains were accompanied by all that could add to funeral pomp.—The grief of all the inhabitants, and the tears of the brave men whom he constantly led on to victory, accompanied his funeral, which the ceremonies of religion rendered still more impressive. His remains were interred in the great Bastion, and a monument erected to his memory.—The present situation of the colony enables me to restore it to its natural organization, and to the regime of the just distribution of powers. I am hastening to put an end to the state of siege, and I am entirely occupied in fulfilling the intentions of government, in imposing upon me the task of restoring the prosperity of this important island.—The remnant of the rebels who fled into the woods, and prevented the army from reaching them, is composed of some hundreds of fugitive negroes, of whom the half only are armed. Their number is not greater than that of the maroons who formerly infested the colony. Their expeditions are ordinarily confined to thieving excursions in the plain, to the carrying away cattle and manioc: they are repulsed as soon as they are perceived, and only make their appearance when pressed by hunger.—I have discovered their retreats, and hunt them down. This system of war was adopted by Gen. Richepanse, and executed by Gen. Gobert with the greatest success.—That general officer being obliged to return to France for the benefit of his health, the command of the troops has devolved upon the Adjutant Commandant Mesnard, chief of the etat-major of Gen. Richepanse.—The army has been reinforced by a detachment of 400 men expedited from Holland, who disembarked here on the 4th inst.—The sickness which has afflicted all the American Colonies has been felt at Guadaloupe: but I have the satisfaction to announce to you, that it is diminished, and that we have now more convalescents than sick; but the convalescencies are slow and tedious, and I cannot dissemble, that in chacing the Maroons, the soldier forgets too often the orders given him for the preservation of his health, and abandoning himself too much to the impetuosity of his courage, he incurs fatigues beyond his strength.—For myself, citizen minister, I hope to be enabled to consolidate the tranquillity of the colony, and render its inhabitants happy.—Health and respect.—*R. Lacrosse.*

New Regulations in the Government of Russia.

St. Petersburgh, Sept. 28.—The important changes which have taken place here are the general topic of conversation. The paternal and patriotic views of the monarch, and the unwearied care with which he labours for the public good, are so evident that there is only one opinion on the subject. The universal love of his people is the reward of his indefatigable activity: equally great is the admiration excited by the young monarch, who, from the beginning of his reign, conceived in secret the

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great plan, but with true wisdom deferred putting it in execution till after long consideration, and having made himself acquainted with all the abuses that had crept in, and the means of remedying them. The continual labours in which the Emperor was employed with a perseverance, which even gave rise to fears for his health, had long afforded reason to conjecture that some great plan was in agitation, and this plan neither related to conquest, increase of dominion, or the imposition of new taxes, but has for its sole aim the happiness of the people. The acts by which this wise plan has been carried into execution and published to the empire, are an ukase, giving a new organization to the Senate; a manifesto, in which the powers, the business, and the duties of the new ministers are defined; and an ukase, by which the power hitherto enjoyed by the Governors-General is limited, and a remedy provided against the abuses in the administration of the governments.—The first ukase was published by the Senate on the 22d instant, and contains in substance the following articles:

1st, The Senate is the supreme tribunal of the empire, to which all other courts of justice are subject. The Senate, the conservator of the laws, watches over the observation of justice in all courts, has the superintendance of all the imposts and expenses of the state, provides means to alleviate the wants of the people, for the preservation of the general peace and tranquillity, and for remedying all illegal proceedings in inferior judicatories. The supreme revision of all civil and criminal affairs belongs to its impartial justice. 2d. The power of the Senate is limited only by that of the Emperor; it has no other superior. 3d. The Emperor alone, in person, presides in the Senate.—4. An ukase of the Senate must be executed as well as one of the Emperor's. The Sovereign alone, or his ukase, can stop the orders of the Senate.—5. Every ukase in the Emperor's name, except those which demand particular secrecy, must be delivered to the Senate by those to whom they are addressed.—6. The Senate appoints to offices, and bestows promotions, according to the ukases of Dec. 16, 1790, and Aug. 1, 1801.—7. All colleges, governors, and tribunals, immediately dependent on the Senate, are to apply to it by means of reports, in all cases of doubt or difficulty, as the procurators, or intendants to the procurator-general.—8. The ukases, designed as reprimands, are to be published by the Senate only, after complaint has been made of the government courts. The Senate itself cannot interfere in any law-suit till it is submitted to it in the regular order of things.—9. Should an ukase appear, the execution of which presents great difficulties, which is contrary to the laws, or not clearly expressed, the Senate is at liberty to make representations on it to the Emperor; but should no change take place in consequence, the ukase remains in force.—10. The Senators have a right to make the express ukases public.—11. A Senator is bound to make remonstrances concerning such mischievous events in the empire, or violation of the laws, as may come under his knowledge. When in the course of a process, he perceives a deviation from the legal order, be it even in the chancery of the Senate itself, he is bound to lay it before the Senate, that the full power and efficacy of the laws may be employed against the guilty.—12. We do not expect that any member of the venerable assembly of the Senate will allow himself to go beyond the duty of a Senator; should such, contrary to expectation, be the case, the Senator can be judged only in the general assembly of the Senate.—13. In the general assembly of the Senate, the final decision is regulated by a majority of votes, consisting of two-thirds; but in the separate divisions, or committees, unanimously.—14. When there are various opinions in the divisions, should only one Senator be against the opinion of all the rest, and the procurator-general cannot bring them to unanimity, the affair shall be brought before a general meeting of the Senate.—15. The registered vote of the Senator who differed from the rest, suspends the decision in the division, though he shall in the mean time have left his office or have died. The affair must be brought before the general meeting, and the opinion of the said Senator then heard.—16. Affairs decided in the division by the unanimous concurrence of all the Senators, without opposition from the procurator-general, shall be regarded and executed as finally decided, without being brought before the general assembly.—17. In the division, when the procurator-general, or chief procurator do not agree with the Senators, they must lay their reasons before the Senate in eight days. If the Senate does not then agree, and if the procurator persists in his opinion, the business must be laid before the general assembly of the Senate. Should the procurator-general, after the affair has been heard, agree with the opinion of the general assembly, it is considered as finally settled. If not, he must give his reasons in writing; and if he and the Senators still persist in their several opinions, it must be referred to the Emperor, one or two Senators being chosen to explain the grounds which hinder them from renouncing their opinions.

Manifesto published the 22d inst. concerning the new Formation of the Department of Administration.—St. Petersburgh, Sept. 28.

We, by the grace of God, Alexander the First, Emperor of all the Russias, &c. &c.—The welfare of the people, whom an all-wise Providence has entrusted to our care, was the first and most sacred aim we proposed to ourselves, when we took upon us the burden of governing the immense extent of the Russian empire—an empire as various in its climates, local advantages, and natural productions, as its inhabitants in religion, privileges, languages, and manners.—Inflamed by the most ardent wish to discover and to employ all means that can contribute to the easier and more speedy attainment of this object so dear to our heart, we have directed our attention to all the causes and circumstances which may obstruct or promote it, and after a scrupulous examination and comparison of them with each other, we have fully convinced ourselves that the happiness of the people rests upon a solid and durable foundation, only when the ad-

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istration has in its hand the means, not only correct all such evils as are evident, and shew mselves by their destructive consequences, but re especially to extirpate them by the roots at ir very origin; to remove all causes that might occasion to the disrurbance of public or pri- tranquillity, to discover and remedy the wants the people, and with prudence, zeal, and acti-, to promote in all things the observation of nterrupted order, and also the increase of the es of nature and productions of art, which e for the foundation of cities, and for the ngth of the empire.—The examples of ancient modern times convince every one, that the e suitable the means applied, and the more the ims of the administration are in consonance, more harmonious, solid, and perfect will be the le body politic, and the more content and happy y member of it.—We, therefore, in pursuance his rule, and the emotions of our heart, fol- ing the great genius of Peter the First, who Russia a new face, and bequeathed to us the es of his wise plans, which his worthy suc- ors have strove to continue; have thought fit ivide the affairs of the empire into several s, according to their natural relation to each r; and for their better administration, to en- the superintendance of them to the mini- s whom we have appointed; having given the leading rules by which they are to be ed in the execution of every thing that their requires from them, and what we expect their fidelity, activity, and zeal for the public d. On the directorial Senate, whose duties supreme power we have confirmed by our e of this day, we impose the important duty ar to this supreme tribunal, to superintend conduct of the ministers in all the branches sted to their administration, and after com- g them with the ordinances of the empire, the reports delivered directly to the Senate the court, to form their conclusion and make report to us.—Having established the admi- ration according to these rules, we cherish the ering hope that it will assist us in establishing public tranquillity, the solid and indestructible ark of the sovereign and the empire, to the ntenance and increase of the general welfare, in giving to every one his just due; in ani- ing labour, industry, and commerce, in the en- agement of arts and sciences, so absolutely ssary to the happiness of nations; in short, ring all branches of the government into a re- r durable order, adapted to the end we have iew.—All these branches, in their natural con- ions with each other, all objects appertaining hem, and the first duties of the ministers, to e care we have entrusted them, are accord- y defined and laid down in the following arti- s.—I. The administration of the affairs of the ire is divided into eight branches, each of ch comprehends every thing that by its nature ertains to it, and constitutes that particular rtment, under the direction of its peculiar mi- r, whom we now appoint, or shall appoint in re.—These branches are, 1. The land forces; The marine; 3. Foreign affairs; 4. Administra- n of justice; 5. Internal affairs; 6. The finances; Commerce; 8. Public instruction.—II. The e chief imperial colleges, *i. e.* of war, of the rivalty, and of foreign affairs, are each under direction of its minister, who superintends all arts, and all business dependant thereon: with the last is also united the office for the regulation of ceremonies.—III. As the duty of the minister of justice will be particularly defined in the code of laws which is now preparing, We hereby command him to be guided, till that shall be published, by the instructions of the attorney-general, (procurator-general).—IV. The minister of the interior is bound to watch over the universal good of the people, the security, tranquillity, and good order of the whole empire. Under his direction are all the branches of public industry, except the mines; farther, the erection and keeping in repair of all public buildings in the empire. It is also his duty to use his utmost efforts to prevent all scarcity of provisions, and of all the more absolute necessaries of life.—And in order to furnish him with all the means and occasions to attain this end, which we proposed in the erection of this department, We do hereby command, 1. All governors, military and civil, to instruct this our minister, respecting all affairs touching the administration, police, &c. of their departments, and in the same manner to transmit to us, through his hands, as well the usual reports as those relating to extraordinary occurrences.—2. The chamber of finance to report to him, through the governors, on every thing relating to the public buildings and their support, and also give him information respecting the amount of the population.—3. All marshals of the nobility and government to make representations concerning the general wants and general good, not only to the governors, but also immediately to this our minister.—4. We confide to his immediate superintendance, 1st, The college of manufactures, excepting the office for the preparation and preservation of paper for bills of exchange and stamped paper; 2d, The college of physicians; 3d, The chief salt-office, with all places depending on it; 4th, The general post-office; and 5th, What relates to the œconomy of the empire. The college for the administration of foreign colonies, and of agriculture, what concerns matters of finance, and the printing of bills of exchange, are excepted.—With respect to the minister of finances, the administration of the revenues must be upon such principles as may at the same time prevent the oppression of the people, and be advantageous for the crown, tend to augment the riches of the empire, and provide that the sources of public wealth may never be dried up; but, if possible, rendered more productive. To the jurisdiction of the minister of finance are subordinate—the mines, the mint, the forests, the imperial banks, &c. At the end of every year, the minister must draw up a statement of the public expenses for the year following, and present it, together with a general view of the revenue of the ensuing year, to the Emperor, for confirmation. The functions of the imperial treasurer remain as before, till farther notice. Those of the minister of commerce, who is at the head of all officers of the customs, remain upon the basis of preceding regulations.—Under the jurisdiction of the minister for public instruction, are the academy of sciences, the universities, all schools, and similar establishments, except those which are particularly under the care of the Empress-mother; also the censure, the publication of the newspapers, and all periodical works, the public libraries, &c. Five of these ministers have a colleague or adjunct minister. All places and departments send in weekly to their minister memoirs concerning the things in course. In all difficult points

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the minister makes a report to the Emperor, who lays these reports before the senate. Every minister must at the end of the year deliver to the Emperor a memoir, in writing, concerning his administration. The senate examines this memoir in the presence of the minister, and then delivers it to the Emperor, with its opinion concerning his administration, and the state of the affairs entrusted to the minister. If the senate discovers any abuses, it demands an explanation from the minister, and, in case of need, presents a remonstrance to the Emperor. All ministers are members of the council, and have a seat and vote in the senate. The ministers must each, on appointed days, give audience to all those who have any representation to make them. The ministers enter upon their offices immediately. The colleague of the minister takes his place on all occasions, but is only answerable for what he has himself signed.

Rear-Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief of the Naval Forces stationed at the Windward Islands, and at Cayenne, to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies.—On Board le Jemmappe, in the Road of the Fort de France, 22d September, 1802.

Citizen Minister,—The expedition destined for Martinique, quitted Brest the 14th Thermidor: it arrived in this road the 12th of September. The captain-general, Villaret, landed the 14th; the colony was delivered up; and the following day he appointed me to the chief command of the naval force in these seas. The flags of the Republic were displayed on all the forts, and salutes were given, as well by the shipping, as from the artillery on shore, and the commanders of the English division. In short, all the proceedings observed on similar occasions duly took place on the part of the respective nations. The reception given, by the inhabitants of the colony, to the representatives of the French government, was such as we could wish. Satisfaction was general, and the people appeared impressed with gratitude for the conduct of the government towards these colonies, in securing, by wise and strict laws, their lives and properties. They already seem to feel the advantages which French connexion would secure to them, and to keep in remembrance the efforts made by the mother country, and the blood shed by her sons, in endeavouring to re-unite them. We have found here twenty-four French trading vessels, come from the principal ports of the republic, and laden with all sorts of provisions, and articles of manufacture, which has reduced the prices to a rate equally advantageous to the colonist and to the merchant.—The usual disorders have made some ravages in these countries, but their force is now nearly exhausted, and it is universally expected that no traces of them will remain after the winter season, which will here terminate about the 15th of October.—I have lost but five men, of whom three perished in consequence of drinking rum to excess. I have, in all, twenty-four men at the hospital.—Until this period, the necessity of being near the town, in order to disembark the troops, stores, and provisions, has detained me in the road. By the 24th of December I expect to depart for the Trois Islets—a proceeding adopted by the English, who, during the winter season, repaired to that quarter, for the three days preceding and following the full moons. In pursuance of your instructions, I shall send to you a plan, accompanied with observations upon those anchoring places.—The captain-general, wishing to make known to the governors of the English islands his arrival in these parts, and to begin that course of civility and good neighbourhood, which formerly existed between them and the French governors, I have dispatched l'Incorruptible frigate to Dominique and Antigua, and ordered her to deliver, as she passed Guadaloupe, your dispatches to the captain-general. I expect intelligence from that colony every moment respecting the state of our naval and military affairs in that quarter. I have the honour to salute you.—*Villeneuve.*

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Villaret to the Minister of Marine, dated 23d September.

Citizen Minister,—The division destined to take possession of Martinico, anchored in the road of Fort de France, after a passage of forty days.—Our troops began to disembark on the 12th September, and on the 13th we took possession of the city and the forts, and at the same time General Castella took possession of Saint Pierre with 200 men. The inhabitants displayed the most lively joy. The Fort de France and Saint Pierre were spontaneously illuminated by the inhabitants. Eight years of submission to a foreign power have not made them forget their mother country, nor the wisdom of the colonial system which the French government have adopted to bind Martinico for ever to France. The ministers of the catholic religion exerted all their influence for the attainment of this object. On Sunday last, Father Archangel took the oaths of fidelity prescribed by the constitution. On Sunday next I shall go to Saint Pierre to receive the oaths of Father Trepsac, formerly a Dominican friar. After the installation of the new tribunals, the subjoined proclamation was published, and also one respecting the situation of the blacks. A crowd of negroes accompanied the officers when they were making this proclamation; they made the air resound with cries of "Long live the Republic." This is the manner in which they received the law for the continuation of slavery. If the reception I met with upon this occasion is compared with that which I received at Saint Domingo, when I proclaimed liberty to the blacks of that colony, it will not be difficult to set a true value upon the theories and the eloquent declamations of their friends.—This colony is now in the highest state of prosperity. The magazines are filled with colonial productions. Thirty mer-

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chant vessels, which sailed from different ports of the mother country have arrived here. Be assured that I will neglect no means of increasing a prosperity which depends so much upon the wisdom and firmness of the administration. Government may depend upon the spirit with which the troops are animated, upon the unanimity which prevails among the inhabitants, upon the vigilance of the magistrates, and upon the fidelity with which I shall execute its wishes. Health and respect.—*Villaret.*

Paris, Sept. 30.—Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, and President of the Italian Republic, decrees,

I. Artillery, small arms, and warlike ammunition shall be ceded out of those now existing in the Italian republic.—II. The artillery now in those places belongs to the Italian Republic, to the amount of 4,000,000 livres.—III. The minister at war of the Italian Republic shall appoint an officer of artillery to superintend the dismantling, draw up inventories, and make estimates, in concert with an officer of the French artillery, whom the minister at war of the French Republic shall appoint.—IV. All the pieces of artillery which shall be ceded to the Italian Republic shall be re-cast to the calibre of 6, 12, 18, and 24lb.; the mortars to 8 and 10 inches; and the howitzers to 5 inches 6 lines, in the course of the year 11.—V. The minister at war of the Italian Republic shall cause two bridges of boats to be constructed, one for the passage of the Po, and the other for the Oglio and the Adige.—VI. Fifteen thousand musquets, two thousand pairs of pistols, and two thousand carbines, shall be made in the course of the year 11.—VII. There shall be an armoury at Mantua, capable of containing 10,000 musquets; and at Pizzighetone, one of 15,000.—VIII. The minister at war of the Italian Republic is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*

St. Cloud, Oct. 4.

The Consuls of the republic, on the report of the minister of the colonies and the marine, the council of state being present, decree,—I. That all contravention of the laws and regulations respecting foreign commerce, &c. in the colonies, shall be proceeded upon, and judged, in form as follows:—The proceedings and judgment in the first instance, shall appertain to the ordinary tribunals, with a power of appeal, in all cases, to a special commission, which shall ultimately decide. The informations shall be made summarily, and in the way of simple memorials.—III. In the district of each captain-general, the commission shall consist of the captain-general, the colonial prefect, the commissary of justice, or the grand judge, who shall reciprocally act for each other in case of the inability of either to attend. In other places, the commission to be composed of three members of the tribunal of appeal, selected for each particular case, by the captain-general.—With respect to the island of Tobago, the commission of appeal shall consist of the captain-general, the colonial prefect, the first officer of justice, or of three members of the court of admiralty, at the option of the captain-general.—IV. In case of a difference of opinion, that of the president shall preponderate.—V. The inspector of the marine, or the person executing the functions of that officer, shall, in virtue of his situation, officiate as public agent in the said commission of appeal.—The functions of Greffier shall be performed by a secretary specially appointed by the captain-general.—VI. Notwithstanding the above, the ancient laws shall be administered in every thing not affected by the foregoing regulations.—VII. The minister of the marine and the colonies is charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws. *Buonaparté.*

Victor Hugues, Commissary of the Government at French Guiana, to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies. Dated Cayenne, Oct. 12, 1802.

Citizen Minister,—I have the honour to forward to you, accounts of the exports and imports of Guiana; the former amounting to 1,461,248 fr. 35 cent. and the latter to 3,021,684 fr. 10 cent.; the balance is therefore in favour of the colony to an amount of 1,560,449 fr. 75 cent. This commerce employs fifty-six vessels, of which twenty-two French vessels are destined for the mother country, and fully laden; eight have sailed for the other colonies, after disposing of a part of their cargoes; and twenty-six foreign ships, for the most part Anglo-Americans. If you compare these statements with those which were made previously to the revolution, you will see the capabilities of this colony, with the means of culture and improvement. The advantages possessed by the colony will further conduce to those of the mother country, when the government shall have given the orders necessary for our encouragement, and suppress a few monopolizing houses here, which hold the rest of the inhabitants in dependence on them, by means of their ability to raise or lower the prices of commodities of their pleasure.—When a ship comes here to dispose of her cargo, these persons arrange matters so well, that she must have recourse to them to transact her business. This is one of the numerous abuses which it is necessary to destroy; but I think I have succeeded in obviating it. Besides, several French commercial houses of respectability appear determined to make commercial and agricultural establishments in this colony. I have in consequence made certain concessions, which I doubt not will be attended with the utmost success.—Health and respect.

Victor Hugues.

The Moniteur of the 15th Oct. contains a very long arrêté issued by the French Consuls on the 4th, relative to the formation of a municipal guard at Paris. The articles of the first title,

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which respects the force, organization, and general composition of this body, are as follow:—I. There shall be raised a municipal guard for the service of the city of Paris.—II. The municipal guard of the city of Paris shall consist of 2154 infantry and 180 cavalry.—III. The infantry of the municipal guard shall form two regiments; the one to be employed in the service of the gates, and grand barriers, and the other in that of the interior of the city.—IV. The first regiment shall be divided into two battalions; one especially appropriated to the service of the gates, and the other to that of the grand barriers. That destined to the service of the interior of the city of Paris shall likewise be divided into two battalions.—V. The cavalry of the municipal guard of Paris shall form only one corps, to be distinguished by the name of squadron.—VI. None can be admitted into the municipal guard of Paris, unless he be above 30, and under 45—unless he be 1 metre 651-millimetres, or 5 feet 1 inch, old measure, in stature—unless he has served five campaigns in the war of liberty, has a military furlough in regular form, and a certificate of good behaviour—unless he can read and write—and unless he shall engage to serve ten years in the said guard.—VII. No person can be appointed a subaltern officer, unless he has occupied the same rank in the troops of the line, and proves that he has honourably served during five campaigns, as required by article 6.—VIII. No person can be appointed a superior officer, unless he has obtained at least the rank of captain in the troops of the line, and proves that he has served, with distinction, during five campaigns, as required by article 6.

The expense of the municipal guard is estimated at 1,268,000 franks for the infantry, and 236,000 for the cavalry. The charge is to be defrayed by a rate to be levied on the department of the Seine. The subsistence, cloathing, and equipment are the same as that of the troops of the line. The men are in like manner subject to military discipline. In addition to the ordinary service of the police, they are to do duty at the theatres, and other places of poblic amusement, and, upon application to the police, to attend as guards at private balls and entertainments.

Paris, Oct. 15.—*Consular Decree of the* 11*th Oct.*—There shall be levied in future upon woollens in imitation of cottons, from the Levant only, an import duty of one franc.—There shall be levied in future an import duty of 100 francs per quintal upon foreign sword cutlery.—The wines of Corsica are put on the same footing as those of the departments of the Bouches du Rhône, of the Var, and of the Maritime Alps, and shall pay upon their exportation to a foreign market only 1 franc 50 cents per hogshead.—The duties of importation and consumption fixed by the Tariff, No. 1, annexed to the decree of the 3d Thermidor, upon raw sugars, coffee, cocoa, and pepper, shall be levied in one nett sum. The tare to be deducted shall be for clayed sugars, in casks 15 per cent. for raw and loaf sugars, coffee, cocoa, and pepper, also in casks, 12 per cent. There shall be only 3 per cent. upon coffee, cocoa, and pepper, in bags.

CONDUCT OF MR. C. J. FOX.

The following two Letters are copied from the Morning Post. They contain some excellent remarks; but we cannot insert them without observing, that we dissent from almost every word, that the writer has uttered IN FAVOUR *of Mr. Fox, in whose life, moral or political, we have never discovered any one act worthy of praise.*

TO MR. C. J. FOX.

SIR,—"A letter to Mr. Fox," when not a personal lampoon, has usually been little more than a convenient form and title, for some political effusion, which has been thus dedicated to you *ex officio*, as the nominal leader of the opposition. I hope, Sir, to have at least this one advantage over your former public correspondents, that while I address you exclusively on subjects of national interest, I shall yet scrupulously confine myself to actions and speeches, which are your's, and your's only. In common with the majority of our countrymen, and, I would fain believe, with all whose minds have not been distorted by political alarm, or sicklied by religious cant, I have felt you, Sir, to be a genuine Englishman. We know that the original web of your character is English, notwithstanding some foreign fancy-patterns, which you may have incautiously suffered to be *worked* upon it. I have attributed to you, in an eminent degree, a *healthy* understanding, with *healthy* affections—if I may dare address so bold a Latinism to you, Sir! from the influence of whose future writings I hope and expect, that a pure and native English will once again become the taste and fashion of English writers. Your honours and your occupations, as the statesman, and as the leader of a party, have never over-stepped and stifled your plain sense, and plain feelings, as a human being. Nature appears to me to have distinguished you from other men, not so much by rare and splendid faculties, as by an unusual portion of the good, which, in a lesser quantity, belongs to all men. For these reasons my admiration of your character has been without wonder, and, in consequence, accompanied with a proportionably greater confidence. My attachment too has been fervent and sincere, but not blind, not that of a partisan. By the clearness with which I have seemed to myself to detect your errors, and by the pain and sense of reluctance, with which this detection has been uniformly attended, I have given evidence to my own mind, that my zeal has been in the light of knowledge. The most important, as well as the most recent, of these supposed errors will form the subject of the present letter. As an Englishman, for I have a right

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to notice it: in your public conduct all your countrymen have more than a life-interest. As a lover of unsophisticated English liberty, I have a motive to exercise the right. Yet, with how much greater, with how much purer a pleasure could I turn to your enemies, if the occasion permitted it, and recount the instances of your wisdom and integrity!

The French revolution makes it difficult to call up any impassioned attention to the political disputes which preceded it. It has to a wonderful degree diminished the impression even of those, who have been contemporary with it. What a tumultuous interest would not the Irish Union have excited in this country, if it had been attempted fourteen years earlier! The languid interest which it did excite (languid, compared with the importance and magnitude of the event), is a fact, not unworthy the notice of the philosophical historian. I shall confine my letter to that part of your political conduct, Sir, which has an immediate bearing on the French revolution.

You welcomed this stupendous event, Sir! with the spirit of an Englishman; with a spirit which even in its excess was truly English. If you shall ultimately appear to have erred, posterity will add more to your heart on this account, than it will detract from your sagacity. To have hoped too boldly of our common nature, is a fault, which all good men have an interest in forgiving. As far as the final verdict on this part of your character lies with the good, you will be tried, Sir! by a jury of accomplices. I still flatter myself, that, the main source of your common error will have been this—you suffered yourself to forget, that the revolutionists were Frenchmen. You were, however, Sir! assuredly on the further side of an allowable enthusiasm, when you pronounced the first constitution of France, "a stupendous monument of human wisdom and human happiness." The wish must have been indeed "the father to the thought," when you imagined, Sir! that a constitution could receive its final and faultless shape at one cast; that the passions of a newly emancipated people, and that people the French, should run at once into the mould, like melted ores, and hardened in a few hours into perfection.

The first gust of Jacobinism was sufficient to overthrow this stupendous monument. It was overthrown, the Sovereign murdered, and all Europe seemed moving under arms. For your counsels and exertions at the commencement of this ominous war, and during the whole of its continuance, you have a just claim on the gratitude and admiration of your country. Your efforts were proportioned to the awfulness of the occasion, and the melancholy event has demonstrated, that a portion of the gift of prophecy still rests upon the wise and good. We must be compelled to add, that you yourself appear to have been in part the cause of the frustration of your own counsels. History—nay, even the daily experience of our common law-courts teaches us, that, in contests of all kinds, it is by no means necessary, that one party should be in the right. More frequently, both are in the wrong. It had been well for your fame, and well, perhaps, for your country, if you, Sir, had acted on this principle. But no! The English ministry were to be attacked at every movement, and criminated in every measure: and so far, it must be admitted, their own blunders, their own lust of innovation, did but too amply justify you. But this did not appear sufficient, or, perhaps, practicable, to you, unless the French were as regularly defended. Where their conduct was too palpably, too outrageously, bad to admit of direct defence, a palliation was attempted; and you manifested at least a wish to defend. I do not mean to assert, that there were no parts in your numerous orations, which, if extracted, would not appear to contradict this statement—but I do assert, Sir, that such was the general spirit of your speeches, and the fact is notorious, that this was the general impression which they left on the minds of your countrymen. Your language, your sentiments, were felt as Gallican.—If your harangues in the House of Commons, and at the Whig Club, were to be published under any one title, *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, is that which, to the feelings of a large majority of Englishmen, would best designate their general contents. Your defences, your palliations, your phraseology, would have been plainly impolitic and offensive, had they been just and precise; and being too often incorrect or overstrained, they were injurious to yourself, and to the glorious cause which you were pleading, to the cause of peace, of freedom, and of the independence of nations in their domestic concerns. Others, both in parliament and out of it, took their tone from you. The paper, which is devoted to your party, and which acts in the strictest conformity to its wishes, became, to all intents and purposes, the standing counsel for the French government. The prejudices and the good sense of the country were alike disgusted, and pious and sober men every where alarmed.

Similar praise is due to you, Sir! for your long and manly resistance to the violences which were offered by the late ministers to our laws and constitution—similar praise, and I fear, with similar deductions. I am not disposed to charge you with countenancing the Corresponding Society. But, did you, or your friends, discountenance them? Did you, or your friends, speak publicly and uniformly with due abhorrence of their principles or proceedings? Did no kind of political courtship pass between these English revolutionists, and the friends of reform? It was the policy, let me say rather, it was a trick of the associated Jacobins, or patrons of revolution and universal suffrage, in this country, to represent themselves from the very infancy of their society, as already numerous and formidable. To be thought numerous, they knew, was one way of becoming so. I speak advisedly, and from personal knowledge of the fact. At the time, when their fifties would not have puzzled a New Zealander's arithmetic,

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when a savage might have counted them on his fingers, without any occasion for repeating the process, it was only in their more modest moods, when their travelling agents represented themselves as below a hundred thousand. I believe, that this advice was early given them by a man, whose talents and attainments ought to have inspired a nobler ambition, than that of becoming the leader and tool-master of a London Corresponding Society. But these men were outwitted, by means of their own contrivances. The ministers, and the agents of the ministry, echoed and re-echoed the lie: what secret committees were eager to hear, and predetermined to believe, spies and informers gained a foundation for relating, *confidentem habemus reum*. The conspirators themselves admit their numbers, and the extent of the conspiracy. The ministers wanted a pretext for striking a universal panic of property. This vulgar artifice furnished them both with the pretext and the means. The alarm spread; and the nation, then infatuated with loyalty, consented to be clapped under hatches in compliment to the audacious lie of a faction, which was in truth as contemptible in numbers and in weight, as it was abominable in morals and in principle. Of these facts, Sir! you might have easily gained both the information and the proof. Had your eloquence been directed to the enforcement of them, I dare not affirm, that you would have been more successful; but I am sure, that you would have better deserved success. But alas! the general tendency of your speeches, was to invalidate the charges of ministry against the tenets and designs of the English Jacobins, when you should have joined hand and heart with the majority in the admission and the abhorrence both of one and the other. You should have pledged yourself, Sir! to public activity in all legal constitutional modes of suppressing both the men and their measures, if the ordinary constables of the night should indeed be found inadequate to the task. You should have declared, and even to satiety repeated the declaration, that you and your friends were both Anti-Gallicans, and Anti-Jacobins. You should have made your country feel, that you were indeed so. If there were any honest men in this country infected with Jacobinical opinions (and some there were, and chiefly from this cause, that they heard the notorious enemies of all freedom the loudest in the yell against Jacobinism), your speeches, Sir, would have been their natural and certain cure. It would have been policy and humanity to have made them the antidotes to this delusion. With what irresistible strength of argument might you not then have contended, that the Jacobins in this country possessed neither number nor influence; that in England they had never been truly formidable, or if at any time, only during the Jacobinical career of Mr. Pitt's partisans at the close of the American war; and then for these two plain reasons, because the country was unsuccessful and degraded, and because Jacobinism was as yet a mere theory. Let a free country be, or be supposed to be, in danger; and Jacobinism is the necessary consequence. All men promiscuously, not according to rank or property, but by the superiority of popular talents, and the impulse of superior restlessness, will take an active part in politics. And this is itself Jacobinism, a political disease, which, in certain periods of national danger and by a transient operation, may, like other diseases, be even salutary, and sanative. You might have shewn, that even in France the operation of Jacobinism would necessarily be transient. Incompatible with property, and even with personal security, its own absurdities ensured it a speedy and natural death, if only we would abandon it to its own destiny. By attempting violently, and by a war, to precipitate its dissolution, we should unnaturally lengthen out its existence, if our arms were victorious; and if we were defeated, we should transmute this transient fanaticism for visionary liberty into a military enthusiasm, and alarmed by an ephemeral frenzy play into the hands of a never-dying ambition. My language may appear presumptuous, the language of a man ridiculously forgetful of his measureless inferiority to the person to whom he presumes to dictate. But no, Sir! they are the dictates of mere common sense. That your own prudence did not dictate them to your own mind is a matter of regret indeed, but not altogether of surprize. The plainest rules of the game are those which are the most frequently forgotten by the most skilful adepts, when heated with the play. The great statesman and Roman orator bewailing his own blunders, adds—a child, who had quietly overlooked the game, might have set me right. The utmost extent of my presumption is to be that child in relation to Mr. Fox.

Not contented with mere omissions, not contented with not being the confuter and antagonist of Jacobinism, you publicly adopted its most offensive phraseology, and declared yourself at the Whig Club an adherent to the doctrine of the *Rights of Man*. It is possible, Sir, that a very innocent meaning may be attached to these words, laxly used. If we allow a little laxity in terms, to what form of words may not an innocent meaning be attached? But when you avowed your conviction, that all men had political rights, as by an act of courage, and with the avowed consciousness that you were acknowledging an offensive doctrine, you must be understood, of course, to imply that doctrine which had given the offence. Else why avow with so much form and emphasis a tenet which the most infuriate bigots of Monarchy had never controverted? I venture, Sir, to affirm, and if it shall hereafter appear necessary, am prepared to prove, that between the acknowledged truth, that in all countries both governments and subjects have duties—duties both to themselves and each other, that between this truism and the Jacobinical doctrine of the universal inalienable right of all the inhabitants of every country to the exercise of their inherent sovereignty, there is no intermediate step, no middle meaning. But you, Sir, had publicly, and in parliament,

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opposed the doctrine of universal suffrage. It is true.—You did so, Sir! What will this prove? No more, I fear, than that you have acted inconsistently; or that you uttered words without any previous analysis of their import; or that you juggled with the understandings of the populace, and gratified their feelings by the use of popular words, while in your own mind you had annihilated their obvious sense, and reduced them to a mere truism. Whichever were the case, you spoke unwisely, Sir, and imprudently. Those whom alone a great statesman would wish to conciliate are proud of their rights, indeed, but of rights created by the laws, and modified by property. These men, Sir, would regard the orator who would persuade them to substitute the rights of man for their rights, as Englishmen, in the same light as they would regard a mad metaphysician, who should counsel them to burn the writings of their estates, and rest their claims on the demonstrations of Puffendorf or Wolfius.

But the time arrived, Sir, when all your errors might have been retrieved in one hour, and the memory of them have dissolved away in one general sentiment of regard and admiration. PEACE was concluded with the FRENCH REPUBLIC; and both the spirit and the letter of your predictions received the seal of a complete and final fulfilment. It is natural, Sir, to anticipate the language and conduct of a favourite statesman on the eve of some great occasion—some occasion fitted and prepared by his guardian genius to call forth the best energies of his understanding and his affections. I looked forward to the debate on the peace with an anxious pleasure. I described you to my imagination, as enforcing, with all your own dignified impetuosity, and with a tenfold weight of argument, the grand *principles* of your former counsels; yet cautiously abstaining from all allusion to the counsels themselves, and by a generous silence provoking the whole nation to make them the objects of their deepest regret, the topic of their hourly talk, the conversation at the table, the buz in the market-place! I described you, as evincing that a peace had been concluded at the very first period at which a war had become indisputably just and necessary. I seemed almost to hear you congratulating the alarmists and the crusading Christians on the restoration of religion, and an intense monarchy in France, and then, with an indignation too restless to endure the clothing of irony, pourtraying the dreadful ambition, and undisguised lust of dominion, before which we had thrown ourselves prostrate. I imagined you, with all your fervid and searching logic, exposing the hollowness of our boasted acquisitions, and bringing into the close view of the terrified peace-makers, the enormous, and compacted empire of the enemy. Yet, nevertheless, you would give your vote for the PEACE. —Even if it continue for a year only, if only for six months, there will be a time in which the true and just motives of war may be extricated from that cant of hypocrisy, and those ravings of delusion, which in the year 1793 had impelled the ministry to rush into hostilities, like madmen, and afterwards conduct them, like men besotted. There will be a time at least for a general forgiveness to pass between all parties. Our mutual errors must needs bring on a mutual amnesty. And if we are compelled to wage war anew, as alas! who can doubt but sooner or later we shall be compelled, we shall wage it with one advantage, of almost incalculable importance, with definite, intelligible, unvarying, and universally admitted motives and objects.

In the same spirit, Sir! did I venture to anticipate your consolations to the friends of liberty, that if France had now for the first time united all sects and all parties in one sentiment of abhorrence and terror, she had now for the first time also lost all the semblances of a republic, and had yielded herself up to an unbridled despotism, without condition or prospect. In the same spirit too, giving you credit, Sir! for language, illustration, and arrangement, far, far beyond the scope of my imagination to shadow out, I still seemed assured, that I had anticipated the meaning and general purport of your peroration. I conceive that it could be no other than a generous exhortation to the ministers and the parliament, to shew both by public declarations, and by measures answerable to these declarations, that the government was no longer jealous of the country, that they abjured all further insult of a loyal people by suspensions of the habeas-corpus act, or inquisitorial treason and sedition bills; that they looked for vigorous and enthusiastic support against the common enemy, chiefly from the spirit of freedom and of free enquiry, confident that the few wretches who dared utter or publish the loose principles and mock-philosophy of these vile mock-republicans, would find their fittest and adequate punishment in the contempt and abhorrence of their readers.

I believed, Sir! and still do believe, that selfish ambition can no longer retain a place in your hopes or wishes, that you have long felt, how possible it is to be a great man without place or office. I imagined, therefore, that you would have concluded with freely offering to ministers your vote and your counsels to preserve the peace, while it was possible; and when war was rendered inevitable, a still higher energy in support of that war, and a concentration of your intellect and experience to spread your own patriotic enthusiasm among the people, and to direct that enthusiasm to the wisest purposes. All this, and more than all this, I expected from you, Sir! Your country expected it. And how, Sir! did you meet these expectations? Did you utter one word of alarm at the atrocious ambition of the First Consul? One sentiment of pity or indignation at the iron despotism, under which this upstart Corsican had reduced forty millions of your fellow-creatures? Not a syllable! Not a breathing! You *exulted*, Sir, that the war had ended as it *ought* to end, gloriously for France, ignominiously for Great Britain!! For the spirit of a man and a patriot, you abandoned yourself to the low and womanish tem-

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per, which finds in a triumphant, "*Did I not tell you so, now?*" a pleasure that overpowered and sunk into oblivion all the dangers and all the disgrace of a whole nation, and that nation your country! I am at a loss to determine, Sir, which was the greater, the inconsistency or the folly of this speech, the impolicy or the unfeelingness. It was inconsistent, because you had hitherto uniformly contended, that you and your party had spoken the sense of the nation; that the guilt and misconduct rested upon the ministers, their adherents, and their creatures; that every artifice had been used to inflame and delude the public mind, yet that the success had been only transient and partial—that the ministry, well aware of this, had in every sense shunned examination—that they alone were guilty, and in the better days of the House of Commons would assuredly have met with the punishment due to such misdemeanours joined with such incapacity. With what shadow of consistency, Sir, could you then exult in the calamity and prostration of a people, on whose guiltlessness you had grounded, and on which alone you could ground the guilt and punishableness of the ministers? Nor was it less foolish than inconsistent. You must have known, Sir, that a peace which had exchanged liberty for empire, that conquests and successes which had transformed the victors into crouching slaves, with no freedom but to be vicious; no voice but to utter brotherly and blasphemy, could not in the eye of reason be glorious, or matter of a wise man's congratulation. Frenchmen hold it glorious, it is true; and you, Sir, when you pronounced it glorious for France, only proved to your mourning and indignant country, that you thought and felt as a Frenchman! It was unfeeling, Sir! for your country was dejected, and smarting with her wounds; you should have poured oil into them, not corrosives. Lastly, it was impolitic. Such sentiments must tend to alienate from you the affections of your countrymen, of all who love their country. And though I have long held in suspicion those political saints, who deal in no other good deeds than those of supererogation, yet I must doubt whether your sentiments will win for you the suffrages even of our new philosophers, our philanthropists, our citizens of the world. I conceive that even these turn away with disgust from the Land of Promise, from this glorified country, in which the government is all powerful by military violence, but weak and sluggish with the laws, even those of its own making; this regenerated country, in which the public advocates of civil freedom are the most obnoxious criminals, and the criminals not punished, but *kidnapped*.

Having thus, Sir, publicly expatriated yourself, nothing remained for you, but by some outward act and ceremony, to naturalise yourself in your new country. You went to France. Your ostensible, and, I believe, true motive, was honourable, and at any less inauspicious time would have been adequate. A man must be little versed, indeed, in literary research, who does not understand that no man can examine manuscripts for another, in reference to historical enquiries. The subject of your history (I speak from the general report) is worthy of your intellect, and appropriate to the efforts of your political life.—If you live to complete your plan, I hope and believe, Sir, that your work will instruct and animate your countrymen, when your errors will have an interest attached to them, chiefly in consequence of your literary fame. It has been said, and I think without extravagance, that the History of Thucydides was cheaply purchased by the long Peloponnesian war, which was its subject.—Painful as it will be for me to return from this digression, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of uttering this one heart-felt wish:—may your name be dear in future ages, as the Thucydides of Great Britain! We are proud, perhaps boastful, of the names of Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon; yet I dare avow my conviction, that the true honours of an English historian lie untouched before you. For the annals of our own country this is now especially true. I know few books that have more deeply and extensively injured the principles of Englishmen, whether moral, religious, or political, than that History of England which alone stands in any high reputation. You best know it, Sir, to be a perfidious romance, not a history: the apologist for priest-craft, while it undermines the first principles, even of natural religion; extravagantly sceptical concerning the laws, where they have been wantonly broken by tyrants, and then only decisive and embittered by the breach when the offence has become necessary, and the offenders have been patriots! often false in the statement, and still more frequently attaining the purposes of falsehood by the omission of facts; in reasoning a model of the mock-profound, and in stile Irish, Scottish, Gallican—any thing but English. Yet, in very truth, to write the history of that period which you have chosen, without pain and weariness of spirit, it would be necessary to possess, like Mr. Hume, the head and heart of an atheist. For you will be compelled, Sir, to draw into light, in an almost uninterrupted series, actions disgraceful to our country and to human nature. You must exhibit vices struggling with vices, the best ends frustrated by the worst means, dishonoured by the basest agents; lawless and godless tyrants, with the whole regiment of lawyers for their body guard, and the united priesthood of the kingdom for their advanced sentinels; and, more humiliating than this, you will be forced to shew the persecuted athirst for the power to persecute, and the partisans of freedom stained so indelibly with treachery, perjury, corruption and hypocrisy, as to yield a semblance of justification even to the oppressions, against which they were struggling. In fine, Sir! you will crowd together, as into one vast picture, demoniacs and lepers, with no Pool of Bethesda in the fore-ground, and with no other saviour than that great educer of good out of evil, whom with a master's licence you might paint with a countenance of angry sorrow looking down on the group from the clouds of heaven. This great history-piece you must teach

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us to hang up in the temple of national humility. But you will yourself restore us to our self-estimation, as Englishmen, by the courage with which you will adhere to the cause of liberty, and of course to the natural worthiness of the human heart; and by the sagacity, with which you will detect, and the truly British eloquence with which you will heap shame on those sophists, who have developed the vices of individuals, in order to enfeeble the virtues of the species, who have exhibited the depravity of a singularly corrupted age, as the means, not of deterring us from their vices, but of alienating our understanding from the best impulses of our own best affections.

Here, Sir! I would fain close my address to you. But so I should abandon the chief purpose, which induced me to this act of apparent presumption. It is something, however, even to pause, from the painful task of cross-examining the conduct of Mr. Fox. Many men, Sir, think you worthy to hear praise. I think the same, and I think still more: I believe you worthy of hearing the truth; and though this appear as rhetorical common-place, and is suspicious from the antithetical form of its expression, yet it has a meaning for a good man; and if you should condescend to read this public remonstrance, you will feel, that with a zeal, which your habitual encomiasts have neither head or heart to apprehend. I am, Sir, your friend and well-wisher,

ΕΣΤΗΣΕ.

[*Morning Post*, Nov. 4, 1802.]

TO MR. C. J. FOX.

Nov. 9. Sir,—Unpublished letters and memoirs in manuscript have hitherto furnished better materials for the sceptic, than for the historian. The writers who have dealt the most largely and ostentatiously in these wares, and whose histories have boasted the thickest appendix of original papers, do not stand in the highest credit among us for good sense or historical credibility. I admit, however, without reserve or scruple, that the examination of the MS. formed a sufficient reason for your journey to Paris; if for a thing so innocent any other reason were requisite than that of general curiosity. But what has the examination of MS. to do with the levees of Buonaparté, or the dinners of Talleyrand? Dissatisfied with the apologies which your friends have made, I have sought for a better motive in the resemblance of the present state of Paris with that of England after the subversion of our commonwealth. For with this æra, I have been led to believe, that your history is to date its commencement. The pernicious influence of revolutions upon morals is a fact, which will have therefore become profoundly interesting to you. A general interest it will indeed have excited in every thoughtful mind; but it has become your business, Sir! to understand it in detail. That certain fruits are poisonous, it behoves us all to know. The medical writer must seek to know, what parts the poison specifically affects, whether the blood, the nerves, or the stomach. He must particularise the various appearances which the diseased organs exhibit, and the symptomatic actions of the whole body, both those of sympathy with the part, and those of resistance to the venom. This, Sir! I admit, you could but imperfectly learn from books or records. As we anticipate the future only by the analogies of the past, so can we truly and vividly apprehend the past, only by a close observation of whatever is apparently analogous to it in the present. With such changes and deductions, as with the severest impartiality you must needs make in favour of your native country, your residence in the metropolis of France will have enabled you to paint, from the life, the court, and the factions under our second Charles and James. Thus, Sir! your history, like the prophecies of holy writ, will have a double sense, and a two-fold value.

After the failure of mad projects in government, and the usual transformation of popular tyranny into a despotism, our ancestors saw in England, what you have been viewing in France, a truly frightful licentiousness in private life, and among public men the most profligate venality, the most abject prostration. For the fullest survey of domestic depravity any selected or commanding point of view was altogether unnecessary. You might have seen as much as was useful for your purposes, and more than your moral feelings could well endure, and yet have remained at Paris, an unnoticed individual. In the time of a great plague we may examine patients in abundance without the trouble of procuring an admission to the public hospitals. But to understand the complexion and habit of servile and rapacious statesmen, to people and invigorate your imagination with pictures, from the life, of an upstart despot, and his crouching creatures, required more than common opportunities. You thought the knowledge not too dearly purchased by becoming the temporary courtier of Buonaparté, and the visitor and intimate of Talleyrand. You look forward for absolution from the gratitude of posterity.

This, Sir, is the apology for your conduct, with which I attempted to satisfy my own mind. But I fear, that neither you, nor your friends, nor the Public, will admit it either as the truth, or as fit to be the truth. You would condemn a man's religious morals as unwarrantably lax, who should be guilty of idolatry in order to make a drawing of the idol. It is utterly repugnant to the plainness and generous honesty of your nature to receive with every appearance of esteem and gratitude all possible favours and attentions from base men, merely that you might be able more livelily to display the colour and quality of their baseness. I must look elsewhere for more justifiable motives. Was it the attestation of the American ambassadors in favour of Citizen Talleyrand's integrity, which induced you, Sir! to honour him with your acquaintance? The purity of his domestic morals was it? or his consistency in his religious and sacerdotal character? Was it the First Consul's ex-

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ploit at Jaffa, which has entitled him to the respect of the friend of humanity? or was it the re-establishment of the slave trade, and his truly Corsican faith to the blacks in St. Domingo, which have recommended him by any bond of sympathy to the great friend and advocate of the unhappy Africans? Was it his message to the legislature, his purgation of the tribunate, his terror and hatred of free discussion by the press, his contempt of popular elections and representative governments, his jealousy of trials by juries, his system of espionage, the articles respecting the police in his Milanese code, his deportation (or what in plain English, we should call the kidnapping) of untried patriots, or his incarceration of Touissaint less from political motives than from personal envy to a hero, in difficulty and splendour of exploit, and in true dignity of character, infinitely his superior?—Was it any, or all of these things which have recommended him to the Man of the People? Or was it his ambition, his interference in the governments of Holland and Switzerland, and his desperate attacks on the independence of Germany, which have pleaded his cause with the English statesman? Was it the wish to consolidate his usurped power by giving him consequence in the eyes of a vain and light people? Or was it merely humanity—a desire to alleviate the pangs of the indignant French patriots, by giving them an example of voluntary homage in an English patriot. A free-will offering of penetration from the leader of the English opposition. I take shame to myself for addressing Mr. Fox in a strain of irony. It is indeed the natural language of indignation; and that indignation, Sir, is itself both the effect and a proof of the attachment and reverence with which I had hitherto contemplated you. But I recall myself to a calmer mood; I will attempt, in plain and direct argument, to convince you, Sir, that the reason which has been assigned for your conduct in this instance, and which, I fully believe, was the sole cause of that conduct, is not a sufficient reason that it ought not to have influenced, that it does not justify you.

You had received the most distinguished honours and attentions in France: it was expected by the First Consul that you should solicit a personal interview with him; and you could not endure to inflict pain, or to act with rudeness. According to the customs of courtesy between man and man you could not help doing as you did. This is the sum of the apology, for that your conduct needed an apology, your warmest friends have admitted. Now, Sir, the honours which you received on your arrival in France, and during the various stages of your journey to Paris, were either by the command of the First Consul, or not. If not, you owed the return to the spirit of freedom that still lingers in that unhappy country; and the proper return would have been to have shewn your contempt and abhorrence of the man who had gained his victories by the enthusiasm which the spirit of freedom alone inspired, and then abused the glory and power which those victories conferred on his name, to extinguish that spirit, to subvert that freedom. But, if these honours were ordered by the First Consul, you were assuredly, Sir, blameable in making your purposes so notorious, and in thereby exposing yourself to the difficulty and the dilemma. If you would have felt it painful to have refused the attendance at Buonaparté's levee, you ought to have considered that pain as a fit expiation o the fault and imprudence which alone could have occasioned the refusal to be painful. You complied with the customs of courtesy between man and man, but this was not an affair between man and man. I trust that you would feel yourself humiliated if you believed that Buonaparté had any sincere esteem or attachment for you.—Such attachment for you could only have arisen from his belief that you had been the enemy of your country, and the patron of his ambition. It was a mere trick of policy—a low attempt to persuade Frenchmen that their despot was attached to the cause of liberty by the honours ostentatiously paid by him to its most celebrated advocate; and to win from your homage, an apparent proof, that the most undoubted zealots for the rights and freedom of mankind, regarded him with sentiments of confidence and attachment. We all know the artifices, which impostors use to procure themselves to be noticed in public by some man of rank and character, the importance, which they attach to such notice, and the uses, they afterwards make of it. Would you, Sir! think it any justification to an English nobleman, who should walk arm in arm with a swindler at Margate, or Brighton, knowing him to be so—would you think it a justification, if the nobleman should say, that the man had behaved with laborious attention and civility, and that it would be uncourteous not to notice him; and, that it would wound and mortify the poor man, if he refused to do it? And, what, Sir! is that man, who has availed himself of his military fame, bought for him by the soldiers of liberty with rivers of blood—who has availed himself of his own professions of republican enthusiasm—to institute a military despotism? We will not call him a swindler, Sir! The vocabulary of crimes is too rich in appropriate terms, to lead us into the temptation. But, if you believe of Buonaparté, what ninety-nine in every hundred of your countrymen think themselves justified in believing of him, you must admit the analogy to be strict, whatever becomes of the term. And, if, Sir! you believe otherwise, and have solid reasons for your belief, you will bring home news indeed from the continent; and you owe it, Sir! to peace, truth, and charity, to publish the news as widely and as speedily as possible.

In examining the reason assigned as the justification of any action, the weight, we may attribute to it, must depend on the presence or absence, on the importance or insignificance, of the reasons in the opposite scale. The reason, or apology, which I am now examining, would scarcely produce a show of inequality, were there nothing to weigh against it. How will it

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fly up, and strike against the beam, when we put in the counter-weights! I have examined the reason, why you paid, and repeated, your act of homage to the First Consul. I will now enumerate the reasons why you ought not to have done it.

Your absence from the court of our own sovereign is the misfortune of your country, but no dishonour to yourself. But to repay yourself for the deprivation by the honours with which you were received, at the levee of the man, who, a few weeks before, had been the public enemy both of your sovereign and the country—to appear in the first rank of favour at the court of the mock republic of France, when you could not, or would not appear at the palace of the king of Great Britain.—O, Sir! I seem to feel, that this was not delicate, not worthy of Mr. Fox. To compare small things with great, it was in the spirit of Coriolanus, not Camillus; at all events, you should have waited till the ambassador from France had appeared before your sovereign, or some of the generals, or Frenchmen of rank and importance had paid their homage to the representative of the Majesty of our country. Political contests, and personal injuries, may pardonably make a patriot sore and indignant, while he remains at home, may pardonably inspire a certain portion of personal dislike: but, in a foreign land, I have always felt, and always understood, that party animosities cease to have existence in the breast of an Englishman. He no longer knows the names of Whig or Tory. His king becomes an abstraction in his mind, around which his best feelings gather. It is the particular man no longer: it is the majesty of his country. What Mr. Fox could not receive in England, he ought to have been too proud a patriot to have condescended to receive in France.

Secondly, Sir! let me revert to the offensive terms (be they right or wrong, that they were offensive to the country is a notorious fact), permit me, Sir! to revert, however reluctantly, to the effusive words, in which you exulted in the conclusion of the peace, because it was glorious for France, and disgraceful to Great Britain. Had this speech met with nothing in your after conduct answerable to it, though it cannot be excused, it might have been pardoned. A man who speaks with warmth and rapidity, will often express ideas in the very moment of their conception, and will have conceived them in consequence of mere verbal associations. In the minds of wise and good men these *Tirades* pass for that which they are—a precipitancy of the organs of speech during a momentary lapse of the understanding. Even in this instance your friends might have had the courage, Sir! to interpret your words, as simply signifying, that Mr. Fox had forgotten himself. But you went to France, Sir! and submitted to receive such honours from the recent arch-enemy of your country, as perhaps it did not become any subject to receive in his individual capacity. In the eyes of the world, Sir! you appeared to receive your reward, your hire.—Whatever charitable faith I may keep alive in my own heart, I confess, Sir! that I have not the courage to maintain against your antagonists, that your intended journey to France was not present to your mind at the moment in which you uttered those words. In England they excited indignation, in France alone they made you popular.—You hastened to the scene of your popularity, even as an actor after a perilous rant turns round on his heel from the persons of the drama, and facing the galleries, received the thunder of applause from that quarter, at whose hearts and understandings the speech had been exclusively levelled. Conscious, Sir! of the incompatibility of such a motive with your real character, you may despise these appearances. But, Sir! in a public man, a contempt of appearances is want of good sense, want of an appropriate virtue. To a certain extent, even our inward feelings have less of reality than our appearances: for they belong less to the external world, and act less upon our fellow creatures. If this be the case with all men, much more then with you. You have lost the right, Sir! to act as a common individual. It is, perhaps, one of the defects of your character, that in your habitual feelings you are not sufficiently aware of your own importance, and of the duties which it imposes upon you.

Sir, it is affirmed, and has remained uncontradicted, that your private intercourse with the First Consul has not been confined to a single interview: and it is, I suppose, not to be doubted that you have more than once attended at his public levee.—This fact, if fact it be, annuls altogether the apology deduced from "the laws of courtesy between man and man." Your name and your authority have drawn over to Paris, and to the consular levees, a cluster of your parliamentary friends. At least it has embodied them: it has given the form and semblance of a band to a number of gentlemen, who might otherwise have appeared as scattered individuals. This too is only an appearance, Sir! but it is an offensive, an unworthy appearance. It looks, Sir! as if you, and your friends, had felt the want of court favour as a heavy deprivation: as if rather than not receive the caresses of a government, you would condescend to accept them from apostacy and usurpation, from the ex-bishop of Autun, and the grateful *élève* of the director, Barras. The group of Englishmen who have appeared in their different insignia to do honour to Buonaparté, before any one Frenchman of rank had appeared at the court of St. James's, and who have contributed their best efforts to confirm the despot in his pernicious, yet plausible faith, that he has humbled the pride of Britain, and decided at length the point of precedence between the rival countries—this group of degenerate Englishmen (though indeed to the honour of that name the greater number have been Scotchmen and Irishmen), this group, Sir! I will derive no authority or sanction from your example; but each component of it will shoot forth his portion of dark rays (the *tenebricosi Radii* of Paracelsus) to cover you with a baseness not your own. Your country will, I trust, ne-

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ver forget their names. A monarch's favour ought to bring with it new places, and new titles. By what better appellation can the whole party be known, than that of Buonaparté's Courtiers? And you, Sir! you will no longer remain bald of place or title.—You will be his Lord Chamberlain for foreign affairs!—My mind involuntarily reverts to questions which have already been examined even to satiety. But at this moment the reasons assigned for your conduct appear idler to me than the talk of a dream. Good Heaven, Sir! what Circean cup transformed you into the leader of such a pack? And made you first in this vile chace? Was it, Sir! because he was master in the manufactory, in which you were head journeyman, or foreign agent—the manufactory of this gloomy and ominous war-peace? Or rather, was it because this Cæsar in all things, but genius, noble birth, and fearless clemency, had dared take the votes of his soldiery, as an army? Was it, Sir! on this putrid train of old despotism that you opened out? Or was it, Sir! because some of your fellow-courtiers had procured themselves to be presented at St. James's, purposely and solely to enable them to appear at the levees of Buonaparté? And were you pleased, Sir! to see your sovereign degraded thus into a mere gentleman-usher to this low-born Corsican?

You have long been a seceder, though not very strictly or uniformly, from your duties as a member of the legislature. It has been a measure concerning the propriety and good policy of which your warmest friends have been divided. (It required indeed all the warmth of friendship to entertain a doubt on so palpable a point.) Very lately you re-affirmed your intention of persevering in this secession. If you shall hereafter attend your duty in parliament, your character will therefore not stand clear of the charges of lightness and inconsistency.—But attend, Sir! you must. Secession now will be infamy. You have long been styled our Demosthenes. But hereafter, if you withdraw yourself from the public counsels of your country, you will be the Demosthenes of every caricature shop.—O! far worse than that—in the serious belief of all Englishmen, the Demosthenes with the sore throat! Demosthenes, muffled and mute! He could not take any part in the debate concerning the Great King; for the Great King, the enemy of Athens, had become the friend and patron of the Athenian orator and statesman.

With a true and fervent wish, that your return to England may clear away all these clouds that have gathered round your good name, even though your full and most honourable acquittal should bring an odium on myself for the present bold (but Heaven be my witness! most unfactious) address to you.

I remain, Sir, your humble well-wisher,

[*M. Post, Nov.* 7.] ΕΣΤΗΣΕ.

MR. FOX *having returned from Paris, and taken his seat in parliament, which opened on the 23d of November, made two speeches, one on the 23d and the other on the 24th, in which he made use of the following words, which drew forth the articles, which we here insert from the Morning Post:*

"I do not pretend to have any extraordinary "means of access to the public mind, but I will "not suffer any cry so factitious as that of a co"alition of a certain number of newspapers, a "cry set up with a design of selling three or four "hundred more of their sheets, or for some "other equally mean and interested purpose, to "impose itself on me as the opinion of the peo"ple of England. I do believe the sense of the "nation to be as much for peace as it was at the "conclusion of the treaty. Peace, it is true, has "been often sacrificed to the ambition of indi"viduals; but a war, engaged in for the pur"pose of gratifying the ambition of newspapers, "would be not only unparalleled in history, but "founded on the basest cause that imagination "can suggest."—[*23d November.*]

"I again say, that I am as anxious as any man "in this House to preserve the spirit of the coun"try, and the best way to preserve that spirit is "not to engage in war without necessity, and to "avoid those unmanly libels which both in and "out of parliament are too frequently levelled at "the French government. Those libels, I know, "are much talked of and reprobated in France; "though I also know there are many philoso"phical minds, both in that country and this, "who look at this war of words with the ut"most contempt, but yet I should prefer it to "any other species of warfare. Let the Moni"teur and the Morning Post, the Times, and "the Argus, go on in their hostile language, it "is easier to be endured than a war of bayonets. "Let us, however, consider, at the very moment "we have sent an ambassador to the French go"vernment, eminently qualified to maintain that "honourable character—when the representa"tive of our sovereign may be now, perhaps, "making his bow, or performing the accustom"ed ceremonies in the presence of the First "Consul of France, is it decent, is it dignified, "that the members of this House should be ap"plying opprobious epithets to the chief of the "French government? Certainly not. It can "answer no purpose, unless it is wished to keep "up a spirit of perpetual hostility. This I shall "ever deprecate."—[*24th November.*]

[*Morning Post, Nov.* 27.]

As Mr. Fox has been out of England, and owns he has not read many of the London newspapers; and as he has censured them for what they have said respecting France; more particularly as he has censured this paper by name, we hope that an explanation of our conduct and sentiments may be given, without subjecting us to the charge of a disposition to attack Mr. Fox. We must, therefore, state in our defence, that we have said nothing in regard to France which we were not bound to state upon the principles Mr. Fox has inculcated; and that if we are in error, he also is to blame. Ever since the month of August, when we understood an attempt was made by the French government to crush the

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freedom of the British press in discussing the affairs of France, an attempt avowed in the official journal, the Moniteur, we have been particularly alive to the proceedings of the consular government, eager to assert and maintain this freedom, rather than to yield it up by our practice, by a silence on the ambition and aggrandisement of the Chief Consul, whose conduct, since that period, has but too amply afforded occasions for the exercise of the liberty we possess; so amply, indeed, that we presume Buonaparté foresaw the general indignation his conduct would excite, and was desirous of previously silencing the only voice in the world which dare speak out truths respecting his designs, as a necessary preliminary to their execution. In thus exercising this privilege, we only followed the counsel Mr. Fox gave at the Whig Club last June, when he advised exertions in defence of the declining freedom of the press in this country. But in the discharge of this duty, we have not been betrayed into any calumny or expression upon which we can look back with regret. Knowing the fierceness with which Buonaparté insisted on silencing the English press, and knowing the desire of our government to conciliate the great Consul, as far as decency and the laws would allow them, we have weighed every word we have inserted with as much caution as if it had been said of our best ally, or even of the British government itself; and we have considered what might, and what might not, subject us to a prosecution. Here again we acted on Mr. Fox's authority. At the commencement of the late war, he called most of the monarchs of Europe despots. There were, "the despot of Prussia," "the despot of Russia," and "the despot of Austria." There were, "the crowned despots," "the combined despots," leagued against France, &c. Now, as these expressions were repeated by this paper in the face of the late administration, certainly not the most favourable to the liberty of the press, and as they were used of sovereigns, the allies of this country, fighting in the same cause with ourselves, we have thought it allowable to call Buonaparté a despot also. By a despot, we understand is meant a sovereign whose will is law, or, to use a softer expression, an arbitrary monarch. A despot may be the most amiable of princes, if he uses his power mildly, and for the good of his people. The abuse of his power makes him a tyrant; but we have not called Buonaparté a tyrant generally, though we have said his conduct in Switzerland has been tyrannical, and we leave the world to judge whether the truth of the libel aggravates its guilt. This is the utmost extent of the "libels" we have published against Buonaparté. It is true, we have censured the ambition of France in taking Savoy to complete her natural boundaries, and then in consolidating Piedmont with the republic, though beyond these natural boundaries. Her conduct to Switzerland, to Germany, to Holland, to Toussaint; the ridiculous complexity and mock freedom of her constitution; all these and many more things we have condemned; but in doing so we have not used any expression for which Mr. Fox has not afforded a precedent, nor said one word, that we would not say of any British government that deserved to be so spoken of. We called the Irish government a despotism, and not only a despotism, but ferocious despotism, and this we said during the rebellion. We know that if a spirit of persecution prevailed, the freedom of the press might be crushed; but in its fair exercise, we do not merit the title of "Libellers" for the comments we have made on the French government; and we are sure, if Mr. Fox had read this paper constantly, he would not have cast on us such an imputation. If we were disposed to retort the charge, we might ask, why all this tenderness about France? Why is not France to be spoken of as freely as Mr. Fox spoke of the hereditary monarchs of Europe? France assumes to herself an Imperial station. Buonaparté calls Europe the western nation, and France the great nation of that western nation. With the exception of Britain and Russia, France has, in fact, exercised a sovereign authority over Europe, and her object is to bring this country equally under her controul. Upon the principle, therefore, that it is our duty to examine the proceedings of our own government, it is our duty to examine those of France. Upon this principle we say, even if every man did not feel the welfare of Britain deeply concerned in almost every step which France takes. This, it may be answered, applies to her external relations only, and that we have no right to censure her internal institutions. Here again we have Mr. Fox for our authority in contradicting such an opinion. One of his most favourite toasts at public meetings has been "The cause of Liberty all over the world."—Now surely we are not to understand this toast to mean, the cause of liberty all over every other part of the world except France?—In drinking such a toast an Englishman first looks at home: there he finds liberty, though short of what he wishes to enjoy. Then travelling onward in imagination to go all over the world, the first place he meets is France. Does he find liberty there? No: but then, according to Mr. Fox, we must not look at France for fear of provoking a war. We may travel all over the world with our good wishes in behalf of liberty; but we must not go into France. Prussia is a despotism; Austria is a despotism; Russia is a despotism; but touch on France, and then Mr. Fox says, "look not at her" (we quote his words, used within these six months), "but "look at home: it is too much the fashion to rail "at every thing in France; but let us look at "our own constitution before we talk of the sla-"very of other countries."——Thus we find this very generous wish for the success of the cause of liberty all over the world, must not travel out of England, for fear it should get into France, and there fall in love with our own institutions. We are desirous of directing the chief attention of the people to the preservation of our own liberties. With that view, we are very anxious they should make the tour of the continent, and, in particular, that they should take a trip into

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the French republic. Another popular toast some years ago was, "May revolutions never cease till despotism is extinguished."—This toast, we fear, will, in future, be regarded by Mr. Fox as a direct invitation to an insurrection in France. For if it be true that the French government is a despotism, then the wish for overthrowing despotisms, emanating from this country, must fall foul of France first, as she is the first in the way; or, if that despotism must be viewed as sacred, then will it become a bulwark protecting all other despotisms, Russia, Prussia, Austria, &c. against the torrent of licentiousness, which the French papers have lately told us flows out of this country, endangering the existence of every regular government. And then what becomes of Mr. Fox's toast of "The cause of liberty all over the world?" That the French government is a despotism, or something very like one, we think Mr. Fox will not deny. We have heard, and we believe the fact, as it agrees with the language of M. Otto in this country, and of all the members of the consular government in France, that Buonaparté said to Mr. Fox, it was happy for England she could allow of so much freedom, but that a military government was absolutely necessary in France." To which Mr. Fox replied, and the sentiment was such as we might have expected from his manly spirit—"That country is in a most deplorable situation, which finds it necessary to submit to a military government."

From this statement we contend, that we have said nothing more respecting the late conduct of France than the events that have occurred, and the principles inculcated by Mr. Fox, required we should say; that we have spoken of the proceedings of France in no harsher or more libellous terms than Mr. Fox spoke of our allies in 1793, or than we speak of the proceedings of our own government, which deserves censure [*the paragraph said to have stimulated to the assassination of the Chief Consul, did not appear in any daily newspaper*;] that if we have libelled the Chief Consul, the courts of law are open to him for redress, and there he may find it, as the kings of England, France, and Russia, have done; that we will not purchase peace, by surrendering the freedom of discussion in this part of Europe, where alone it exists; the more especially, as this is the only weapon that can be wielded with effect, in opposing the ambition and despotism of a man, who aims at the dominion of the world, to which the power of this country is the greatest, we may say, the only obstacle. The moment the freedom of discussion is restrained in this country with regard to France, more than with regard to our own and other governments; from that moment we may date the period at which Great Britain becomes a province of the French republic. We write not for Frenchmen, but for Englishmen. Let Buonaparté prohibit the circulation of our papers in France; he has a right to do so if he pleases, and no one disputes his right; but we trust he will never be able to put seals upon the presses of the English newspapers, or to send their editors to Cayenne, without deigning to tell them the reason.

We have said thus much to show, that if Mr. Fox had been truly informed of the publications in this paper, he never would have complained of them. In our paper of Monday we propose to discuss how far our language has a war tendency; and whether Mr. Fox or the Morning Post be the best informed with respect to the disposition the people of England entertain towards France.

[*Morning Post, Nov. 30.*]

In reply to Mr. Fox's charge, of the libellous and warlike tendency of the articles in this paper with regard to France, we, on Saturday, endeavoured to shew that, in censuring the despotism of the French Government, we acted precisely on the principles of liberty he has inculcated. How it happened that he used a harsh, but just, language, in speaking of the despotism of Prussia, the despotism of Austria, &c. while those states were our allies, fighting with us in the same cause; and that he now uses a mild and conciliating language, when speaking of the despotism of France, suspected of being the most implacable and dangerous enemy of this country, remains for him to explain. We have acted on principles, and principles apply equally to all despotisms, whether crowned or consular.

We are accused of calling for war.—When the terms of the preliminaries of peace were known, we censured them on these grounds:—First, That the objects of the war, as far as related to *principles* of civil society, humanity, religion, &c. were not obtained, even according to the declarations of the authors of the war themselves, who of course were the best judges. Second, That the objects of the war, as far as related to power and extent of territory, were not only not obtained, but that point was left most alarmingly worse by the peace than it was found by the war. The ministers who concluded the peace, and the majority who voted for it, were the party who supported the war; we, therefore, attacked them, for having held out lofty expectations to the country, and for having abandoned them, thereby avowing, that they had totally failed in their designs, or that the objects for which we had expended our blood and treasure were not worth pursuing. We charged them with having made a peace disgraceful, when compared with their pretensions; and, above all, we charged them with having left France in possession of such gigantic power, that this country could not view it, and enjoy repose of mind. We deplored the terms of the peace on this last ground, and we carried along with us the general sympathy. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, expressed no alarm at the monstrous aggrandisement and power of France. He rejoiced, in a tone of triumph, at the fallen fortunes of his country, and the exalted state of the French Republic. We censured his conduct at the time (October 1801); he himself now censures it. The degree of warmth, of vehemence, with which he on Thursday night denied, in explanation to Mr. Windham, that he did not feel uneasiness at the great power of France, shewed that he had been taught to understand the high offence which his language at the Shakespeare-Tavern, in October 1801, had given to all friends of this country.—Where was the feeling which occasioned that burst of indignation on Thursday night, when he spoke at the Shakespeare-Tavern a year before? That burst of indignation sufficiently indicated the sense of his error, and his soreness when it was touched upon. With regard to the alarming power of France, he will therefore allow that, in October 1801, we understood the public sentiment far better than he

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did. Such was our conduct on the conclusion of the preliminary peace. But with whatever grief or disgust we looked at the terms of the treaty, still, under all circumstances, we thought even such a peace was preferable to a war which must have been continued without hope or attainable objects, but not without great sacrifices and imminent dangers. Hence we supported the peace itself, as peace, notwithstanding the censure we cast on the terms of the treaty, and the misconduct of those who had reduced us to such a situation.—We hoped that as France was powerful she would display the spirit of moderation and peace with which she so earnestly declared she was possessed, and that time and circumstances would remedy the evils which formed but too just a ground of apprehension.

But when we found last summer, that, so far from this spirit of moderation and peace being the guide of her actions, she attempted to stifle the freedom of the press in this country; united Piedmont, the Italian Republic, dictated to Germany, to Holland, over-ran Switzerland, and domineered, or attempted to domineer, over all Europe; when we saw her every month adding some new principality to her own enormous dominions, breaking down all our friends (the houses of Austria, Orange, &c. have not been indemnified agreeably to the terms of the treaties of Luneville and Amiens), while she was raising up and strengthening her own dependents; when we saw by the language of her official journal, which, if not official language, is undoubtedly the language of her government, that an attempt was to be made to prohibit the English press from speaking of her rapacity and oppression in the terms which Mr. Fox had taught it to speak of all injustice; when we saw the design avowed of excluding this nation from the Continent, our government libelled in the most outrageous manner, our King accused of assassination! When we saw all this, and much more than all this, were we not bound to speak in terms of indignation of the conduct of the French Government? Were we to kneel down before "the Envoy of God," shut our eyes to his misdeeds, and lick the dust off his feet, for having *given* us peace? While the freedom of the press exists, as settled by Mr. Fox, we will never be guilty of such baseness, of such treason to our country. But even of those outrages upon the rights and feelings of this nation, upon the independence of Europe, and the liberties of mankind, we spoke in language not more severe than we thought the law would justify, every word being considered with a reference to a prosecution, and of course many things we rejected. Certainly, we did not speak in language so severe as Mr. Fox spoke of other powers, our allies, fighting with us in the same cause, whose only offence was, that they were fighting against France.

But admitting that the language, though within the law, and justifiable on the authority of Mr. Fox's former speeches, was calculated to irritate France, still we deny that it tended to provoke a war. The English Government cannot prohibit newspaper publications, but by appealing to the laws, and therefore is not responsible for them; while the French Government, by crushing every paper in the least obnoxious to it, without law, but, by a mandate, is responsible for all that appears: hence, whatever might be the irritation of the Chief Consul, he could not blame the English Government, unless he thought it should alter the constitution to please him. But, if the conduct of France, and the paragraphs in the *Moniteur*, deserve censure, is that censure likely to provoke a war, or to ensure peace? Surely it is calculated to promote peace on the very principle, that to be secure of peace we must be prepared for war. If the assertions of the *Moniteur*, that the English press is a monster which must be destroyed; that England should have no connexion with the Continent, &c. be tamely submitted to; if France can unite this country and unite that country, can parcel out Germany, and ravage Switzerland with the tame acquiescence of mankind; of course she will be encouraged to proceed in her ambitious career. If she sees that England is not only at peace with her, but that the English people are asleep, will she not "snatch the glorious golden opportunity of accomplishing her designs? "Contemptible" as Mr. Fox thinks the English newspapers, they may serve the purpose of a scarecrow, in frightening birds of prey from their country. A strong band of thieves is often deterred from committing robbery, by seeing that one weak man has his eyes upon them. A little dog is esteemed the best guardian of a house at night, as, however "contemptible" he may be in point of strength, he has the quickest ear and makes the most noise. All that we wish to do is, to occupy this sort of humble station. We wish to shew France that we have our eyes upon her, and that though we cannot prevent her from pillaging Switzerland for instance, at least we can alarm the neighbourhood, and put them on their guard against thieves. We wish to keep our countrymen alive to their danger, that, by shewing France they are not blind to her conduct, they may deter her from attempting her tricks upon ourselves at least. We made peace because we no longer had an attainable object in the war; because France was too powerful to leave us a hope of making an impression on her European empire, and all other impressions had been made till we were tired of them; let us now shew France, by the spirit her proceedings have raised in our people, that if she will go on and provoke a war, this country, as one man, will rise with vengeance against her. Let her see that we are powerful like herself, not only in common resources for war, as she may be, but in that source of all other resources, the spirit of the people. The resources of the country, however much they may have been impaired by the war, are still equal to the greatest efforts, should a case of necessity arise. If the people of France had any influence over their government, not to say such an influence as the people of England have, and if they were so fearful of war as Mr. Fox would make us, if they were either asleep, or ready to see Great Britain seize principality after principality, erase nation after nation, divide and tyrannise over the Continent, and tell France one of the most valuable parts of her constitution must be destroyed, as it is dangerous to society, or rather to her views; if she were to say to France, you must confine yourself to your own limits, and not interfere with the rest of the Continent; if this language were to be held, and the people of France were so abject, fallen so low in spirit, so blind to their dearest interests, so lost to all feeling for their future existence, as to submit without even a murmur of complaint being heard in their coffee-houses, or printed in their newspapers; then, we ask, whether the English Government would not say, this is "the glorious golden opportunity" for extinguishing our greatest and most constant rival; we ask, whether such circumstances would not invite England to make war, and whether such a pusillanimous conduct on the part of France would not be the most certain way of losing that peace, for the preservation of which she made such sacrifices? We put this case of the English Government; but let us change it, and put it of the consular government, so consolidated, so armed, so powerful, and so ambitious; when we put it of this military despotism, which has already subdued, and dictates to the continent of Europe!—When we look at

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the power of France, we faulter in doubt, and hesitate what we shall do, whether resistance be not vain, and submission the least painful way of expiring as a nation; till we recollect the great achievements of our fleets, the glorious struggles we have made against united Europe; till we feel and see that spirit rise, to which alone we are indebted for our wealth, liberties, and independence. For that spirit we look round, and when we see it, we exclaim, "we are safe;" this is the spirit Mr. Fox would repress!

If it be true that to insure peace you must shew yourselves prepared for war, the display of this spirit by the people of this country is at this time peculiarly necessary. It is not to be disguised that we made peace, because in reality we were vanquished with regard to the real objects of the war. France finding this country wearied out; exhausted, perhaps, in attacking her, may now think her turn is come to retort the attack. If so, would not her course be to feel her way before she struck a blow, as well as to gather strength and adjust her position? She unites Piedmont, she dictates to Holland, parcels out Germany, attempts to get Malta, &c.—All goes on very smoothly; the English Government submits, the people are tame: Hence France sees how far she has stunned the English by the blow she has given them: in proportion as they are silent, she calculates the extent she may proceed in her ambitious career, and how far, or when the reduction of England herself will be practicable? But she ravages Switzerland; the British government remonstrate; the people exclaim; and France finds this country is not so far humbled and subdued as she imagined: she sees we feel ourselves still capable of renewing the contest with her, and ready to renew it whenever a case of necessity occurs, and we are called upon by the government. Is not this the way to preserve peace? Have we any thing to expect from the forbearance of France? Must we not rely for peace on the capacity we display of making war; and is not this capacity the most powerfully displayed, by shewing that the people of this country feel indignant at the oppression of any other state—Switzerland, for instance:—that they are ready with their hearts and souls, as well as with their arms and money, to check unlawful ambition, and to humble presumption, especially if aimed at the safety or honour of their country? This display of the spirit of the people, too, is not only the most serious menace to France, but it is the least offensive to her, and the least likely under a wise administration, to provoke a war, since it strengthens their hands against France, without implicating them in any suspicion of entertaining a hostile spirit. It has this other advantage too, that it is attended with no expense, and may well be called "the cheap defence of nations."

These are the principles on which this paper has been conducted, these are the views with which we were influenced at the time the preliminaries of peace were published, and more recently when an alarm of hostilities prevailed in consequence of the conduct of France. We never have called for war; on the contrary, we have repeatedly said, that under all circumstances which have occurred, or exist, war would be the height of imprudence. Not because France has not given sufficient offence, or that the safety of this country and of Europe does not require her ambition should be checked and her power reduced, but because there is no chance of effecting those objects at present by a war, however brilliant our naval achievements might be; and that it is better still, as we thought it was better when the preliminaries were signed, to trust to time and events to remedy our situation, than to renew a contest, which, with a view to the checking of the ambition and reducing the power of France on the Continent, must be hopeless; while its burthens and calamities would weaken the strength we may find it desirable to exert, when more favourable circumstances concur: add to these considerations, that we are not without some hopes, however slight they may be, that France, by a course of moderation and justice, by a disposition truly pacific, may render such a contest wholly unnecessary.

For our own part, we are not sorry that Mr. Fox, by charging us with libelling the French Government, and exciting war by our language, has afforded us this opportunity of explaining the views on which this paper has been conducted since the peace was signed. Some of those who read our paper one day and not another, who see it only once a week, or once a month by accident, who hence necessarily read only detached pieces of a whole; for surely we cannot be expected to repeat, day after day, and to post up in every day's paper, as regularly as we prefix the title of "Morning Post," a statement of our sentiments with regard to peace or war!—Some of those, therefore, who read only detached papers, run away with an opinion that we call out for war, because we censure the conduct of the French Government. We censure it because we think it deserves censure, not because we wish for war. That we censure is the fault of the French Government, not a blame due to us as calling for hostilities. We have repeatedly said also that we shall never purchase peace by winking at the ambition or injustice of France, deeply important as they are to the interests of this country; and that from the moment in which it is found necessary for the sake of peace to sto pthe freedom of the press in this country with regard to France, from that moment Britain becomes a province of the French Republic.

We do not altogether blame Mr. Fox for what he has said respecting this paper, as he owns he has not read it, and we believe he has been misinformed. But having occupied so much room in endeavouring to place our conduct in a just point of view, we are unable this day, to pursue the most interesting part of this subject, namely, an inquiry into Mr. Fox's *new* French Principles.

OUR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

On Saturday we stated how far, on the authority of Mr. Fox, we are warranted in censuring the conduct of the French Government, when that conduct is hostile to the principles of freedom; and on Tuesday we stated the principles by which we were actuated in speaking of the peace that has been concluded with the French Republic, and the proceedings of that Republic, in regard to other nations, since the definitive treaty. So far we have gone in our own justification. We will now endeavour to examine the sentiments of Mr. Fox, in the course of the delivery of which he rendered this justification necessary; particularly his two great and leading sentiments, that in peace we shall only be engaged in commercial rivalship with France, and that, though her power be great and alarming, we should not apprehend any danger from her government or her people.

It is true, Mr. Fox admits the power of France is great, and that it is alarming; but we appeal to those who heard or have read his speeches, whether

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he does not make this admission as if he himself felt no alarm at it; whether he does not state it as a lawyer, in a law instrument, repeats a number of words not necessary to the meaning, but necessary to prevent flaws. The whole intent and meaning of Mr. Fox's speeches, the impression they were calculated to make, and did make, was, that there was no reason to dread the power of France; that all we had to do was to engage with her in a race of commercial rivalship, in which we were sure to beat her. Mr. Windham answered well to this, that if she was possessed of her present power, and we were likely to beat her in this commercial race, might she not turn upon us, like the wolf upon the lamb, and worry us. Mr. Windham argued on the tendency of Mr. Fox's speech; and Mr. Fox, in explanation, complained he was misrepresented, as he had admitted the alarming power of France. But Mr. Windham argued fairly, not upon the words, but upon the tendency, and as the speeches are to be found in every newspaper, the public can judge whether they had not that tendency; we positively insist they had, and no other. The expressions acknowledging the alarming power of France were put in as saving clauses, merely to stop up the flaws of the general argument, that it might be capable of holding water. The power of France was thrown into the shade, while "the commercial race" was the only object placed conspicuously in the foreground of the picture.

Now here again, as on Saturday, we do not mean to advance any opinions of our own, but to appeal to Mr. Fox's former language and principles, to shew that, in his present sentiments, he is in the wrong, and we are in the right—that we are in the right on his own authority. Yesterday se'nnight he said the French government and French people had, in his opinion, no wish to enter into any other contest with this country but a commercial contest*. The spirit of the French nation must have been greatly altered by the revolution; the wars and battles, the invasions, victories, plunder, and military life of the French, must have had an astonishing effect in converting them to merchants; their civil wars, proscriptions, massacres, their feuds and crimes of all sorts, stimulated by political fury, must have operated like enchantment in changing Frenchmen into manufacturers; for there was a time in which commerce and manufactures flourished rather more in France, than at present, and the trade of a soldier less, when Mr. Fox entertained very different sentiments. In the debates on the commercial treaty in 1787, Mr. Fox said, "With regard to what the right "hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had said respecting "the political tendency of the commercial treaty "to cement in bonds of peace and commerce the "friendship of both countries, and that he con"ceived it not impossible by these means to de"stroy that enmity which had subsisted between "the two nations, he must beg leave entirely to "dissent. France was the inveterate and unal"terable political enemy of Great Britain, &c." *

Such were Mr. Fox's sentiments with regard to a "*commercial contest*" in 1787 with France, when her commerce and manufactures were at their height, when "credit, capital, and confidence" existed as well in France as in England, though not to the same extent, when a body, a class of men, born and bred merchants and manufacturers, existed also; and when in fact France did enter into commercial relations highly advantageous to this country. But then, no bonds of commerce could unite in peace and friendship the two countries, France being the inveterate and unalterable enemy of Great Britain; now if we will but enter into a commercial race with her, this, he thinks, is the only contest she wishes to carry on with this country. Now is the time for a commercial race! Has not Mr. Fox heard that she has just refused to enter into a commercial arrangement with this country, though far more advantageous to her than that of 1787? Does he not know the embarrassments she has thrown in the way of our commerce with France, and the

* It is my own firm conviction that there is, on the part of the French people, as well as the French government, a strong desire to restore their commerce to new activity, and their manufactures to new life: and this, I believe, is the field in which, if any contest is to be carried on betwixt the two countries, they wish the dispute to be conducted."—*(Vide Mr. Fox's Speech, Morning Chronicle of Wednesday, Nov. 24, 1802.)*

* In the debate on the commercial treaty, Feb. 15, 1787, Mr. Pitt having opened the subject in an elaborate speech, Mr. Fox spoke immediately after: in the course of his speech he said, "With regard to what the Right Hon. Gentleman had observed respecting the political tendency of a commercial treaty to cement in bonds of peace and commerce the friendship of both countries, and that he conceived it not impossible, by these means, to destroy that enmity which had subsisted between the two nations, he must beg leave entirely to dissent. France was the inveterate and unalterable political enemy of Great Britain. No ties of affection or mutual interest could possibly eradicate what was so deeply rooted in her constitution. What could demonstrate it more than the invariable system of her policy towards this island? Was not her whole conduct towards this country an unwearied and systematic series of measures, either distinguished for their sinister intrigue, or declared hostility? He did not mean to say this enmity arose from any vindictive principles; it was not that she adopted her measures for our annihilation in remembrance of Cressey or Agincourt; no, her policy of diminishing our power and prosperity arises from her own inordinate ambition of universal monarchy, and thus are we her natural enemies. It is from us she fears the diminution of her powers to obtain this desirable object of her inordinate ambition. From us alone do the other powers of Europe hope for protection, to maintain that balance of power which can preserve their respective liberties from her encroachments. We are therefore not her foe from enmity or ambition; we are only her enemy in her attempts to destroy that system of policy on which the other states of Europe must depend for their liberties, as well as their existence. *When she attempts encroachments on the barriers of European liberty, it is then Great Britain is her enemy, and no longer, and while this is the object of her ambition, so we shall* EVER REMAIN: and when had we not reason to look upon France with this jealousy and circumspection? View the tenor of all our history. While she practised these political intrigues of ambition, we were always the only power able and ready to check, punish, and counteract her designs.—*(Vide Debrett's Debates, vol. xxi. page 179.)*

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continent generally? Does he think that a people, whose manufacturing and commercial establishments have been broken up and swept away, who have gained so little by commerce, and so much by arms; does he think that such a people are more likely to engage in a commercial race with this country than they were in the most flourishing days of Bourdeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles?

So for the commercial race.—Now, as to the ambition and aggrandisement of France, or, as Mr. Fox calls them, her "greatness;" he says, "as the growing greatness of Holland was the admiration of our ancestors, we should not envy the greatness of France; and that if we attempt to diminish it, we shall only reduce ourselves to a worse situation than that in which we at present stand;" that is, we had better be easy, or we shall be ruined quite.* Now, "the spirit of this country should not be damped at the greatness of France, we should admire it as we admired that of Holland;" Mr. Fox dreads that we entertain "a spirit of perpetual hostility" towards France, though in 1787, speaking of her as a nation, she was "the inveterate and unalterable political enemy of Great Britain."—Now he "sees no danger from the government or people of France,"† though in 1787 "their whole conduct was a continued series of hostility or intrigue against the interests of this country."—But why should we compare the ferocious, implacable government of Louis the 16th, with the mild, conciliatory government of Buonaparté? How can we imagine that the compact, condensed strength of the last of the Bourbons, with the enormous population of twenty-six millions, was not far more powerful than the extended, and consequently feeble empire of the Chief Consul, with only fifty millions of inhabitants? Then those soldiers of Louis the 16th, why, they were the soldiers of a tyrant; but these consular troops, these are freemen! Only see how they are giving liberty to Switzerland? Surely we need not dread that they will turn their arms against England, unless to emancipate it? The French are such innocent people, that Mr. Fox "sees no danger from them," though in 1787 they were perpetually intriguing against this country. The French revolution has quite changed them, and made them all honest men! They are not ferocious, deceitful, or corrupt, as they were formerly! Only see what a mild creature the Chief Consul is! Look at that simple, honest, pure man, friend Talleyrand! No, no; it is not in the nature of things that any harm should come from the French government, or French people. Mr. Fox "sees no danger from them."

With regard to the state of the continent, Mr. Fox speaks as if the Chief Consul really had accomplished his object, avowed in the Moniteur; as if he really had succeeded in cutting us off from the continent for ever. Mr. Fox says, "After the experience of the last war, no man could say that we should place much reliance, or that we ought to risk much for any continental connexions. I should be sorry if ministers now looked for such a connexion, with a view to the renewal of hostilities."—To this passage, which we take from Mr. Fox's speech in the Morning Chronicle of Thursday, we answer with another passage of a speech of his on the Commercial Treaty, 1787.—"Is this country, then, not in a situation to take "part in preserving the liberties of Europe? Is "she so sunk in distress, as to consider herself "inadequate to the preservation of that to which "she owes her existence, and her rank among the "nations of Europe? Does the Hon. Gentleman "mean to hold this language to the world?"* Such were Mr. Fox's words in 1787. Then he could assert too, that "the existence of Britain depended on supporting the balance of power in Europe, for without that she could not herself prosper." But now he asks, if France overturns Switzerland, "What right have we to interpose? "Are we to hold ourselves forth as guarantees of "the independence of all the nations in Europe? "Are we to imitate the decree of the French con-"vention, Nov. 19th, 1792, and to grant assist-"ance and fraternity to every people that call for "it?" These are the new French sentiments fresh imported by Mr. Fox from Paris; these

* "The growing greatness of Holland was not an object of terror, but of admiration, to our ancestors; and I know not why the greatness of France, arising from the same source, should now be quoted to damp the spirits and to excite the envy of this country. That nation, too, will ere long find her natural level: her ambition will soon waste itself, or her strength will decay. At all events, what can Great Britain now achieve to restrain that ambition? I will appeal to common sense, whether, even though an evil be obvious and severe, we should attempt to remove it by an effort which must aggravate its severity? Such, I think, would be the result of the interference which some gentlemen would recommend to oppose the proceedings of the French government.—(Mr. Fox's Speech on Wednesday, Nov. 25, 1802. Vide Morning Chronicle of Thursday.)

† Traducing the Chief Consul can answer no purpose, unless it is wished to keep up a *spirit of perpetual hostility*. This I shall ever deprecate. I think the present a most momentous crisis indeed for this country, but *I see no danger from the government or people of France*. Those who do, must admit that they cannot avert that danger, or soften the animosity they suppose to exist.—*(Vide Mr. Fox's Speech, Morning Chronicle, Nov. 25, 1802.)*

* In the debates on the Commercial Treaty, February 15th, 1787, Mr. Wilberforce made a speech nearly the same as he made last Thursday, disapproving of continental alliances, and attacking Mr. Fox about his Dutch negotiation. To this Mr. Fox replied and said:—"Was this country, then, in a situation to take a part in preserving the liberties of Europe? Was she so sunk in distress as to consider herself inadequate to the preservation of that to which she owed her existence, and her rank among the nations of Europe? Did the Hon. Gentleman mean to hold out that language to the world? For his own part, he would tell the poorest cottager in the kingdom, that he had an interest in the safety of the state, and consequently in the balance of power of Europe. The existence of Britain depended on supporting that balance, for without that she could not prosper herself; and to the preservation of the public credit, the happiness of the people must in some measure be sacrificed. Shameful was the neglect which ministers had shewn in the formation of alliances.—Till that unhappy period when we were left without ally, we had always fought successfully.—*(Vide Debrett's Debates, vol. xxi. page 128.)*

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were his sentiments fifteen years ago on the policy of the balance of power in Europe, and the necessity of preserving the independence of other states, as indispensable to our own existence. If he were to read this passage he would perhaps say, "Aye, but France is so powerful, it is in vain to inter ere; I lament the fate of Switzerland; but we cannot prevent it True, we cannot; but must we therefore be silent? Is the British empire so fallen, so sunk down beneath the power of France, that the British people must not sympathise in the sufferings and slavery of a brave and generous nation; that they must not execrate its oppressors for fear of offending "the chief-justice of the peace of Europe?"—Is Mr. Fox afraid that he should issue his warrant and lay us all in the watch-house? We trust, though we are unable at present to make any impression on the European empire of France, that still we are as safe from her vengeance as she is from our power; and safer we think of the two, as the only place on which we can meet is the sea. Does Mr. Fox mean to say, we are never to look forward to continental alliances and connexions, or to the reduction of the present power of France? He admitted in Thursday's debate, that a war for the preservation of the balance of power might be justifiable, and that all the wars undertaken for that object from the revolution to the peace of 1763 were justifiable. Had any of those wars such an object before them as we now have? Was the balance of power ever so unequal? We may say it is destroyed, since the whole continent south of the Baltic is in the scale of France. Would not a war for the recovery of the balance of power be therefore justifiable at this moment? Yes, but, says Mr. Fox, "the occasion must be pressing, and the means equal to the accomplishment of the object." What occasion can be more pressing than the moment when France is consolidating her undue influence? But the means!—There we confess we must stop. The means do not exist on the continent, though this country may be ready and able to play her part. But if the undue balance and the necessity exist, (Mr. Fox admits the power of France is alarming) must the people of England sit down quietly, shut their eyes, and hold their tongues? May they not tell the world they are sensible of the general danger, and shew they are ready to assist in stopping it? Such has hitherto been the freedom of their speech, and of the press. But Mr. Fox says hush! or you'll offend "the Envoy of God"—"very well;" *John Bull* may answer, "and what can he do?" We, in reply, may say, "nothing more than he does."—Ministers well know what he has done; the commercial negotiation, the imprisonment of Auvergne, the insolence on presenting our remonstrance respecting Switzerland, the annoyance of our trade on the continent, the demands to stifle the British press, and to send away the Bourbon family. The history of these, we firmly believe, would kindle this country into a flame, and display, in the most glowing colours, the insolence and presumption of France. Ministers, desirous of preserving peace, are eager to conceal every circumstance of these transactions, and hence in arguing as we do, we argue without a quarter of the force which all the facts, if public, would afford; while Mr Fox has the full advantage of appearances,—and much advantage it is! Well might it be asked by *John Bull* respecting the Chief Consul;—"and what can he do?"—The answer is short; nothing more than make war: he has done every thing else; and he only refrains from that because he would lose by it. Circumstances will probably change the state of affairs. Austria is crippled by a scanty harvest; but we cannot agree with Mr. Fox that though the present moment may not be favourable for war, that therefore ministers should not cultivate alliances with the view of checking the ambition of France, which will too soon come in contact both with Austria and Britain.

The sentiments of Mr. Fox, in 1787, form a direct refutation of the doctrines he now holds in parliament. Those who have leisure and disposition may draw out the contrast. To every reason he now gives for dreaming of no other contest with France, but a commercial race, will be found a direct contradiction in his speeches fifteen years ago, though France was not then more than half so extensive in territory, or numerous in population, as she now is. She is now four times more formidable as a military power, and dangerous from her ambition, and the disposition of her government. But Mr. Fox fears nothing from her government or her people; he thinks the only contest they wish to enter into with us, is a "commercial race!" What infatuation! As we have quoted Mr. Fox's speeches in 1787, which are full of the language Mr. Windham now uses; nay, they are far more Antigallican than Mr. Windham's sentiments; we beg leave to present, as a reverse of them, an extract of Mr. Fox's speech at the Whig Club, on the 1st of June last, which must have been spoken, when he had it in contemplation to visit Paris. The speech at the time made no particular impression, except that on reading it we remember to have been indignant at that passage which directly insinuates there is as little of the liberty of the press in this country as in France, and we were much disposed to censure it; but it was disagreeable publicly to dissent from the opinion of Mr. Fox. This extract of the speech will be read with far more interest than when first published. It was translated, and inserted in the Moniteur, and Mr. Fox went to France with these words in his mouth, that upon a comparison of the state of freedom in the two countries, the French *could retort* upon us!*

* At the last meeting of the Whig Club, June 1, 1802, Mr. Fox said:—"I trust the peace will be permanent, but it must then be cordial. It cannot be permanent if we allow ourselves to be the dupes of those men who endeavour to inflame our passions against the French Republic and against the French government, in dwelling upon its defects, and triumphing in its hostility to the principles of freedom. Instead, however, of taunting at the supposed slavery of other governments, it would be better to consider whether we have preserved our own constitution unimpaired: the two nations, I believe, are both so thoroughly impressed with the folly of the late war, that they will equally avoid being hurried by animosities, artfully excited, into the dangers from which they have escaped. I should even be still better pleased with the peace, if I saw a spirit of cordiality in the authors of it here; and if, after having concluded peace, they adopted a tone and language more calculated to give it permanence, by discouraging every thing that tended to keep alive the hostile mind. It seems to be too much the fashion of the present moment to turn our atten-

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[*Morning Post, Dec.* 13.—1802.]

The weight of the parliamentary business last week delayed the appearance of this, the last of the articles on Mr. Fox's speeches at the opening of the session.

The liberty of the press is the subject on which we feel most deeply, both from the "paltry consideration" of self-interest, and, as we believe it to be the outwork of all our other liberties. It is also the point on which Mr. Fox the most deserves reproach for his conduct. Is it in the spirit of kindness to the liberty of the press that he should attack the newspapers as he has done in parliament, bearing down with the weight of his great abilities, and by foul imputations on their motives, those who have cherished his former sentiments? If we have exhorted the people of Britain to be jealous of the power and ambition of France, we have only repeated the injunction of Mr. Fox in 1787, when France was far less powerful or ambitious; if we have exclaimed against the despotism of Buonaparté, we have only followed the example of Mr. Fox, who, nine years ago, exclaimed against the despotism of other sovereigns, under whose iron rod we were not in the hundredth part of the danger of falling that we now are of falling under that of the Chief Consul; if we have censured the conduct of France in extending her dominion beyond what she calls "her natural boundaries," we have only acted upon the principle of the balance of power which Mr. Fox inculcated fifteen years ago; if we have execrated her seizure and oppression of Switzerland, we have only imitated Mr. Fox, who justly condemned the partition of Poland. On this last occasion we have had these additional inducements for our conduct, that Poland was divided among three states, and something like the balance of power, was preserved in the partition of it, while France takes Switzerland wholly to herself; that France is already far more powerful than any of those states, and should not be further strengthened; and lastly, that, as Mr. Fox said, in 1787, France is the natural and unalterable political enemy of Great Britain, while those states are more often friends than foes. If we have spoken in terms of indignation of the oppression and slavery to which the French people are reduced, we have acted on those immutable principles of justice and freedom which Mr. Fox has so often and so ably applied to this and other governments, and which cannot now be made to bend in favour of France; and if we have spurned at the efforts of the French Government to stifle the liberty of the press in this country, we have only obeyed the injunctions of Mr. Fox, who at the Whig Club in June last said it was in danger, and that we should exert ourselves in its defence. For having acted on his principles, for having followed his advice, is it generous in him to rise in parliament, and make such an attack on the liberty of the press, and particularly on the newspapers, as he has made? To impute to us *paltry* motives; of only *contriving something* to make people stare; of calumniating the people of England; of libelling the Chief Magistrate of France; of making a *contemptible* warfare? Is it in the spirit of kindness and protection to the liberty of the press that men should be stigmatised, merely because they act upon Mr. Fox's old opinions, and oppose his new ones? Mr. Fox seems to have wholly forgotten himself, and by mistake to have taken up Mr. Windham's doctrines respecting the press, instead of his own. Newspapers are so *contemptible*, they are conducted on such *paltry* motives, such *libellers* and *calumniators*, that Mr. Fox appears to think with some writers in the French journals, that the liberty of the press should not be extended to them—that such a liberty in their hands is dangerous—that it never was meant it should be allowed to newspapers; but that it should be confined to circles above the populace, to the libraries of the learned, to the huge folio volumes, the weight of which would prevent it from circulating mischief.

Indeed we fear Mr. Fox's notions of the liberty of the press have undergone a lamentable change. By *The Morning Chronicle* we find that on the 1st of June last, at the Whig Club, he desired us not to rail so much at the want of the liberty of the press in France, but to look at the state of it at home. The inference to be drawn from this is, that though it be in a bad state in France, it is not much better in England. We must remind Mr. Fox of what he certainly forgets. At no time, and in no country in Europe where printing newspapers has been allowed, has the press been so completely enslaved as in France, while in England, that liberty is precisely the same as Mr. Fox himself established, or rather declared it. To appoint a censor to the press has been called an act of tyranny. In France the editors of news-

tion to the government of France, as if we had nothing amiss in our own domestic concerns. Are we sure, however, that when we are triumphing over the slavery of others, our own liberties are secure from every danger: while we blame the extravagant adulation that is offered to the first magistrate in another country, is there no adulation ever paid to the chief magistrate at home? If the liberty of the press, that invaluable privilege of a free country, be suppressed in France, do we find that any great degree of boldness of discussion is attempted here? These, and other comparisons of the same kind, by shewing us how the retort may be made, should teach us to correct what is amiss in ourselves, before we arraign the conduct, or insult over the slavishness of our neighbours. I do not know, indeed, that the present is a very favourable moment to attempt the remedy of abuses at home; but surely the state of domestic policy, the situation of liberty among us at this time, is not so very satisfactory, compared with what it has been in former periods, as to induce us to go abroad to discover bad measures to be exposed, and a decay of freedom, on account of which we are entitled to taunt and deride our neighbours."—(*Vide Morning Chronicle, June* 2, 1802.)

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papers pray that a censor may be appointed. They would be happy if a censor were set over them (this we may say from personal knowledge), as then they could rest satisfied that what they inserted would not incur displeasure. But no: no censor will be appointed; and even the most abject flatterer of Buonaparté, is afraid that by an act of flattery he may offend, or by an article of news which the editor may think harmless. By any of those accidents, against which the greatest prudence cannot guard, the editor may draw down Consular vengeance; seals may then be put upon his presses, his paper be stopped, and his family ruined. He may even think himself happy if a troop of soldiers does not convey him to prison; and for a crime, too, the nature of which he may never be informed. Such is the state of the press in France. In England, the law of what is or what is not a libel stands precisely as Mr. Fox placed it by his Libel Bill, and as it has stood for centuries. It is true, that printing presses are registered, proprietors of newspapers are registered, printers must affix their names to the works they print, and certain libels on the King or his government may, on a second conviction, be made transportable offences. These are all restrictions to which we are not friendly, and we were the less friendly to them at the time they were passed into law, as they seemed to originate in a spirit of hostility against the press altogether. But with all these restrictions, the question of what is or what is not a libel is precisely as it was placed by Mr. Fox's Declaratory Bill; and yet Mr. Fox insinuates that the liberty of the press is nearly as much restricted as in France. To prove the freedom of the press does not exist in this country so much as formerly, Mr. Fox asks, if a man writes bold truths against the government, whether he can get any person to publish them, as he formerly could have done? By "bold truths" Mr. Fox must mean "libels." If they be not libels, the publisher knows that a jury will protect him against the vengeance of government. If they be libels, would Mr. Fox have them pass with impunity? Does Mr. Fox think that juries are too ready to convict? Can it be denied that a number of wicked and inflammatory libels were circulated in cheap publications, with the design of stirring up an ignorant populace? Were these the "bold truths" to which Mr. Fox alludes? Do not the newspapers speak "bold truths" against the government? The public will acknowledge they do, whatever may be Mr. Fox's opinion.—The pages of *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Morning Post*, and other publications, will answer the question. And yet against these very newspapers, which are the most ready channels through which to convey "bold truths," in the very moment when their appearance may prevent bad measures; against these very channels, Mr. Fox indulges in the severest censure, because they have spoken "bold truths" of Buonaparté! The moment the journalists speak "bold truths" of the Chief Consul, they become "contemptible libellers," "base calumniators," &c. Feeling that we possess the freedom of the press more than any other European nation (though not to the extent we wish), in the daily exercise of this invaluable privilege; feeling all this, and seeing Mr. Fox come fresh from France to attack the press, we should deserve to be put down as "paltry libellers," and "contemptible calumniators;"—we should no longer deserve to enjoy the liberty of the press in any degree, if we did not stand up in our own defence, even against such heavy charges, urged as they are by so great an authority and such powerful abilities, to assert that liberty even in the face of Mr. Fox, and shew the world by our sense of its value that we deserve to possess it.

Some of Mr. Fox's friends are no better friends to the liberty of the press, we fear, than Mr. Fox himself. Because we have presumed to answer the charges of Mr. Fox, because we make a defence, we are accused of abusing him, and threatened with the loss of his friends' custom. This is *their* liberty of the press! Mr. Fox makes a charge on hearsay evidence, he confesses he has not read the newspapers; he is manifestly misinformed, and on this misinformation he attacks the newspapers in the most unqualified language. *The Morning Post* takes the liberty of defending itself, and of endeavouring to shew that Mr. Fox, misled, has committed an act of injustice. What is the result? Mr. Fox's friends say they will discontinue the paper, because it *abuses* him. Are we then to sit down mute under Mr. Fox's unjust, not to say illiberal rebuke? We must be condemned unheard, however conscious we may be of the rectitude of our conduct, or Mr. Fox's friends will leave off the paper! Here is freedom of discussion, and the liberty of the press!—This is true Consular liberty—the liberty of writing and railing all on one side. The moment we dare to question the assertion of Mr. Fox, from that moment we are no friends of liberty. We may speak "bold truths" of the English Government as much as we please, but if we doubt Mr. Fox's infallibility, or defend ourselves when attacked by him, then our paper is not fit to be read, and Mr. Fox's friends turn it out.

Such being *their* notions of the liberty of the press, when his opinions are called in question, we are not surprised to hear that we are accused of abusing Mr. Fox. Those who think it impossible for Mr. Fox to err, call any inquiry into the truth of his opinions *abuse*. You must either believe or be d—d; this is the doctrine of these gentlemen. But if ever they should be seized with a fit of candour, we should be obliged to them to peruse again the articles in *The Morning Post*, and to point out any one passage which can be truly described as *abuse*. Have we said any thing so harsh of Mr. Fox as he has said of *The Morning Post*? Have we charged him with "*contriving something* in his speeches only to *excite curiosity*, from *paltry considerations*." Have we represented him as a *calumniator* of the people of England, waging a *contemptible* warfare? Have we called him a *libeller*? He has said all these things of the newspapers, and par-

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ticularly of *The Morning Post*; but we have not, in the slightest degree, retorted upon him, unless reasoning to shew that his charges were unjust can be called such a retort. In the course of this discussion, we have introduced nothing for the purpose of attacking Mr. Fox, or that was not necessary to our own defence against his attacks: neither have we spoken of him in disrespectful terms, or with invective.—Mr. Fox's best friends are not those who fawn upon his foibles; and whether it displease Mr. Fox, or his friends, we shall not cease to esteem a man who has so essentially served his country, or to speak out with freedom whenever we see reason to lament his conduct. Under these circumstances we hope Mr. Fox's friends will again patronise *The Morning Post*, and that they will shew they can *endure* the liberty of the press as well as applaud its adulation.

Mr. Fox's Definition of a Despot.

The Minister was offended at the expression of *German despots*; but his honourable friend, who had made use of the expression, had styled these *monarchs* properly; for they had manifested to the world that their uniform intention was to make *the increase of their power the rule of their conduct.* Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xl. p. 405.

Extract from Mr. Fox's Speech at the Whig Club.

A malignant influence unfortunately prevails over the conduct of the national defence; but the interence is not, that we should be slack or remiss, or inactive in resisting the enemy;—the true inference is, that the Friends of Liberty should, with the spirit and zeal that belong to their manly character, exert themselves in averting a foreign yoke; never forgetting that in happier and more favourable times, it will be EQUALLY *their duty to use* EVERY EFFORT *to shake off the* YOKE OF OUR ENGLISH TYRANTS.—Morning Post, May 2, 1798.—*A few days after the delivery of this speech,* HIS MAJESTY *thought proper to mark his disapprobation of Mr. Fox's conduct, by causing his name to be erased from the Council Book.*

AMSTERDAM BANK.

The following paper, relative to the bank of Amsterdam, is certainly of considerable importance to the commercial world.—The intermediate administration of the commune of Amsterdam having nothing more at heart than to establish upon solid bases, the well-being of this city, and particularly the prosperity of its commerce, has the satisfaction to make known to whomever it concerns, that the commissioners of the bank of this city have declared to them, by their report of the 19th of July last, that the deficit which was found in the bank, has been entirely filled by the payments made by and on the part of the treasury; and that it appears by the account they have drawn up, and of which they have sent a copy, both the said treasury and the superintendants of the bank, that all the pretensions of the bank, at the charge of the city, have been fully acquitted and replaced by specie; so that at present there is no bank money in circulation which does not rest upon effective and metallic value, in specie, ingots, and monies deposited in the above-mentioned bank: that the bank being thereby radically re-established and restored to its primitive institution, the city has completely satisfied the guarantee to which she is at all times engaged, whilst, on the other hand, there has been taken, both on the part of the administration of the said city, as on that of the commissaries of the bank, the necessary measures and precautions to render in future impossible all attack upon that primitive institution, and to give to all persons interested the most assured pledge of the inviolability of that depôt, and of the unalterable will of the administration, that it shall be sheltered from all infraction.—That the administration of the said city, endeavouring to operate this precious establishment in the most easy and advantageous manner to the person interested, and in order to favour, as much as possible, the circulation of the bank-money, have determined from the 19th of last July, to cause to cease at the opening of the bank, which took place on the 30th of the said month, the imposition of a demi-sol for each hundred florins, stipulated by the resolution of the council of commune, of the 31st March, 1796, upon payments in bank, and to fix it on the antient footing of three sols for each party written in bank: the superintendants having besides been charged by the said resolution of the 19th of July last, to revise (in concert with the commissaries,) the reglulation and ordinances of the bank, to make in them the alterations required by the present circumstances, and to offer them afterwards to the sanction of the administration. That all the regulations, and above-mentioned ordinances being essentially to remain in all their force and vigour until the necessary changes shall have been made in them upon the proposition of the said commission, and being to that effect, and necessarily expressly confirmed and renewed here, the intermediate administration have judged it in all respects suitable and useful in changing what has been ordered and decreed by anterior laws upon the payments in bank to resolve by the present:

Art. I. That the value of every bill of exchange which shall be drawn or negotiated in this city, after the 30th of the month of October, approaching upon places situated out of the republic, and the amount of which shall be 300 florins and upwards, shall be acquitted in the bank of this city.—II. That all bills of exchange upon, or payable in this city, of the value of 300 florins and upwards, drawn from places situated in the French repub. Gt. Britain, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, shall also be paid in bank after the 31st Jan. 1803.—III. That every bill of exchange which, conformably to the Art. I. and II. is to be acquitted in bank, and shall be proved to have been done in any other manner, shall be held to be all paid, and each of the two contravening persons shall pay a fine of 5 per cent. upon the total sum of these payments made out of the bank.—IV. That, as payments of bills of exchange will not be considered good, but conformably to the 1st and 2d Art. the usage introduced for some time of writing in bank to oneself for another, as well as that of regulating the payment of it in current money, shall cease at the periods mentioned in the said articles; the resolution of the council of commune of the 6th Oct. 1796, being in that respect revoked by the present. *A. Teyler Van Hall.*

Decreed and published the 24th Sept. 1802.

By order of the intermediate commission of the commune of Amsterdam. *F. J. Pelletier.*

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AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

Papers presented to the House of Commons from the East India Company, concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic. Ordered to be printed 21st and 23d June, 1802.

No. 1. *Copy of Instructions to Lieut. Col. Mac Neil, dated 5th and 6th July, 1801, &c.*

To Lieut. Col. Mac Neil.—Sir, 1. The precarious state of his highness the nabob's health being such as to indicate the probability of his highness's early dissolution, the rt hon. the governor in council has judged it expedient, for the preservation of order, to station a party of troops at the palace of Chepauk; and his ldp, relying on your prudence and discretion, has been pleased to appoint you to the command of the troops. 2. The detail will consist of 3 companies of his majesty's Scotch brigade, 5 companies of the 1st battalion 4th regt of native infantry, a subaltern, and 30 Europeans, and 1 company of native artillery with 4 six-pounders, and 30 troopers from the governor's body guard. A farther portion of the garrison of Fort St. George will be held in readiness to join you, if occasion should render that measure necessary. 3. The principal object of your care being the preservation of order within the palace of Chepauk, at the period of the nabob's dissolution, the governor in council directs you, after securing the first gate of the garden, to march the detachment to the principal gateway of the palace, and take possession of it. 4. A communication of this intended measure will be made to the nabob sufficiently early, it is hoped, to prevent any alarm in his highness's mind; and the expedition and secrecy with which it will be executed, will probably prevent any opposition or confusion. 5. Having taken possession of the principal gateway, it will be necessary to make a disposition of your force for maintaining that position. 6. In carrying this part of your orders into effect, the governor in council desires you to use every degree of conciliation and respect towards the immediate family of the nabob; and towards the confidential officers of his highness's govt. By an adherence to that mode of conduct, the gov. in council expects that no difficulty will occur; but if, notwithstanding this moderation, you should be opposed in the execution of these orders with respect to possessing the gateway, you will, after making the best explanation of your orders which circumstances will admit to the nabob's officers within the gateway, remain 30 minutes, and if, after the expiration of that time, you shall have received no communication from major Grant, the military secretary of the governor, you will obtain possession of the gateway by force. 7. After having established yourself at the gateway of the palace, you will consider the best means of restraining the intercourse of persons with the interior of the palace; but as it is impossible to describe, with sufficient accuracy, the different passages through the external wall of the palace, I am directed to inform you, that when the event of the nabob's death shall occur, it will be your duty, to the extent of your power, to prevent the introduction of any partizans into the palace, to restrain any apparent commotion, to protect from violence the persons of the nabob's immediate family, and to provide the best practicable means for preventing his highness's property and treasure from being removed from the palace. In executing this part of the order, you will observe that the governor in council does not consider the brothers of his highness to constitute any part of his immediate family; and you will endeavour to restrain them, by force if necessary and practicable, from entering the palace until some arrangement of affairs shall be made. 8. As soon as may be practicable, after taking possession of the gateway, you will endeavour to ascertain what number of armed or unarmed men may be within the walls of the palace, and you will cause that number to be so far diminished as you shall judge necessary to the tranquil execution of these orders; you will particularly endeavour to expel, from within the walls of the palace, all such armed men as may not be in the immediate service of his highness the nabob: upon this point you will make an early report, and it is the intention of the governor in council to furnish you, at the earliest possible period of time after the death of the nabob, with more detailed instructions for the guidance of your conduct.—9. It will be obvious to you that the governor in council considers the trust now reposed in you, to involve considerations of the greatest delicacy and importance, and his ldp directs me to express his confident expectations, that your conduct in the discharge of it will be such as the nature of the conjuncture, and the situation of his highness's family, demand from the liberality and dignity of the British govt.—10. During this service, you will address immediately to the governor such communications as may become necessary, and obey such orders as you may receive directly from his ldp.—I am, sir, &c. (Signed) J. Wxnne,
Fort St. George, 5 July, 1801. Chief Sec. to Gov.

To J. Webbe, Esq. Chief Sec. to Government.—Sir, I request you will be pleased to inform the right hon. governor, that, agreeably to his ldp's instructions, I marched the troops placed under my command for the preservation of order at Chepauk, through both the gateways leading to the palace; of these gates I took possession, and I have placed guards at three other gates leading through the exterior wall. The communication which the right hon. governor was pleased to make of his ldp's intentions, seemed to have considerably reconciled the nabob to the measure itself, but he was very much averse to guards being placed within the interior gate. The space there in front of the palace is very small, and the immediate entrance to the palace is quite close to the gate. As there seemed to be no immediate necessity for stationing guards within, and as the nabob was so much averse to any being placed there, I judged it fit to accommodate his highness's inclinations as far as possible: I have therefore placed sentries only at the gate, and the body of the troops close to it on the outside. There is no kind of commotion whatever within the palace walls, and there is every appearance of tranquillity being preserved.—I have the honour to be, &c. D. Mac Neil, Lt. Col.
Chepauk, 5th July, 1801.

To Lieut. Col. Mac Neil, commanding a detachment at Chepauk.—Sir, I have received your letter of this date; and am directed by the rt hon. the governor in council, to express his ldp's entire approbation of your consenting, under the circumstances you have stated, to withdraw the guards from the interior part of the gateway of his

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highness the nabob's palace. It being the intention of the rt hon. the governor in council, that every degree of attention and conciliation should be shewn to the personal wishes of the nabob, his ldp is desirous that you should be studious to meet his highness's wishes in every point, not involving the security of the great object entrusted to your care.

In addition to the general instructions contained in my letter of yesterday, I am directed to desire that the greatest degree of caution may be used in your communication with the nabob, or with his highness's family and ministers, to avoid the appearance of any concurrence on the part of the British govt in the arrangements which his highness may be desirous of making with respect either to his immediate property, or to the general affairs of the Carnatic; for the same reason you will abstain from giving countenance to any party which may be formed in the palace in favour of any part of the nabob's family, or of his highness's ministers.

It is understood that the principal part of the nabob's treasure is deposited in the apartments of his highness's sister, the Boody Beegum; and I am directed to communicate this intelligence to you, in order that your attention may be particularly directed to those apartments, in carrying into execution his ldp's orders for preventing the removal of the treasure from Chepauk. I am, &c.

J. Webbe, Chief Sec. of Govt.

Fort St. George, 5th July, 1801.

To J. Webbe, Esq. Chief Sec.—Sir, I have the honour of your letter of this date, and I beg leave to assure the rt hon. the governor in council, that every part of his ldp's orders shall be duly observed and executed.

I have taken such precautions as I think will render it altogether impossible for treasure (unless in very small sums, or in covered doolies) to be carried out of any part of the palace. May I request the honour of his ldp's permission to apprize the nabob that conveyances of that description are not expected to be sent from the palace?—I have the honour to be, &c. D. Mac Neil, Lt. Col.

Chepauk, 5th July, 1801.

To Lieut. Col. Mac Neil, commanding a detachment at Chepauk.—Sir, In reply to your letter of last night I am directed to acquaint you, that until his highness the nabob shall expire, the rt hon. the governor in council does not consider it expedient to impose any restraint on the egress of covered palankeens from the palace of Chepauk; but after that event shall have happened, you will prevent the issue of covered palankeens from the palace, until you shall have received further orders from the governor in council.

In issuing these instructions, the governor in council confines the operation of them to the period of time during which order shall prevail in the interior of the palace; but if any commotion should arise previously to the death of the nabob, you will take effectual measures for restraining the issue of treasure, by any mode of conveyance whatever, until you shall have received the further directions of the governor in council.

If, previously to the death of the nabob, you shall have reason to suspect an attempt to carry treasure from the palace, without his highness's consent, you will also in that event restrain the issue of it, until the nabob's consent shall be obtained for the passage from the palace. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

J. Webbe, Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 6th July, 1801.

No. 2. *Copy of Instructions to Lieut. Col. Boxser, dated 11th July* 1801.

Sir, The rt hon. the governor in council having judged it expedient to assemble a small force, consisting of 5 companies of the 2d batt. 17th regt of native infantry, 5 troops of the 2d regt. native cavalry, and 2 six-pounders with a proportion of artillery; I am directed to inform you, that the rt. hon. the governor in council has selected you to command it; you will accordingly proceed to join the detachment which is now encamped in the bed of the Long Tank, and take whatever measures may be necessary for keeping it ready to move at a short notice. I am, &c.

J. Webbe, Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 11th July, 1801.

No. 3. *Copy of Instruc. to Messrs. Webbe and Close, dated 15th July*, 1801; *when they proceeded to the Palace of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.*

To Josiah Webbe, Esq. and Lieut. Col. Close.—Gentlemen, In consequence of the death of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, it is my earnest desire, founded on the instructions of his excellency the gov. general, that a complete adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic should be made with the least practicable delay.

The nature of the evidence which has been obtained of the violation of the alliance by the nabobs Mahomed Ali and Omdut ul Omrah, and the course of reasoning upon the condition in which the family of their highnesses has, by that discovery, been placed in relation to the British govt, are subjects so familiar to you, that any particular instructions from me with regard to the principles, or to the detailed considerations of the question, appear to be superfluous. It will be sufficient for me therefore to state, that the death of the nabob has produced no change in the principles by which it will be proper to regulate the conduct of the British govt towards the family of his highness: but in the application of those principles to the actual state of affairs, I judge it to be of the greatest importance to the national character, as well as to the critical state of our affairs, that the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic should be adjusted by an amicable negociation. I accordingly depute you to conduct this negociation, and hereby authorize and empower you to exercise your own discretion for the purpose of carrying into effect my intentions, and the instructions of his excellency the gov. general. The officer commanding the forces at Chepauk will obey such orders as he may receive from you. I am, &c. Clive.

Fort St. George, 15th July, 1801.

No. 4. *Report of Messrs. Webbe and Close, explanatory of their Proceedings at the Palace of his late Highness the Nabob, in their Interviews or Negociations with the Regents and Taje ul Omrah.*—[N. B. In this document are contained the propositions from Taje ul Omrah, and from Najeeb Khan and Juke Ali Khan, required by the 4th and 5th orders of the honourable house.

July 15th, 1801.—In conformity to your ldp's

instructions, we proceeded to the palace of Chepauk, having previously caused a message intimating our approach to be communicated, through the channel of lieut. col. Mac Neil, to the principal officers of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah. On our arrival at Chepauk, we were received by Nejeeb Khan, Tuckia Ally Khan, Kadar Nawas Khan, and Mr. Thos Barrett, who introduced themselves as the principal officers of the govt of his highness Omdut ul Omrah. Nejeeb Khan appeared to hold no distinct office, but to have been a companion of the family since the time of Anwar ud deen Khan, and to have been consulted generally on all occasions of interest to the nabob of the Carnatic. Tuckia Ally Khan was entrusted with the military affairs of the late nabob. Kidir Nawas Khan superintended the general and internal department of his highness's govt: but the most important department of his highness's govt, the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, had been entrusted to the charge of Mr. Barrett. As that branch of the nabob's govt affected more particularly than any other the rights and interests of the company, we judge it to be proper to explain to your ldp, that Mr. Barrett is of the lowest tribe of Portugueze, equally destitute of education, manners, and knowledge. We enquired whether any particular arrangement had been made by the nabob for the administration of the affairs of his govt, in the event which had recently occurred; and having been informed that an authentic will, under his seal and signature, had been left by Omdut ul Omrah, we desired that it might be produced. Nejeeb Khan, who directed the conversation, made the usual objections, founded on the recency of the nabob's death, on the necessity of allowing a sufficient interval of time for the ceremonies of the occasion, and on the decorum of postponing to open the will until the heir appointed should be at liberty, in conformity to the usual practice, to attend to the transaction of public business. We replied, that the Brit. govt was aware of the prevailing usages observed by the professors of the Mahomedan religion on all ordinary occasions of this nature; that your ldp could have no wish that those usages should be unnecessarily transgressed; but that the affairs of a great govt, on which our request was founded, could not be regulated by the ordinary practice of individual families. Having in consequence been informed that the nabob had appointed his reputed son (Fadjul Omrah, commonly called Ally Hussain) to be his sole heir, we again urged the necessity of producing the will, and requested that the young man should be introduced to us. The Khans having retired to consider this demand, we learnt, during a desultory conversation with Mr. Barrett, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had become acquainted with the intention of Hussam ul Mulk to employ an armed force at the palace of Chepauk for the accomplishment of his views, at the expected termination of his highness's life; that the measure of stationing a body of the company's troops for the protection of the family, had in consequence been entirely acceptable to his highness, and (to use his own figurative expression) that the security, derived from that arrangement, had been the means of prolonging his highness's life. The Khans having been joined by Mr. Barrett, returned, assenting to our request; and, after a short delay, the young man was introduced with the will in his hand. The will having been opened and read by Kadir Nawas Khan, was found to be an authentic instrument, expressing in clear, distinct, and explicit terms, the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that his reputed son (Ally Hussain) should succeed him in the possession of all his rights, possessions, property, and in the sovereignty of the Carnatic. The will also appointed Mahomed Nejeeb Khan, Salar Jung, and Tuckia Ally Khan, to assist the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah in the administration of his affairs. The will having been read, we excused ourselves to Ally Hussain for an intrusion, which, although unseasonable, was indispensably necessary; and he immediately retired, returning expressions of civility. On the departure of Ally Hussain, we requested a private conference with the two Khans only, who had been appointed by the will of Omdut ul Omrah to assist the counsels of his son. After some preparatory observations on the importance of the subject, which we were desirous of discussing, and on the consequent necessity of superseding the ordinary forms observed in private families on similar occasions of misfortune, we proceeded, with the concurrence of the Khans, to state the nature of the written documents discovered at Seringapatam. Nejeeb Khan expressed the greatest degree of surprize at this communication, professed his entire ignorance of the subject, and protested that it was impossible for the nabob Omdut ul Omrah to cherish the intentions imputed to his highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced, Nejeeb Khan asserted, that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment; that the marq. Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun; that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object in conformity to the injunctions of ld Cornwallis, and that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to ld Cornwallis on the subject of these communications; the particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his letter addressed to Cholam Ally Khan on the 14th Mohurrum 1209, having been pointed out to Nejeeb Khan, he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. The copy of the cypher having been produced, Nejeeb Khan took the opportunity of saying that the moonshy of the nabob was present, and could be examined with respect to the authenticity of the hand-writing; that although the cypher appeared, as was stated by us, to be a paper of a very secret nature, calculated to provide for the transaction of affairs of great importance, it might have been conveyed into the archives of Tippoo Sultaun by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah; that, upon being furnished with the proofs of the supposed treacherous intercourse between Tippoo Sultaun and the family of the nabob Mohamed Ally, such explanations should be afforded, and such answers given, as the different cases might require, and that, the proofs being compared, the company might form a complete judgment. This discourse being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputation, we stated to the two Khans that in cases of disputed points between independent powers, neither party could erect itself into a judge of the conduct of the other party; that on those questions an appeal could be

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made only to the general practice of the nations of the world; and that such differences could only be decided by the means possessed by each party respectively to provide for its own security; that with respect to the present case, the most abundant proofs were in the possession of the Brit. govt, of the violation of the alliance between the company and the late nabob, and particularly of the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792; that the Brit. govt, being satisfied of the sufficiency of those proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally: but that being prepared to appeal, if necessary, to the established maxims of the public law of nations, it had resolved to demand from the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah satisfaction for his violation of the alliance, and security for its rights and interests against the future operation of his highness's hostile councils; that the indisposition, which had terminated in the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had prevented the execution of the gov. gen's orders for this purpose; that although his highness's right to the support and friendship of the company had been entirely cut off by his violation of the alliance, the Brit. govt being still desirous of preserving the connexion so long subsisting, would be disposed to extend those sentiments to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, if an adequate security could be established for the rights of the company in the Carnatic through the channel of an amicable adjustment. The two Khans repeated, that they were ignorant of the existence of the supposed secret intercourse between the nabobs Walajah Omdut ul Omrah and Tippoo Sultaun; and Nejeeb Khan in particular stated, that from the tenor of his intercourse with the family of the nabob, as well as from the expressions of the will, he did not consider himself at liberty, or in any way authorized to give answer upon so momentous a question, without consulting and obtaining the consent of the family and ministers of the late nabob.—We proceeded to explain slowly and distinctly to the two Khans the course of reasoning and the propositions contained in the declaration transmitted from Bengal, which the Khans having heard with great attention, they stated that they distinctly comprehended the object of the declaration, and the force of the reasoning; they admitted the conclusions drawn from the facts, provided the facts should be true; but at the same time strenuously asserted their disbelief of the hostile intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, imputed to the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah.—After a desultory conversation on this subject, in which the two Khans insisted on the reasonableness of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the several points stated in the declaration, and in which we repeated the arguments founded on the practice of nations, and on the right of the Brit. govt to provide for the safety of its interests, we endeavoured to reduce this very long conference into the result of a single proposition, by demanding to know whether the Khans, on the part of Ally Hussain, were disposed to an adjustment of the claims of the Brit. govt, through the channel of an amicable negociation.—They professed the greatest degree of respect and attachment to the Brit. govt, stated that they considered themselves and the whole family to be under its immediate protection; dwelt on the general impossibility of their proceeding by any other than amicable means in the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, or of the existing differences with the Brit. govt; but carefully avoided a direct answer to the proposition we had stated on that subject.—The day being far advanced, the Khans took an opportunity of urging the necessity of their attention to the funeral of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to the preparations for removing the corpse to Trichinopoly.—This plea was urged in so forcible a manner, upon the grounds of public decorum, and of consideration for the feelings of the family, that we yielded without further discussion to the evident desire of the Khans to conclude the conference, without giving a positive answer to our proposition.—It was agreed, however, that an interview should take place on the evening of the next day, at which the Khans assured us that they would be prepared to give a specific answer to our propositions, after consulting the family and ministers of the late nabob upon the subject of this conference. In proceeding to take leave of the Khans, we assured them in the most unequivocal terms, that on the answer which they intended to give to our proposition would depend, whether the Brit. govt would acknowledge the claims of the reputed son of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the company, or whether the Brit. govt should proceed to take such measures as it might deem to be expedient for the security of its rights and interests in the Carnatic.—*July 16th.* At seven o'clock this evening we proceeded, according to appointment, to meet the two Khans at the palace of Chepauk. Before we proceeded to the direct object of the conference, we communicated to Najeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan, a Persian translation of the declaration. After perusing a considerable part of the paper, Nejeeb Khan observed, that it contained the same matter as was explained to him on the preceding day; that he entirely comprehended the course of the reasoning, and that he did not require any further explanation on the subject. He repeated his conviction, that it was impossible for Omdut ul Omrah to engage in a correspondence injurious to the British interests; and stated, as a confirmation of his belief, the adherence of the nabob to the pecuniary stipulations of his engagements, and the probability that these means had been adopted by his highness's enemies to injure his reputation. In order, however, that the conclusion drawn from the propositions stated in the declaration, and the consequent determination of the Brit. govt, might be fully understood, that passage of the paper was read, and distinctly explained by us to the two Khans. We proceeded to enquire whether the Khans were prepared (according to the result of the conference of yesterday) to enter into a friendly negociation, for the establishment of an adequate security for the right and interest of the Brit. govt. The Khans replied, that the whole family of Omdut ul Omrah was under the protection of the Brit. govt, and that it could feel some but friendly dispositions towards the company; at the same time, however, they persisted in denying the proofs of the violation of the alliance by Omdut ul Omrah, on the foundation of which the demand of the Brit. govt rested, and, by strange inconsistency, proceeded to enquire the conditions on which we proposed to establish an amicable adjustment of our claims on the family of the late nabob. We proceeded accordingly to state to the Khans the inconveniences which had been

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experienced from the effects of a divided govt; the difficulty of applying, under such a system, the resources of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public service; and the impossibility of introducing a regular form of internal govt, until the defects of the existing system should be corrected. We then informed the Khans, that the only remedy applicable to the errors of the present govt of the Carnatic was, the substitution of one permanent authority, in lieu of the fluctuating authority which had hitherto subsisted; that the appropriation of the resources of the Carnatic, during the government of the nabob, and under the pressure of actual war, had been found from experience to be incompatible with the objects of the alliance; and therefore the only adequate security for the rights and interest of the Brit. govt in the Carnatic, against the dangers with which they had been menaced, was the entire and exclusive administration of the civil and military govt of the Carnatic. We accordingly informed the Khans, that this condition would form the basis of the arrangement which it was our intention to propose to them. Nejeeb Khan observed, that such a proposition was calculated to frustrate the professed object of the arrangement; for if the entire govt of the Carnatic should be transferred to the hands of the company, the station of nabob of the Carnatic would be annihilated. We replied to the Khans, that the condition now proposed actually existed in the treaties of 1787 and 1792; and that although the entire civil and military govt of the Carnatic had been transferred, under the operation of that condition, to the exclusive administration of the company, no doubt was entertained that the rank and dignity of Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, as the nabobs of the Carnatic, had been preserved; we therefore drew this conclusion, that the rank and dignity of the nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured by extending the operation of that condition; and that the object of proposing an amicable adjustment, instead of proceeding to exercise the rights acquired by the Brit. govt, was manifestly founded in the desire of preserving to the family the rank, dignities, and splendour of the nabobs of the Carnatic. The Khans admitted this argument to be conclusive, but without coming to any determination on the fundamental proposition stated by us, appeared to be desirous of knowing the general outline of the arrangement, which it was in the contemplation of the Brit. govt to establish. We thought it expedient to satisfy, by describing the principal parts of the plan intended by your ldp and by the govr genl, in the event of an amicable adjustment of affairs: but we apprized the Khans at the same time, that the intended arrangements, with respect to the family affairs and dependants of Omdut ul Omrah, would be regulated by the acceptance or rejection of the fundamental proposition; for in the one case the Brit. govt would be at liberty to consult the dictates of moderation, liberality, and friendship, but in the other case it would be compelled to adopt such measures of precaution, for the security of its rights and interests, as the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah had justified, and as would be rendered necessary by the perseverance of his reputed son in the spirit of those councils.—The Khans entered into a desultory conversation on the long subsisting connection between the company and the family of the late nabob; in which they were more desirous of referring the pretensions of Ally Hussain to the stipulations of the treaty of 1792, than to the actual circumstances which had occurred. We thought it therefore not unnecessary to state again, that the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the company, was founded on the express letter of the treaty of 1792; that the whole spirit of the alliance having been vitiated previously to the ostensible conclusion of the treaty of 1792, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had, by his own conduct, annihilated the rights intended to be conveyed to him by that instrument; that consequently he left his reputed son in his own condition; that having placed himself in the relation of a public enemy, his reputed son had succeeded to that condition; that although the Brit. govt had suspended the exercise of its rights, it acknowledged no other claim on the part of Hussain, and that therefore, in admitting him to negociate upon any terms, it was actuated by motives of generosity, unconnected with any right in the family of Mahomed Ally to resist its demand for security. The Khans made a civil answer to the substance of this communication, but at the same time indicated, in the strongest manner, that they were by no means disposed to accede to the fundamental proposition of the intended arrangement; they stated that it was a subject of so much importance, as to preclude them from giving an answer without a full consultation with all the branches of the family: they therefore requested that they might be permitted to postpone until the next day their final answer upon the subject of the two conferences.—In the actual situation of the family of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, we considered ourselves at liberty to accede to the request, under a formal intimation to the Khans, that as the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic could not be protracted without material injury to the internal tranquillity of the country, we should expect to receive an answer so determinate as to enable the Brit. govt to proceed to adopt the measures suspended by the present negociation. We accordingly took leave of the Khans, with an assurance that they would be prepared to deliver a final answer the next day.—*July* 17. We proceeded to the palace of Chepauk at three o'clock in the afternoon, according to the appointment of the preceding day. Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan proceeded to inform us that the whole family, and the ministers of the late nabob, had been assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the proposition stated by us on the preceding day; and that the result of their deliberation was a conviction in their own minds, that, notwithstanding the decided terms in which our proposition was communicated to them, the Brit. govt would still be disposed to accept a modification of the terms required for its security in the Carnatic. They accordingly produced a contra-projet, which they desired might be submitted to your ldp's consideration. A translation of that paper is annexed to the report of this day's conference.—We informed the Khans that we possessed full authority from your ldp and from the govr genl, for rejecting, on the part of the Brit. govt, any proposal inconsistent with the extent of the security already required, and that our proposition for vesting exclusively in the hands of the company the entire administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, contained the basis on which alone the proposed arrangement could be carried

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We reminded the Khans of the importance which they had, at an earlier stage of the conferences, attached to the extent of this proposition, and of their considering their authority insufficient to decide so momentous a question. We warned them that the interpretation they were about to give to the will of Omdut ul Omrah, involved them in a heavy responsibility to his reputed son, which the terms of the will itself did not justify; and we stated for their consideration, that whatever might be the result of these conferences, the effect to be produced on their own interests could bear no comparison to the effect to be produced on those of Ally Hussain.—The Khans replied, that the subject of the evidence discovered at Seringapatam, had been agitated in the Durbar for more than 12* months; that measures had been taken for justifying the conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, which they asserted to be innocent of any treacherous intention towards the Brit. govt; that our propositions, containing the fundamental basis of an amicable arrangement, had been fully discussed and debated; that they (the Khans) had fully considered the nature of the authority and of the responsibility which the will of Omdut ul Omrah devolved on them; that they were prepared to give a decided answer on the proposition, and that the paper delivered to us contained, finally and unequivocally, the only terms on which they could accede to our arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by negociation.—Our endeavours to accomplish an amicable adjustment being thus defeated in limine, by the formal rejection of your ldp's fundamental propositions, we should have felt ourselves justified in bringing the negociation to an immediate conclusion; but knowing the earnest desire of your ldp and of the govr genl, to obtain the security required for the rights and interests of the Brit. govt in the Carnatic, by an amicable negociation, and considering the proposal of the Khans to be so extravagant as to be undeserving of serious attention, we judged it to be our duty not to exclude the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from an opportunity of declaring his genuine sentiments upon a point of so much interest to himself, and of relieving himself from the effects of the infatuated or treacherous councils of his appointed advisers. We therefore informed the Khans, that in a question which appeared to relate exclusively to the interests of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's reputed son, we were desirous of receiving from himself a declaration, which would determine his future situation, either as the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or as a mere dependant on the bounty of the company. The extreme anxiety which the Khans discovered in attempting to evade this demand, confirmed in our judgment the expediency and necessity of persisting in it.—It would be tedious to detain your ldp with a repetition of the various subterfuges urged by the Khans to avoid a compliance with this request; all founded on his youth, (he is nearly 18 years old), his insufficiency to conduct a conference, the fears of his mother, and the recency of his father's death. It was not without a very long and tedious conversation, that we obtained from the Khans the appointment of a time for our receiving, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, his own determination on the proposition communicated to the two Khans. The interview was at length fixed for the next day.

Appendix to the Third Day's Conference.—Translation of a Paper delivered by Nejeeb Khan Behauder, Salar Jung, and Mahomed Fukir Aly Khan Behauder, to Mr. Webbe and Lt. Col. Close, on the 5th Day of Rubee ool aul 1216 of the Heygra.

In as much as we are jointly employed in a business of trust, and are desirous of adhering to the will of our late lord and master, we have accordingly considered with great attention the matters which have been stated on each side during our conversations; and although we do not remember, word by word, what has been urged by each party, we yet recollect the substance of what passed. You explained to us that marquis Wellesley Behauder, had shewn himself displeased with the intention of the conduct of the late nabob, in maintaining a correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, the late ruler of Mysore; and that in consequence the son of the late nabob, we mean our present benevolent and gracious master, had forfeited his right to the protection of the company. We cannot, gents. speak positively as to the writings alluded to, but from our knowledge of the temper, disposition, and sentiments of the late nabob, we are impressed with a full assurance that he was incapable of acting contrary to his own dignity, and the engagements of his alliance, which he ever respected; and indeed we ourselves know that he never corresponded with any power in Hindostan, unless by means of the company; and the company were well acquainted with the correspondence which did take place, and which consisted only of letters couched in warm expressions of congratulation or condolance. If, besides the correspondence of this description, any writings have come to light, containing the matters of which you have read to us a short abstract, we apprehend that they have originated with evil persons, for the purpose of shaking the friendship and union so long established between the late nabob and the company. Nor do we believe that the company, on mature consideration, can hold it to be true, that the late nabob engaged in a correspondence contrary to their interests; and, adverting to the amicable and friendly behaviour observed by the company till the last moments of the nabob, the whole world will be impressed that they entertained no such suspicions; and with us it is matter of regret, that at a juncture when the nabob is deprived of the means of justification, his reputation should be publicly injured. But, gents. without dwelling on these matters, we consider ourselves as being honoured with the office of agent on the part of the present heir, according to the will of his illustrious father; and we have to observe that you, gents. have seen that will, and been made acquainted with the power which it has vested in Sahib Zahah, the present heir. The said heir, according to the law and rules which hold amongst us regarding succession, is found to inherit the whole of the rights and state of his father, and is in every respect the true hereditary successor of his father. In this case he has specially derived protection from the

* This contradicts, in the most direct terms, Nejeeb Khan's expressions of surprize on this subject, in the first conference.

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treaty of 1792 A. D. and we have held ourselves bound on his part by the said treaty from the moment we entered on this great charge, namely, the care of the person and govt of the said heir. Gents. without adverting to any of the contents of the above treaty, you have, on the part of the gov. gen. Behauder, demanded of us, who are the agents of the said heir, either to deliver the heir aforesaid and his kingdom, entirely into the hands of the gov. gen. or to communicate our inclinations respecting such an arrangement as would be assented to by the gov. gen. We were happy, gents. that you did not insist on an immediate answer to your demand; as in the interval that has taken place, we have minutely considered your demands, as well as the trust that has been confided in us; and we apprehend, that when you made the said demand, the treaty of 1792 A. D. was not in your contemplation, for the said heir, successor to the said nabob, is clearly included in the treaty aforesaid. In this case the said heir has become the protector of the agreements and stipulations of his illustrious father, and has succeeded to the right, to benefit by the stipulations of the comp. contained in the said treaty; and we are ready to abide in the fullest manner to every point that he has agreed to therein. We have not said that we were unwilling to agree to any treaty *besides that abovementioned*; on the contrary, we are prepared to hear any demands that may be proposed, and to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability for the purpose of adjusting them. We do not perceive much defect in the means long established by the treaty, for promoting the security and union of both sides. In every event, if it can be modified for the interest of the comp. the aforesaid heir will be happy at all times to attend to any wish that you may communicate; nor would we say that we should consider ourselves fortunate in being the means of adjusting so desirable an arrangement. We must infer, that you could scarcely hope that the demand, at which you hinted at the first meeting, and so clearly explained at the second, that it could not be misunderstood, would be accepted; as, gents. you well know that we, who are charged with the care of the country, and the affairs of the heir, have no authority to engage in such disaffection and faithlessness, as to deliver up unconditionally the whole rights and property of our master, and commit him and his family, in a state of want and subjection to the company. We cannot therefore comprehend the substance and meaning of your demand, more than that it occurs to us that you have proposed a heavy demand to us, in the first instance, under the idea, that it might be diminished at future conferences; and that you might ascertain our sentiments touching a fresh agreement for renewing the friendship and union that has so long subsisted between the comp. and the nabob of the Carnatic. Gents. with the view to meet the just wishes of the comp. we have considered the objects and advantages which were often mentioned to the late nabob, and we have resolved to act in conformity to them to the extent of our ability; and regarding them as the best foundations for an arrangement, we now present a separate paper, containing a few correspondent propositions; and in the event of their being approved, they may be easily inserted in the treaty of 1792, A. D. The happy effects of which have been witnessed by the comp. and by us. We hope that in these propositions we have strongly demonstrated the will of the heir, as well as ours, to promote the true interest of the comp. without entirely sacrificing the rights of the heir, which are committed to our care; and we trust that, considering what we have stated above, our motive for bringing forward the propositions alluded to, must be clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Adverting to the responsibility we sustain, from the great affairs and interests in which we are engaged, we have to request that you will deliver to us in writing, any demands you may wish to state in reply, in order that we may be free from any imputations hereafter. We are confident that you will consider the delicate circumstances which have led us to this request, and allow them to plead our excuse. (Signed) *Mahomed Nejeeb Khan,*

Saler Jung,

Mahomed Tuckia Ali Khan Behauder.

Translation of Propositions from the Heir.—Art. I. He cedes to the comp. sovereign authority over the Poligars; but the comp. shall give credit for two lacks sixty thousand seven hundred and four star pagodas, on account of the Poligar Peishcush, in the kists of the nine lacks payable each year. Art. II. The heir grants full authority to the comp. to collect the revenues, &c. of the following districts:—The revenues of these districts are detailed below, but they amount to more; viz.—Tinnivelly, 4,06,508 s. pagodas. Madura, 64,945 ditto. Ongole, 13,534 ditto. Palnad, 24,657 ditto. The amount of these two articles, including the Poligar Peishcush, is 8,54,844 s. pagodas; and this sum being deducted from the 9 lacks payable each year, leaves a balance of 45,152 s. pagodas. Art. III. The sum of 45,152 s. pagodas, which is the balance of the 9 lacks allotted to defray the expence for the defence of the Carnatic, and the sum of 6,21,105 s. pagodas, which is allotted to discharge the debts of the nabob Walajah, according to the treaty, will be paid to the comp. yearly by the heir; and shall be discharged in ten equal kists, from the 1st to the 15th of each month, from the beginning of September to the month of June; and on the debts of the nabob Walajah being discharged, the payment of the sum of 6,21,105 s. pagodas shall cease, and the sum of 45,152 s. pagodas only, shall continue to be paid yearly, agreeably to the stipulations of 1792; and the whole of the contents of this paper shall be considered as referring to the said treaty. Art. IV. After the discharge of the above debts, the heir shall liquidate the new cavalry loan, and he will not only acknowledge that debt, but also the interest due on it. Art. V. In the event of failure, in the payment of the kists stipulated in the 3d art. then those parts of the treaty of 1792 shall be carried into effect, which relates to the districts detailed in schedule of No. 2 of the said treaty, and which, according to the 2d art. of this paper, have not been transferred; and with the exception of the matters modified as above, the whole of the articles of the treaty of 1792 shall continue in full force. The heir, out of his regard and friendship for the comp. will make over to the comp. as an act of favour, the whole of his rights, touching the pearl fishery.

July 18th. Having personally communicated to your lordships our suspicion, founded on the

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anxiety of the two Khans to prevent our interview with the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, that their conduct might not be conformable to the wishes and intentions of that person, your ldp authorized and instructed us to communicate to Mr. Fitzgerald (the confidential physician of the late nabob) who had personal access to his highness's reputed son, the actual existence of the govr gen's orders, and your ldp's positive determination to execute those orders, for the purpose of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the British govt in the Carnatic. Such parts of the govr gen's orders as were sufficient to remove all doubt on this subject, were accordingly communicated to Mr. Fitzgerald, from his excellency's original dispatches. It being necessary, in conformity to this intention, that farther time should be allowed for the operation of this indirect communication, the interview appointed for to-day was postponed; and reason exists for believing that (as far as the opinion of Mr. Fitzgerald was allowed to have effect) the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, as well as his two advisers, Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan, were, in the course of this day, apprized of the actual circumstances in which they stood, through the channel of a confidental person, who could have no interest in augmenting the appearance of the danger, which actually menaced the immediate interests of Ally Hussain. Although this transaction forms no part of our public negociation, we have judged it to be proper to include it in the official report of this day. It will demonstrate that no care was omitted, which could conciliate the mind of Ally Hussain, and of his appointed advisers

July 19*th*. We proceeded about noon to the palace. We enquired whether a further consideration of the subject of our conferences had created in the minds of the two Khans any alteration of their sentiments delivered at the last interview? They replied, without hesitation, that it was not the intention of Ally Hussain to recede from the terms communicated to us in a written paper at the last interview: We then stated our belief, that under that declaration they were prepared for the serious consequences of the alternative, frequently described to them. The Khans replied, with much apparent composure and resolution, that they were prepared to meet those consequences, on their responsibility, under a perfect reliance on the protection of the comp. and on its adherence to the existing engagements. We reminded the Khans, that it was useless to recur to the stipulations of the treaty of 1792, the vital spirit of which had been annihilated, and that the violation of Omdut ul Omrah's engagement had constituted the right of the comp. to demand the security now required. The reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah being, at our desire, introduced according to the former appointment, we excused our intrusion on his grief, by explaining our unwillingness to receive from any person but himself the final rejection of a proposition, made with great indulgence to him, on the part of the Brit. govt, and involving consequences of the greatest importance to his immediate interests. We then stated, in a succinct manner, the nature of that proposition, with the conclusive rejection of it by his appointed advisers; and expressed our desire of knowing whether the motives of the Khans for thus rejecting, at such apparent hazard to his welfare, the friendship of the comp. were conformable to his own sentiments and resolution. He replied (the Khans being present) that he considered them to have been appointed by his father for the purpose of assisting him; and that the object of his own councils was not separate from that of the Khans. According to the plan previously arranged by your ldp for this probable event, we made known, without farther delay, your ldp's intention of holding a personal conference with Ally Hussain (previously to the final adoption of the measures then in your ldp's contemplation).—This communication was unexpected, and the Khans endeavoured to evade it by repeating the excuses they had used at the former interview; but, being assured that your ldp's orders in this respect admitted of no excuse, the Khans retired at the same time for the purpose of preparing the equipage of Ally Hussain. During this short interval, the young man, with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whispered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two Khans.—Ally Hussain accordingly proceeded, without farther communication with the two Khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, at which place we had the honour of a personal interview with your ldp.—After the first ceremonies of the meeting had subsided, the attendants of Ally Hussain, including Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan, were directed to withdraw, and the tent was rendered entirely private. Before your ldp's intention in this interview could be entirely explained, Ally Hussain interrupted the conversation by expressing his sense of your ldp's consideration. He then proceeded to state, of his own accord, that the conferences had been conducted by the two Khans without his participation in their councils; and that he disapproved the termination which had in consequence been given to the negociation.—In consequence of this avowal, the entire substance of the conferences was recapitulated to Ally Hussain, the nature of the proofs of the violation of the alliance was distinctly described, and the extent of the security required by the Brit. govt concisely explained.—Ally Hussain, after stating that he comprehended the whole of this important question, declared himself ready to conclude an arrangement with the Brit. govt, on the basis of the proposition communicated by us to the two Khans. He then proceeded to make enquiry into the secondary branches of the arrangement in your ldp's contemplation, particularly with respect to the provision for his personal expences, and to the extent of his power over the public treasure of his father, which he considered to be large. After a desultory conversation of some length, interrupted by the importunity of Nejeeb Khan, Ally Hussain proposed that a treaty should be prepared by us, upon the basis of vesting the entire civil and military govt of the Carnatic in the hands of the comp.; and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with or without the consent of the Khans, at a separate conference, which was appointed for the next day, within the lines of the Brit. troops.

July 20*th*.—According to the appointment yesterday, we proceeded to the palace of Chepauk; and Ally Hussain having been introduced

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to us, said, in a resolute tone of voice, and with more apparent firmness in his manner than we had before observed, that the two Khans had been appointed by his father's will to assist his councils; that he could not adopt a line of conduct inconsistent with their advice; and that therefore any farther interview with your ldp was unnecessary.—These expressions we attributed to Ally Hussain's desire of concealing his real sentiments in the presence of the Khans; and proceeded to state, that the conference of yesterday having been interrupted by the importunity of Nejeeb Khan, your ldp was resolved to bring it to a termination at the interview appointed for this day. We accordingly attended Ally Hussain to the tent, which having been again rendered entirely private, the young man stated, in the same tone of confidence, that this interview was unnecessary, as it was impossible for him to deviate from the sentiments already expressed by the two Khans. This unexpected change of sentiments in the mind of Ally Hussain having excited some surprize, your ldp desired that he should explain himself more distinctly. In reply he stated, that he was aware the sentiments now expressed by him differed entirely from those expressed on the preceding day; that the truth was he had seriously reflected on the subject of yesterday's conference; that the whole family had been assembled to deliberate on the state of his affairs: that he had in consequence given a better consideration to the actual circumstances in which he was placed; that he retracted the opinion communicated to your ldp yesterday; and that he considered it to be totally incompatible with his interests and honour to accede to the proposition, on the basis of which he had agreed to conclude the treaty.—We reminded him, by your ldp's direction, of the deception stated by himself to have been used by the Khans, and expressed our confidence that, notwithstanding this unaccountable change of his ostensible manner, the genuine sentiments of his mind were expressed in the conference of yesterday.—He said that this was not the case; that he had spoken at that time from an hasty impression; but that the sentiments, which he now declared, were the result of serious reflection, and of a conviction on his mind, that by pursuing this line of conduct, he should adhere to the intention of his father and to the real interests of his family. We stated in reply, that he deceived himself if he encouraged any expectation of securing the interests of his family on any other basis than that of an amicable adjustment, for the alternative choice was either to become the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or one of many pensioners dependant on the bounty of the comp.; that the choice, which he now appeared to have made, was so inconsistent with prudence, as to justify our considering him to act under some improper restraint. —We proceeded therefore to explain, that he was now actually within the Brit. encampment; and that if he apprehended any consequences of personal danger or inconvenience from the pursuit of the genuine wishes of his heart, your ldp would immediately secure him against any insults he might apprehend, by keeping him under the protection of the comp.'s forces. He replied, that he acted from no impression of that description; but that the sentiments which he now expressed, contained the genuine feelings of his heart.—We expressed your ldp's and our own suspicion, that he had been encouraged by interested persons to disbelieve the existence of the orders from the govr gen. under the authority of which the fundamental proposition of the negociations had been stated to him, and we enquired whether he had received from Mr. Fitzgerald, any communication on that subject. Ally Hussain answered, that Mr. Fitzgerald had spoken to him on the subject; and that his determination was not governed by any distrust of our communications relative to the orders of the govr gen. We explained our allusion to the advice of interested persons, by stating, that those who held tuncaws or other claims on the Carnatic, were deeply interested in persuading him to resist an amicable negociation; because in the event of an amicable adjustment for vesting the civil govt in the hands of the comp. they could have no hope of recovering those claims; whereas those hopes would still be cherished as long as he should be persuaded to keep the affairs of the Carnatic in an unsettled state. We further stated, that the principles of persons of that description encouraged every expectation that they would be desirous of sacrificing the permanent interests and honour of his family to the attainment of their immediate advantage: We added, that such persons, as well as the general body of his father's creditors, would feel an interest in persuading him to reject the proposition now offered to him, and to cherish a belief that the measures of this govt would be disapproved by the court of directors, and that the arrangement, which he might compel your ldp to adopt, would be reversed. We warned Ally Hussain of the effects of such a fallacy, by assuring him that the orders of the govr gen. were founded on a previous communication with the court of directors, and with his majesty's ministers; and on a knowledge that the sentiments of the govt at home concurred entirely with those entertained by his excellency and by your ldp, relative to the violation of the alliance.—We were the more earnest in urging this point, with your ldp's permission, on the attention of Ally Hussain; because the projet, delivered to us at the 3d conference by the two Khans, contains manifest proof of having been translated from an European language; and because it is equally manifest, from the tenor of that paper, that the author of it was interested in excluding the exec. govt in India from participating in the administration of the funds, now allotted by treaty to the liquidation of the consolidated debts of the nabob Mahomed Ally.—Ally Hussain denied that he acted from any motives derived from the persuasion of others, and repeated that his choice was now founded on his determination to adhere to the councils of the Khans, appointed by his father's will to assist him, and finally to reject the arrangement which had been proposed to him. We enquired whether he clearly understood the consequences of that determination with respect to himself; he said, that it had been clearly explained to him; but that, notwithstanding the explanation, he assured himself of the favour and protection of the company, as well as of your ldp's paternal care. In proceeding to conclude the conference, your lordship desired Ally Hussain to prepare himself to receive your ldp's final and most serious resolution. It was then explained to him, that no pains had been omitted, which

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could warn him of the consequences he was about to incur; that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the British government, had been satisfied; that he had himself determined the situation in which he would hereafter be placed, and that your lordship, with concern for himself individually, now apprized him, that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the company. This declaration Ally Hussain received with a degree of composure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impression of fear; and a smile of complacency, which appeared on his countenance throughout this discussion, denoted an internal satisfaction at the line of conduct he was pursuing. Being asked if he wished to make any further observations, he said that he did not; and being also asked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the Khans into the tent, he said that he had none; which being accordingly done, he was directed by your ldp to leave the tent.

July 21*st*.—Your ldp having communicated to us your intention to open, if possible, a negociation with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah; endeavours were accordingly used to establish a communication with him, but it was found that so strict a watch had been established over him by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah, that no means appeared to be practicable for opening a private communication with him; while any attempt to effect it by open means, appeared liable to the serious objection of precipitating the fate of the young prince.

July 22*d*.—In this situation of things it was reported to your ldp, by the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, that Nejeeb Khan and Tucky Ally Khan had already performed the ceremony of installing Ally Hussain in a private manner on the musnud of Arcot; and that they had resolved to instal him in a public manner on the following day. Your ldp resolved to prevent a measure calculated to produce immediate commotion in the provinces of the Carnatic; for that purpose lt. col. Mac Neil was directed to take entire possession of the palace of Chepauk with the Brit. troops; and to remove entirely all the guards of the late Omdut ul Omrah, who had been permitted to remain at their posts during the late negociations. This measure established the immediate means of relieving Azeem ul Dowlah; and a party of the comp.'s troops was substituted at the hovel in which that prince was confined, in lieu of the guards stationed over it by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah. As soon as the first surprise of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah permitted him to receive an explanation, that the guard was intended for his greater security and protection, he expressed his satisfaction at the change, together with the desire of being permitted to explain his situation.

July 23*d*.—On the morning of this day lt. col. Mac Neil waited upon the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, for the ostensible purpose of excusing and explaining to him the cause of stationing a party of the company's troops over the place in which he resided. Lt. col. Mac Neil took this opportunity of informing the prince, that if he should have any desire of representing the state of his affairs to the Brit. govt, the means of doing so without danger had now been opened to him. In consequence of this communication, a time was appointed by your ldp's directions for our meeting the prince Azeem ul Dowlah. At the interview which ensued, the conversation on the part of the prince was confined to a statement of the injuries which he had sustained, and of the hardships he continued to sustain, from the depression of his fortune, and from the poverty of his circumstances. He requested, with much earnestness, that his case might be considered in the general arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, and appeared to limit his expectation to a more comfortable domestic arrangement for his family. Sufficient grounds, however, appeared in the course of the conversation, to satisfy our judgment that the prince was capable of sustaining a more important character, and that his sense of his own immediate interests would dispose him to meet with cordiality any overture on the part of the Brit. govt, for reviving, in his person, the alliance so long subsisting between the company and his family. The conversation ended with an assurance on our part of your ldp's immediate attention to Azeem ul Dowlah's difficulties, and to the provision of a more suitable accommodation for his family.

July 24.—An interview having been appointed for communicating to the prince this day the result of your ldp's consideration of his case, we met him at an early hour in the tent of lt. col. Mac Neil. The conversation was opened by some distant observations of the state in which the affairs of the Carnatic had been placed by the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the remarks of the prince continuing, in our judgment, to be favourable to the impression we had received of his understanding and disposition, we proceeded to explain to him the actual situation in which the whole house of Mahomed Ally had been placed, in consequence of the violation of the alliance by that prince, and by his successor Omdut ul Omrah. The curiosity of the prince being naturally excited by this conversation, connected with his previous knowledge of the manner in which the conferences with Ally Hussain had terminated, we proceeded to disclose to the prince the nature of the rights acquired by the comp.; the indispensable necessity of exercising those rights for the establishment of an adequate security for our interests in the Carnatic; and the great reluctance with which the Brit. govt would feel itself compelled to use its power for the attainment of that object, which could not fail of producing the entire humiliation of the house of Mahomed Ally. A long desultory conversation ensued on the different points of this question, the substance of which has been stated in an earlier passage of this report, and it ended in a declaration of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah of his acknowledgment of the right acquired by the comp. under the discovery made at Seringapatam; and of his readiness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the musnud, that satisfaction and security which your ldp and the gov. gen. had deemed to be necessary to the preservation of our interests in the Carnatic. Having accordingly described to the prince the entire outline of the arrangement proposed for the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, on the basis of this proposition, it was agreed that the arrangement should be prepared in the form of a treaty,

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to be discussed at an interview appointed for the next day.

July 25.—Having accordingly prepared the draft of the treaty, we proceeded to the tent, for the purpose of discussing with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah the general principles, and the particular articles of the agreement proposed by your ldp. The prince having acceded to the fundamental articles, in conformity to his acknowledgment of the preceding day, directed his attention to that article which stipulates, that a fund shall be appropriated for the expence of maintaining the family of the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah: he stated, that although it could not be incumbent on him to interrupt on this account an arrangement so beneficial to the different branches of the family, and to himself in particular; he yet felt it to be intimately connected with his reputation and honour to urge their situation upon your ldp's most indulgent consideration. We explained, in consequence, to Azeem ul Dowlah, that the motives of the Brit. govt for entering into any discussion for the purpose of establishing an amicable adjustment, could be founded on no other wish than that of preserving the family from the state of degradation, into which it was about to have been precipitated, by the faithless conduct and by the perverse spirit of the councils of its principal members; and we reminded the prince, that in making him the instrument of re-establishing the alliance, it was necessary to furnish him with the most powerful means of securing the attachment of the family, by rendering the amount of the stipends or jaghires to be allotted for its support dependant on the pleasure of the Brit. govt; which communication with his highness would proceed to apportion the amount to be appropriated for this purpose, according to the merits of the individuals concerned. In discussing that part of the treaty which stipulates the acknowledgment of the debts due by his ancestors to the company, the prince expressed his sense of the reasonableness of that stipulation; but stated distinctly and repeatedly that he did not consider himself involved by that article in any personal responsibility for the amount of these or of any other debts. We expressed our entire concurrence in his highness's interpretation of the article; and a clause was added to the article, for the express purpose of obviating any doubts on this point. The remaining clauses of the proposed treaty having been discussed and assented to, the prince affixed his signature to a Persian draught of the proposed treaty, binding himself to execute a more formal instrument at the period of his intended installation.—In concluding our report of this conference, we cannot omit to state to your lordship, the impression made on our minds by the decorous deportment, moderation, and good sense, by which Azeem ul Dowlah distinguished himself upon this sudden elevation from a state of penury and wretchedness to the possession of princely magnificence, honours, and rank.

July 26th.—This morning we had the satisfaction of presenting his highness the prince Azeem ul Dowlah in a formal manner to your ldp, and of subsequently conducting him, as the ostensible future nabob of the Carnatic, to the Ameer Baugh, the residence of his highness's father, the late Ameer ul Omrah.

(Signed) J. Webbe, B. Close.

No. 5. *Treaty between the Company and his Highness the Nabob Mahomed Ali, dated in* 1792; *commonly called Lord Cornwallis's Treaty.*

Treaty between the Hon. East India Company and the Nabob of Arcot.—Whereas a certain engagement was entered into between the hon. English E. I. company, and his highness the nawaub of the Carnatic, bearing date 24th Feb. 1787, for the purpose of cementing an everlasting friendship with each other, and of contributing mutually towards the defence of the Carnatic, and countries dependent thereon; whereby it was stipulated that the said company should maintain a military force, and that the said nawaub should pay annually a certain sum of money arising from the revenues of the Carnatic, and should furnish sufficient and satisfactory security, under certain conditions expressed in the said engagement, for the regular payment of the sum stipulated to the said company: and whereas it appears by the representations of the said nawaub, contained in a certain letter addressed by him to the govr genl, &c. dated the 18th of the month Shawal 1206 Hejeree, (9th June 1792,) that the resources of the Carnatic are not competent to enable him to perform the stipulations in the said engagement; and whereas it further appears, that the security which the said nawaub agreed in the above-mentioned engagement to furnish for the due payment of the stipulated sum to the said comp. is in its nature inadequate to the end intended: and whereas certain agreements have also been entered into between the said comp. and the said nawaub, for the discharge of certain debts due by the said nawaub to private persons, it has been mutually agreed, in consequence of the above written circumstances, that the engagement aforesaid shall henceforth be considered by the contracting parties as annulled, and no longer of effect or in force: and in lieu thereof, the rt hon. Chs earl Cornwallis, invested with full powers on the part of the said hon. English E. I. comp. to direct and controul the affairs of the said comp. in the E. Indies, in the name of and for the said comp. their heirs and successors, on one part; and the nabob Wallah Jah, Ameer ul Hind, Omdut ul Moulk, Asoph ul Dowlah, Unevar ul Deen Khan Behauder, Zuffer Jung, Sepah Salar, nabob of the Carnatic, in his own name, and for himself and his successor his eldest son nawaub Omdut ul Omrah, Meyun ul Moulk, Assud ul Dowla Hassein, Ally Khan Behauder, Zool Sicar Zung, and his heirs and successors, on the other part, agree to the following articles, which shall be binding on the respective contracting parties for the purposes contained therein, notwithstanding all or any of the conditions stipulated in the engagement dated 24th Feb. 1787, to the contrary.—Art. 1. The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered the friends and enemies of both.—Art. 2. In order to execute the foregoing article in its full extent, the hon. E. I. comp. agree to maintain a military force, and the nawaub Wallah Jah Behauder agrees to contribute annually a certain sum of money hereinafter mentioned, as his share of the expence of the said military force; the said nawaub further agreeing that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops supported by it, shall be left entirely to the said company.—Art. 3. It is hereby also agreed, that for the further security

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and defence of the countries belonging and subject to the contracting parties in the Carnatic, &c. that all forts shall be garrisoned by the troops of the said comp.; and in the event of war breaking out in the Carnatic and countries appertaining to either party, and dependant on the Carnatic, or contiguous thereto, it is agreed, for the better prosecution of it, that as long as it shall last, the said comp. shall possess full authority over the Carnatic, except the jaghires belonging to the family of the said nawaub, amounting to star pagodas 2,13,911, which, on condition of the good behaviour of the jaghiredars of the said jaghires, and of their fidelity to the said nawaub and to the said comp. shall be continued to them, subject to the pleasure of the said nawaub only, and except also certain charities amounting to star pagodas 21,366, subject to the same conditions as are mentioned with respect to the jaghires, and shall collect the revenues thereof, the said comp. hereby engaging that, during such war, they will pay to the said nawaub one-fifth share of the net revenue arising therefrom; and that at the conclusion of the war, the Carnatic shall be restored to the said nawaub, except in certain cases, which are hereinafter mentioned.—Art. 4. The nabob Wallah Jah agrees to pay to the said comp. for the purpose of mutual defence, the sum of nine lacs of star pagodas annually, as his share of the expence for the military force, and also in consequence of certain agreements entered into by him with the said company, and guaranteed by the parliament of Gt Britain, for the purpose of liquidating certain debts due by the said nawaub, a further sum of 6,21,105, star pagodas annually, which further sum of 6,21,105 star pagodas shall cease on the full liquidation of the debts above mentioned, and the sum of 9,00,000 of star pagodas only shall continue to be paid by the said nawaub to the said comp. — Art. 5. The said nawaub having agreed to pay the aggregate sum of 15,21,105 star pagodas, as mentioned in the 4th art. determines that the tributes or peshcush, payable by the Poligars, as more particularly mentioned in the schedule No. 1, hereunto annexed, shall be collected by the said comp. who agree to make the collection thereof at their own expence and risk, and that they will not encrease the demand on the said Poligars beyond the sum mentioned in the said schedule, except in the case hereinafter mentioned, nor charge to the said nawaub, either the expence attending the collection, or any deficiencies that may arise thereon, but will give credit to the said nawaub annually for the aforesaid tributes or peshcush, in part payment of the sum of nine lacs of star pagodas above-mentioned, without any deduction whatever; although the contracting parties have, in the present instrument, agreed that the sum of 2,64,704 pagodas 20 F. 26 C. be deducted from the sum of 9 lacs of pagodas, as the amount of the tributes or peshcush from the Poligars; yet, should it on future enquiry appear that the said Poligars ought, by virtue of any existing and lawful engagements, to pay a larger sum, it shall be demanded of them, and any addition that shall thus be made to the sums mentioned in the said schedule, shall be deducted from the sum of 9 lacs, in like manner with the sum of 2,64,704, 20. 26; and a similar deduction shall in consequence be made in the Kistbundy hereinafter mentioned. It is however mutually agreed, that the diminution of this aggregate sum, which shall take place on the full liquidation of the debts as specified in the 4th art. shall make no change in this art. which shall, notwithstanding such diminution, remain in full force.—Art. 6. The said comp. desirous of preserving the rights of sovereignty over the said Poligars to the said nawaub, engage, to the utmost of their power, and consistent with the realization of the tributes or peshcush from them, to enforce the allegiance and submission of the said Poligars to the said nawaub in all customary ceremonies, and in furnishing the Poligar Peons according to established custom for the collection of the revenues, the support of govt, and for the protection of the property of the inhabitants of the said nawaub's country, promising that all acts of authority shall be exercised in, and all accounts of revenue (of which accounts the said nawaub, if he so wishes, shall be ann. furnished with copies) shall bear his the said nawaub's name. For the better execution of this and the 5th art. the said nawaub promises to furnish to the said comp. that is to say to their representatives the president and council of Fort St. George, the necessary orders, under his seal and signature, addressed to each Poligar, and to the purport hereof, without delay.—Art. 7. After deducting from the above mentioned sum of 9 lacs of star pagodas, which forms a part of the aggregate sum of 15,21,105 star pagodas, mentioned in the 5th art. the amount of the tributes or peshcush from the Poligars, as specified in the sched. No. 1, the said nawaub agrees to pay ann. the remaining sum, being 6,55,295: 15: 54, together with the further sum of 6,21,105 for the purpose mentioned in the 4th art. making the sum of star pagodas 12,56,400: 15: 54,—at the following periods.—On the 1st Sept. 1,00,000.—1st Oct. 1,00,000.—1st Nov. 1,00,000.—1st Dec. 1,00,000.—1st Jan. 1,00,000.—1st Feb. 1,00,000.—1st Mar. 1,50,000 1st Ap. 1,50,000.—1st May 2,00,000.—1st June 1,56,400: 15: 54,—amounting to 12,56,400: 15: 54 star pagodas.—And it is mutually agreed, that on the full liquidation of the debts before mentioned, when the payment of the sum of star pagodas 6,21,105, shall cease by virtue of the 4th art. a reduction in equal proportion shall take place in the above instalments.—Art. 8. The said nawaub engages to make good to the said comp. the payments of the sums, according to the instalments of Kistbundy contained in the 7th art.; and if, contrary to his sincere intentions and exertions, any of the said sums shall not be fully paid at the expiration of 15 days from the time limited, in that case the said nawaub agrees, that the said comp. shall assume the management of and make the collection of the revenues from the districts mentioned in the sched. No. 2. according to the following conditions; and for this the present engagement shall be considered sufficient authority, the said comp. through their president and council at Fort St. George, giving immediate and explicit information, according to the tenor thereof, to the said nawaub, who shall, on the arrival of the comp's officers in the said district, recal all his officers, except one in each district: which officer shall remain at the Sudder Cutcherry, and shall be furnished ann. by the officer of the said comp. with copies of the Sudder Cutcherry accounts, of the gross collections, and of the net receipts, under the attestation of the of-

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ficer of the said comp. and of the Sudder Omlah of the district.—1. The said comp. shall assume the management of such district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collections, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear.—2. The said comp. agree, that a deduction shall take place proportionably from the amount of each of the ten kists above mentioned, equal to the amount of the net rev. of the district or districts which shall have been assumed as above, such deduction commencing from the day that the assumption shall take place. It is also mutually agreed, that an acct called balance acct shall be immediately opened, for this and other purposes hereinafter mentioned, bearing an int. of 8 per cent. per ann. between the said nawaub and the said comp.; in which the said nawaub shall be debited for the balance accrued in his above stipulated payments, and also for the amount deducted as above from the ten kists, and shall be credited for the net rev. collected from the said district or districts, the said comp. continuing to exercise authority in, and to make the collections from the same, until, in consequence of the full liquidation of the debts and diminution of the ann. sum, to be for that purpose paid by the nawaub to the said comp. according to the 4th art. the said balance acct shall be equal on the debit and credit side, and nothing shall remain due to the said comp. then the said district or districts shall revert to the management of the said nawaub.—3d. Whenever the said district or districts thus assumed shall be restored, according to the above condition, it is agreed, that in case of any of the kists for the sum remaining (after the deduction of the sum of 6,21,105 star pagodas: that is to say, for the sum of 6,35,295: 15: 54, be not paid 15 days after the expiration of the time limited, the said comp. shall possess equal power to assume the districts mentioned in the said sched. No. 2, as in the 1st instance, and shall accordingly assume such district or districts, the rev. of which, after deducting the charges of collection, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear, from which they shall realize the balance that shall have arisen in the payment of the kists, and shall give credit to the said nawaub for the surplus and subsequent net rev. in part payment of the sum of star pagodas 6,35,295: 15: 54. And in this case the management of the district or districts thus assumed shall for ever continue in the possession of the said comp. any thing contained in the 3d art. of the present engagement to the contrary notwithstanding: And the said comp. agree to give the nawaub credit for the rev. arising therefrom.—4. In order to prevent any loss arising to either party from this measure, it is mutually agreed, that the district or districts which shall thus be assumed by the said comp. shall be entire, as mentioned in the said sched. and not parts of districts.—5. In consequence of this measure, whereby the districts mentioned in the sched. No. 2, become responsible for any arrears that may accrue in the payment of the above stipulated kists, the said nawaub agrees that he will not grant tunkaws or assignments on any acct on the revenues thereof; and if, contrary to this condition, any tunkaws or assignments should exist, where the said districts or any of them shall be assumed by the said comp. such tunkaws or assignments shall be declared by the said comp. and the said nawaub to be of no value, nor shall they remain in effect.—6. It is agreed between the contracting parties, that the above described balance acc. shall be ann. adjusted, and a committee, consisting of 4 respectable and capable persons, of which 2 shall be nominated by the said comp. and 2 by the said nawaub, shall assemble on the 1st of Aug. of every year commencing with 1793, for the purpose of adjusting and drawing out a fair and equitable statement thereof.—Art. 9. In case the said nawaub shall at any time have occasion for any number of troops for the collection of his revenues, the support of his authority, or the good order and govt of his country, the said comp. agree to furnish a sufficient number of troops for that purpose, on public representation being made by the said nawaub to the president and council of Fort St. George, of the necessity of employing such troops, and of the objects to be obtained thereby. And the said nawaub agrees to defray the additional expence of such troops, so long as they may be employed at his request. This additional expence being the sum over and above the expence of such troops while in garrison or at fixed quarters; and it shall be at the option of the said nawaub to reimburse the said surplus expence, either on the conclusion of the service on which such troops may have been employed, in money, or to add it to the debit side of the acct called balance acct, and more particularly explained in the 2d condition of the 8th art.—Art. 10. The said nawaub shall receive regular information of all negociations which shall relate to declaring war or making peace, wherein the said comp. may engage, and the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned; and the said nawaub shall be considered as an ally of the said comp. in all treaties which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic, and countries depending thereon, or belonging to either of the contracting parties contiguous thereto; and the said nawaub agrees that he will not enter into any negociation or political correspondence with any European or native power, without the consent of the said comp.—This treaty, consisting of 10 arts, and having 2 scheds annexed thereto, marked No. 1, and 2, shall be in force and have effect from 12th of July 1792, (corresponding with the 22d day of the month Zekaida 1206 Hejeree); and the contracting parties having affixed their respective seals and signatures to 2 counterparts on the dates undermentioned; that is to say, the rt hon. Charles earl Cornwallis, K.G. govr gen. &c. shall affix his seal and signature to one counterpart, on the part of the hon. Eng. E. I. comp.; and the nawaub Walla Jah Behauder, nawaub of the Carnatic, shall affix his seal and signature to another counterpart, shall be exchanged.

(Signed) G. F. CHERRY,
Persian Translator to the Govr Gen.

Signed and sealed at Chepauk House, this 22d day of Zekaida 1206, and 12th day July 1792.

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SCHEDULE, No. I.

List of Polygars, with the Amount of their respective Tributes or Peshcush, as mentioned and referred to in the 5th art. of the accompanying Treaty, in force from 12th July 1792, corresponding with the 22d day of Zekaida, 1206 Hegira.

			S. P. F. C.
Camar Yackum Nair	Vencategherry		21,673 10 64
Vencataput Nair	Caleshe		10,775 — —
Juppaty Rammanaud	Sydapoor M. P.	6,000 — —	6,000 — —
Bomrauze			32,586 9 —
Princewass Row	Arnee R.	10,000 — —	2,857 3 11
Butchey Naih	Marangapoory	12,093 12 —	
Lingama Naike	Nallum	8,598 12 —	
Zongama Naigh	Comavandy	10,483 12 —	
Saumy Naik	Ramgunny	11,731 4 —	
Mootea Naik	Petta Molingy	9,556 4 —	
Combia Naik	Venamatapotam	6,400 — —	
Bosamopa Naik	Youmula	642 2 —	
	Rupees	60,505 14 —	16,154 26 29
Maduram Sing Pettaputty Ramnautporam			62,857 3 11
Warriar Tarver, Mapilla in the room of the Rance and infant heiress of	Shevigungo		50,000 — —
Polygars of the district	Madura		3,731 — —
Varayoo Narama Vunnyan	Shevigeruy	11,176 — —	
Yesrapa Naik	Ellaporam	11,176 — —	
Madurapah Taven	Wootamaley	8,128 — —	
Cootala Taven	Nadoorvarcoocky	1,574 8 —	
Indera Talwen	Talwencotta	609 6 —	
Saule Talewen	Soumden	508 — —	
Tady Taleven	Cadombar	1,016 — —	
Nulla Cooty	Linguinputty	314 — —	
Chaturoyen	Woorcad	504 8 —	
Choca Tulevan	Mauculiy	1,016 — —	
Cutaboon Naik	Pandilem Country	11,176 — —	
Androoconda Vunnyan	Ellyarumpuny	6,096 — —	
Numja Naik	Malemondy	1,016 — —	
Erapa Naik	Negataporam	6,604 — —	
Sevemaul Naik	Caudelloody	1,320 8 —	
Pedenna Naik	Attingherry	1,737 2 —	
Chinnum Naik	Munnarcotta	2,540 — —	
Avalapa Naik	Pawaly	1,168 4 —	
Reddy Coody Vunnyan	Aligoopoory	108 7 —	
Geokillapa Naik	Gettaputty	1,168 5 —	
Colingada Gundon	Callarputty	6,604 — —	
Chinnamunga Tavers	Chocumputta	6,604 — —	
Comur Naik	Saupetoor	5,791 2 —	
Golapa Naik	Laudioor	1,930 4 —	
Ena Chinnama Naick	Zelmurry	1,016 — —	
Totta pa Naick	Chinnulgoody	1,696 5 —	
Annechy Naick	Colatoor	1,016 — —	
Tomichy Naick	Parvor	3,332 5 —	
Trissennada Tawen	Shatoor	5,080 — —	
Paule Taleren	Ovideahporam	1,224 3 —	
Vanda Tawen	Gollingundon	365 8 —	
Chuckrums		1,03,409 5 —	57,450 — —
		Total Star Pagodas	2,64,704 [illegible] 26

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Schedule, No. 2.---List of the Districts, with the Amount of the Net Revenues from each, at which they shall be estimated and assumed, according to the 8th Article of the accompanying Treaty in force from 12th July 1792, (corresponding with 22 Zekaida 1206 Higera.)

Tinnevelly....Net Revenue	4,06,508
Madura	64,945
Trichinopoly including Warriore, Pollom, and Arrialore	2,51,139
Nellore	3,31,783
Ongolr	93,334
Pulnaud	24,657
Northern division of the Arcot province	1,69,404
Star Pagodas....	13,41,770

By the first condition of the 8th art. of the said treaty, it is agreed, that the said comp. shall assume the management of such district or districts, the rev. of which, after deducting the charges of collection, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear. The said comp. therefore, by virtue of this condition, shall assume a district or districts from among the above named, the net rev. of which shall be as near as possible equal to the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear.

No. 6.—*Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah; dated 31st July* 1801.

Treaty for settling the Succession of the Soubahdarry of the Territories of Arcot, and for vesting the Administration of the Civil and Military Govt of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut in the United Comp. of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.—Whereas the several treaties, which have been concluded between the united comp. of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, have been intended to cement and identify the interests of the contracting parties: And whereas in conformity to the spirit of this alliance, the said comp. did, by the treaty concluded on the 12th July 1792, with the late nabob Walajah, relinquish extensive pecuniary advantages acquired by the previous treaty of 1787, with the view and on the condition of establishing a more adequate security for the interests of the Brit. govt in the Carnatic: And whereas subsequent experience has proved that the intention of the contracting parties has not been fulfilled by the provisions of any of the treaties heretofore concluded between them: And whereas the munsub of the Soubahdarry of the territories of Arcot has now become vacant: And whereas the right of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, founded upon the hereditary right of his father the nabob Ameer ul Omrah Behauder, to succeed to the rank, property, and possessions of his ancestors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, has been acknowledged by the Eng. E. I. comp.: And whereas the said comp. and the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, have judged it expedient that a new treaty shall at this time be executed, for the purpose of supplying the defects of all former engagements, and of establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come: Wherefore the following treaty is now established and concluded by the rt hon. Ed lord Clive, govr in council of Fort St. George, by and with the sanction and authority of his excellency the marq. Wellesley, K. P. govr gen. in council of all the Brit. possessions in the E. Indies, on behalf of the said united comp. on the one part; and by the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Mader ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, Showkut Jung Sepah Salar, nabob Soubahdar of the Carnatic, on his own behalf, on the other part; for settling the succession to the Soubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the administration of the civil and military govt of the Carnatic in the united comp. of merchants of England trading to the E. Indies.—Art. 1. The right of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder to succeed to the state and rank, and the dignities dependent thereon, of his ancestors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, is hereby formally acknowledged and guaranteed by the hon. E. I. comp. to the said Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, who has accordingly succeeded to the Soubahdarry of the territories of Arcot.—Art. 2. Such parts of the treaties heretofore concluded between the said E. I. comp. and their highnesses heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, as are calculated to strengthen the alliance, cement the friendship, and identify the interests of the contracting parties, are hereby renewed and confirmed; and accordingly the friends or enemies of the one party shall be considered to be the friends or enemies of both parties.—Art. 3. The hon. comp. hereby charges itself with the maintenance and support of the military force necessary for the defence of the Carnatic, and for the protection of the rights, person, and property of the said nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder; and with the view of reviving the fundamental principles of the alliance between his ancestors and the English nation, the said nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder stipulates and agrees, that he will not enter upon any negociation or correspondence with any Europ. or native power, without the knowledge and consent of the said Eng. comp.—Art. 4. It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that the sole and exclusive administration of the civil and military govt of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof (with the exception of such portion of the said revenues as shall be appropriated for the maintenance of the said nabob, and for the support of his dignity) shall be for ever vested in the said Eng. comp.; and the said comp. shall accordingly possess the sole power and authority of constituting and appointing (without any interference on the part of the said nabob) all officers for the collection of the revenues, and of establishing courts for the administration of civil and criminal judicature.—Art. 5. It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that one-fifth part of the net rev. of the Carnatic shall be ann. allotted for the maintenance and support of the said nabob and of his own immediate family, including the Mahel of his late highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the said 5th part shall be paid by the comp. in monthly instalments of 12,000 star pagodas; and, whatever circumstance may occur affecting the net rev. of the Carnatic, the said instalments shall not be less than 12,000 star pagodas. Whatever balance of the said 5th part may remain due at the expiration of each year, shall be liquidated upon a settlement of the accounts; and the said 5th part shall be at the free disposal of the said nabob, consistently with the principles of the said alliance.—Art. 6. The 5th part of the revenues, as stated in

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the preceding art. shall be calculated and determined in the following manner: viz. all charges, of every description, incurred in the collection of the rev. the amount of the Jaghire lands, stated in the 9th art. of the treaty of 1787, at pagodas 2,13,421, and the sum of pagodas 6,21,105, appropriable to the liquidation of the debts of the late Mahommed Ally, shall, in the first instance, be deducted from the revenues of the Carnatic, and after the deduction of those 3 items shall have been made, one-fifth part of the remaining net rev. (including the Poligar peshcush, which shall always be calculated at the sum of star pagodas 2,64,704:30:6, according to the treaty of 1792) shall be allotted for the maintenance of the said nabob, and for the maintenance of his highness's dignity.—Art. 7. Whereas it was stipulated by the 4th art. of the treaty of 1792, that the sum of 6 lacks, 21,105 star pagodas, should annually be applied to the discharge of certain registered debts due by the late nabob Mohammed Ally to his private creditors, under agreements concluded between his highness and the hon. comp. and guaranteed by the parliament of Gt Britain, until the said registered debt should be liquidated; the hon. English comp. accordingly hereby charges itself with the ann. payment of 6,21,105 pagodas from the revenues of the Carnatic, until the remainder of the said registered debt shall be liquidated.—Art. 8. Whereas certain debts are due to the said comp. by the ancestors of the said nabob: and whereas it is expedient, in order that the present treaty may include a complete arrangement of all affairs depending between the said comp. and the said nabob, that an adjustment should be made of the abovementioned debts; wherefore the said nabob formally and explicitly acknowledges the debt, commonly called the cavalry loan, amounting with its interest to star pagodas 13,24,342:6:47, and also the portion of the registered debt, heretofore paid by the said comp. to the creditors of the late nabob Walajah (according to the annexed schedule) to be just debts: and whereas, exclusively of the abovementioned debts, other unadjusted debts also remain, which were referred to the adjustment and decision of the gov. gen. in council of Bengal: and whereas the said unadjusted debts have not been determined according to that intention, the said nabob hereby engages, that whenever the said determination shall be made, his highness will acknowledge to be a just debt, the amount of the balance which shall be so declared to be due to the said comp. It is not, however, the intention of this art. to cause any diminution from the 5th part payable to the said nabob, but, on the contrary, it is specified that no deduction shall be made from the revenue on any account whatever, excepting the 3 items stated in the 6th art. previously to the determination of his highness's proportion.—Art. 9. The English comp. engages to take into consideration the actual situation of the families of their highnesses the late nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah Behauder, as well as the situation of the principal officers of his highness's govt; and the British govt shall charge itself with the expence chargeable on the revenues of the Carnatic, of a suitable provision for their respective maintenance. The amount of the above mentioned expences to be defrayed by the comp. shall be distributed with the knowledge of the said nabob, in such manner as shall be judged proper.—Art. 10. The said nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder shall, in all places, on all occasions, and at all times, be treated with the respect and attention due to his highness's rank and situation as an ally of the British govt, and a suitable guard shall be appointed from the company's troops for the protection of his said highness's person and palace.—Art. 11. The entire defence of the Carnatic against foreign enemies, and the maintenance of the internal tranquillity and police of the country, having been hereby transferred to the Brit. govt, his said highness engages not to entertain or employ in his service any armed men without the consent of the Brit. govt, who will fix, in concert with his highness, the number of armed men necessary to be retained for the purposes of state. Such armed men as his highness may, in consequence of this art. engage in his service, shall be paid at the exclusive cost and charge of the said nabob.—Art. 12. The hon. E. I. comp. shall, in conformity to the stipulations of this treaty, enter upon the exclusive administration of the civil and military govt of the Carnatic, on the day of and his said highness the nabob shall issue orders to all his civil and military officers, to transfer the district or districts under their respective charge to such persons as shall be appointed by the said comp. to manage the said districts; and also to deliver to the persons appointed, all records, accounts, and official papers, belonging to their respective cutcherries or officers.—This treaty, consisting of 12 articles, having been executed by Ed. lord Clive, gov. in council aforesaid, on the one part, and his highness Azeem ul Dowlah on the other part, is hereby mutually interchanged; the said Ed. lord Clive engaging that a copy of the said treaty shall be transmitted to Fort William, for the purpose of being ratified by his excellency the marq. Wellesley, gov. gen. in council; and that as soon as the ratified treaty shall be received from Bengal, it shall be delivered to his said highness, who will then return to his ldp the copy which he now receives.

In the hand-writing of Azeem ul Dowlah.—(God is gracious,)—I Azeem ul Dowlah having perused and fully comprehended the several articles of the above treaty, have approved and consented to the whole of the said articles. In witness whereof I affix my proper signature:

THE BEIZ OF AZEEM UL DOWLAH.

Separate and secret Article.—Whereas his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, by the 8th art. of the treaty now concluded, has acknowledged the debt called the cavalry loan, due by his highness's family to the said comp. amounting to pagodas And whereas no account has been yet taken of the public treasure of the late govt; it is stipulated and agreed, that his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, shall immediately enter upon an investigation of the state of the public accounts and treasure, and that if, in communication with the Brit. govt, the said treasure shall be found adequate to the purpose, a portion of it shall be immediately applied to the entire liquidation of the said debt, called the cavalry loan, in ready money.

In the hand-writing of Azeem ul Dowlah.—(God is gracious.)—I approve and consent to

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this separate and secret article. In witness whereof I affix my proper signature:

THE BEIZ OF AZEEM UL DOWLAH.

No. 7. *Declaration of the Rt Hon. the Gov. in Council of Fort St. George, by and with the Authority of his Excellency the most noble the Gov. Gen. in Council of all the British Possessions in the East Indies, dated* 31 *July*, 1801.

An alliance of the most intimate union and friendship has long subsisted between the hon. E. India comp. and the family of their highnesses Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, late nabob of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut: by the aid of that alliance his late highness Mahommed Ally was enabled, under Providence, to support his pretensions to the possession of the Carnatic at the death of his illustrious father, to defeat the power of his enemies in arms, and finally to establish his authority in the govt of Arcot and its dependencies, on the foundations of the British power. For the defence and protection of the valuable possessions thus acquired by the united arms of the English comp. and of the nabob of Arcot, various treaties and obligations have been established, by which it was intended that the interests, security, and power of both parties in the Carnatic Payen Ghaut should be cemented and identified. In conformity to the faith and spirit of these engagements, the hon. comp. has invariably applied, not only the resources derived from that alliance, but the whole power of the Brit. empire in India, to maintain the govt of the late nabobs of the Carnatic against all their enemies, and has caused them to be acknowledged by foreign states as the allies of the Brit. nation. By these means, and by the unabated exertion of its whole power, the Eng. nation was enabled, during the war which continued from the year 1780 to the year 1783, to support the pretensions of the nabob Mahomed Ally, and to rescue his dominions from the violence of Hyder Ally Khan, and of his successor Tippoo Sultaun, who, by the assistance of the French nation, had been enabled to conquer a considerable part of the Carnatic, and to establish their authority over the greatest portion of the territorial possessions of the said nabob. To support the authority of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and to secure the British interests in the Carnatic, it became expedient for the contracting parties to enter into specific engagements for the maintenance of an adequate military establishment. The Eng. comp. accordingly bound itself by a treaty, bearing date Feb. 1787, to maintain the whole military force required for the protection of the territories of the allies; in consideration of which engagement the nabob Mahomed Ally agreed, among other conditions, and under certain penalties therein specified, to pay an annual subsidy, amounting to 15 lacs of star pagodas. According to the farther stipulations of that engagement, rendered necessary by experience for the mutual safety of the contracting parties, the Eng. comp. in the year 1790, charged itself with the administration of the civil govt, in addition to the military defence of the Carnatic, in a critical juncture of affairs, when the ambition and implacable enmity of the late Tippoo Sultaun, compelled the British govt in India to resort to arms for the support of its rights, and for the protection of its allies. At the conclusion of the war, in 1792 (the successful and glorious termination of which tended in the most direct manner to secure the safety and prosperity of the possessions of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic) the Brit. gov. restored the civil gov. of the Carnatic to his highness, thereby manifesting the strictest adherence to the stipulations of the existing engagements of 1787; but the Brit. govt did not confine itself to the mere discharge of the stipulations of its existing engagements; its views were extended to an enlarged and liberal consideration of the principles of the alliance subsisting between the comp. and the nabobs of the Carnatic. At that period of time, the nabob Mahommed Ally, relying on the friendly disposition of the Brit. govt, represented, in the most urgent manner to the marq. Cornwallis, the inadequacy of his highness's resources to discharge the pecuniary engagements of the treaty of 1787; and the gov. gen. acting in conformity to the spirit of the alliance and friendship so long subsisting between the nabobs of the Carnatic and the Eng. comp. relieved his highness from the burthensome terms of that engagement, thereby surrendering the pecuniary rights acquired by the comp. under the treaty of 1787, for the purpose of promoting the tranquillity, comfort, and interests of the nabob Mahommed Ally. With this liberal view of the principles of the connexion established between the Brit. govt and nabob of Arcot, an indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787 was framed; and by a subsequent treaty, bearing date in July 1792, the pecuniary contribution of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, towards the general defence and protection of the rights and possessions of the allies, was diminished from 15 to 9 lacs of star pagodas. The spirit of moderation by which the Brit. councils were guided in respect to this alliance, was unequivocally manifested by a farther stipulation for the purpose of securing to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the son and presumptive heir of the nabob Mahommed Ally, the succession to the territories of his father, on the terms and conditions of the treaty of 1792. In return for this relinquishment of a considerable portion of its pecuniary resources, the Eng. comp. obtained no other advantages than an extended renewal of the territorial security, already provided by the treaty of 1787, for the performance of the nabob Mahommed Ally's pecuniary engagements, and a repetition of his highness's previous obligation not to contract alliances, nor to enter into correspondence with any European or native power, without the knowledge and concurrence of the Brit. govt; conformably, therefore, to this indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787, the govt of the Carnatic was restored to the nabob Mahommed Ally: on the death of his highness the nabob Mahommed Ally, in the year 1795, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah succeeded to the possession of his father's territories, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1792. The nabob Mahommed Ally, as well as his son and successor, had repeatedly granted tuncaws or assignments of revenue on the districts pledged to the company in direct violation of the treaty of 1792, and to the manifest injury of the territorial security provided by the comp. for its interest in the Carnatic. The Brit. govt, however, continued to extend to their highnesses the indulgent operation of the beneficial conditions of the treaty of 1792, by abstaining from the exercise of the just rights acquired against their highnesses under the exprtss

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stipulations of that engagement, and under the acknowledged interpretation of the law of nations. Under these circumstances the Brit. govt might justly have required from the house of Mahommed Ally, not merely the exact and rigid observation of the treaty of 1792, but a zealous and cordial attachment to the spirit of an engagement, under which the nabobs of the Carnatic had found the most ample protection, accompanied by the most indulgent and liberal construction of every stipulation favourable to their separate interests, and by the most lenient relaxation of those penal articles, the obligation of which their highnesses had respectively incurred by violating the article of the treaty of 1792, relative to the grants of tuncaws or assignments of revenue on the districts pledged to the company. It is with the deepest concern that the gov. in council is compelled to declare, that those ancient allies of the comp. the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, have been found not only deficient in every active duty of the alliance, but unfaithful to its fundamental principles, and untrue to its vital spirit. In the full enjoyment of the most abundant proofs of the moderation, indulgence, and good faith of the hon. comp. the nabob Mahommed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, actually commenced and maintained a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, the determined enemy of the Brit. name, founded on principles and directed to objects utterly subversive of the alliance between the nabob of the Carnatic and the comp. and equally incompatible with the security of the Brit. power in the peninsula of India.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the Brit. gov. obtained possession of the original records of Tippoo Sultaun; the correspondence of that prince's ambassadors, during their residence at Fort St. George in attendance on his sons the hostage princes, in the years 1792 and 1793, established sufficient ground of apprehension, that their highnesses, the late nabob Mahommed Ally and the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had entered into a secret intercourse with the late Tippoo Sultaun, of a nature hostile to the Brit. interests in India. The enquiries of the Brit. govt have been since directed to ascertain a fact so intimately connected with the security of its rights in the Carnatic. The result has established the following propositions, by a series of connected, written, and oral testimony.—1. At the very period of time when the nabob Mahommed Ally appealed to the generosity of the Brit. govt, for an indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787, his highness had already commenced a secret negociation for the establishment of an intimate intercourse with the nabob Tippoo Sultaun, without the knowledge of the Brit. govt, and for purposes evidently repugnant to its security and honour.—2. The nabob Omdut ul Omrah (who was empowered by the nabob Mahommed Ally to negociate the treaty of 1792 with the British govt, and who actually negociated that treaty for himself and for his father) was actually employed at the same period of time, under his father's authority, in negociating for himself, and for his father, the terms of the said separate and secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun.—3. The tendency of the said intercourse was directed to the support of Tippoo Sultaun in victory and triumph over all his enemies.—4. In December 1792, the nabob Mahommed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultaun, regarding the sentiments and intentions of the Brit. govt in India, with relation to the hostile views and negociation of Tippoo Sultaun at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad; and on the first intelligence of the war between Great Brit. and France in 1793, the nabob Mahommed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultaun, respecting the views and power of France in India and in Europe, and respecting the intended operations of the Brit. forces against the French possessions in the Carnatic. And the nabob Mahommed Ally conveyed to Tippoo Sultaun secret admonitions and friendly advice respecting the most favourable season, and the most propitious state of circumstances, for the violation of Tippoo Sultaun's engagements with the hon. comp.—5. The nabob Omdut ul Omrah was employed by his father or one of the agents to convey secret intelligence, friendly admonition, and seasonable advice to Tippoo Sultaun, through the confidential agents of Tippoo Sultaun, who were furnished with instructions from the said sultaun of Mysore, to receive such communications from the said nabob of the Carnatic, and from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah.—6. A cypher was composed and actually introduced into the separate and secret correspondence between the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Tippoo Sultaun; the original key of the said cypher, discovered among the records of Scringapatam, is in the hand-writing of the confidential moonshee (or secretary) of the nabob Mahommed Ally and of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the said cypher was delivered by a confidential agent of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the ambassador of Tippoo Sultaun, for the express purpose of being transmitted to Tippoo Sultaun.—7. The terms employed in the said cypher, particularly those intended to designate the Brit. govt and its allies, the Nizam and the Mahratta state, united in a defensive league against Tippoo Sultaun, contain the most powerful internal evidence that the communications proposed to be disguised by the said cypher, were of the most hostile tendency to the interest and objects of the said alliance, and calculated to promote the cause of Tippoo Sultaun in opposition to that of the said allies.—8. The nabob Omdut ul Omrah, under his own hand-writing, in Aug. 1794, corroborated the evidence of his intention to complete the purposes herein described, of the secret intercourse which he had negociated with Tippoo Sultaun; and the continuance of the same intention is manifested by letter from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and from his confidential agent, addressed to the supposed agent of Tippoo Sultaun in the year 1796, subsequently to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's accession to the govt of the Carnatic under the treaty of 1792.—9. At the commencement, and during the progress of the late just, necessary, and glorious war with the late Tippoo Sultaun, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the utmost extent of his means and power, pursued the objects of his secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, by a systematic course of deception, with respect to the provision of the funds necessary to enable the Brit. troops to march into Mysore, as well as by a systematic and active opposition to the supply and movement of the allied army through different parts of the said nabob's dominions.—10. The stipulations contained in the 15th art. of the treaty of 1787, and the 10th art. of the treaty of 1792, by which the nabobs of the Car-

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natic were bound not to enter into any political negociations or correspondence with any European power or state, without the consent of the govt of Fort St. George, or of the comp. formed a fundamental condition of the alliance between the said nabob and the comp.; and the violation of the said stipulations necessarily involved the entire forfeiture, on the part of the nabob, of all the benefits of the said alliance.—11. The nabob Mohammed Ally, and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, have violated the said stipulations, and have thereby forfeited all the benefits of the said alliance; and the nabob Mohammed Ally, and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, having violated the said stipulations for the express purpose of establishing an union of interests with Tippoo Sultaun, thereby placed themselves in the condition of public enemies to the Brit. govt in India.—It is manifest, therefore, that the intentions of the nabobs Mohammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, having been uniformly and without interruption hostile to the Brit. power in India, and that those intentions have been carried into effect to the full extent of the actual power possessed by their highnesses respectively, at the several periods of time in which they have acted in pursuance of their system of co-operation with the enemy. By acting on these principles of conduct, the nabobs Mohammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah not only violated the rights of the comp. but by uniting their interests with those of the most implacable enemy of the Brit. empire, actually placed themselves in the relation of public enemies to the Brit. govt, dangerous to the extent of their respective power, and active according to the means and opportunities afforded to them by the circumstances of the moment, and especially by the most severe exigency and pressure of war; every principle, therefore, of public law release the Brit. govt from the intended obligations of the treaty of 1792; and every consideration of self-defence and security authorized the comp. to exercise its power in the manner most expedient for the purpose of frustrating the hostile councils of the late nabob of the Carnatic, modelled upon the artful example, actuated by the faithless spirit, and sanctioned by the testamentary voice of his father. In proceeding to exercise this right, it was painful to the Brit. govt to be compelled to expose to the world all these humiliating proofs of the ingratitude and treachery of the nabobs Mohammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, towards that power which has uniformly proved their guardian and protector; and in acting from the impression of this sentiment, the Brit. govt was more desirous of consulting its own dignity, than of admitting any claims on the part of those infatuated princes to its generosity and forbearance. In conformity to this spirit of temperance and moderation, it was the intention of the Brit. govt to have made a formal communication to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, of the proofs which had been obtained of his highness's breach of the alliance, with a view of obtaining, by the most lenient means, satisfaction for the injury sustained by the Brit. govt, and security against the future operation of the hostile councils of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah. Circumstances of expediency, connected with the general interests and policy of the Brit. govt, interrupted the communication of this document to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; the intermediate illness of his highness protracted the execution of that intention, and his subsequent death frustrated the wish of the Brit. govt to obtain from that prince satisfactory security for the rights pledged to the comp. in the Carnatic. The death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah has not affected the rights acquired by the Brit. govt under the discovery of his breach of the alliance. Whatever claim the reputed son of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah may be supposed to possess to the comp.'s support of his pretensions to the govt of the Carnatic, is founded on the grounds of the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the assistance of the comp. in securing his succession to the nabob Mohammed Ally in the govt of the Carnatic, was founded on the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792. The result of the propositions stated in this declaration has established abundant proof, that the fundamental principles of the alliance between the comp. and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as the express letter of the treaty of 1792, had been absolutely violated and rendered of no effect by the nabobs Mohammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, previously to the ostensible conclusion of that instrument. It is manifest, therefore, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah could derive no rights from the formal ratification of that treaty, the vital spirit of which had already been annihilated by the hostile and faithless conduct of his highness, and that the nabobs Mohammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, by forming an intimate union of interests with Tippoo Sultaun, had actually placed themselves in the relation of public enemies to the Brit. empire in India. Whatever claim to the comp.'s protection and support the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah may derive from his supposed father, had been utterly destroyed by the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah; it follows, therefore, that the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah has succeeded to the condition of his father, which condition was that of a public enemy; and, consequently, that at the death of Omdut ul Omrah, the Brit. govt remained at liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faithless policy of its ally, in whatever manner might be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety and the general interests of the comp. in the Carnatic. Before the Brit. govt proceed to exercise this right, founded on the violation of the alliance, and on the necessity of self-defence, it was desirous of manifesting its attention to the long established connexion between the comp. and the house of Omdut ul Omrah, by sacrificing to the sentiments of national magnanimity and generosity the resentment created by his highness's flagrant breach of the alliance. In the spirit of those councils, therefore, with which it had been the intention of the Brit. govt to demand satisfaction and security from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to avoid the publication of facts so humiliating to the family of that prince, the Brit. govt communicated to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, knowledge of the proofs now existing in the possession of the govt at Fort St. George of the violation of the alliance, at the same time the Brit. govt manifested a consistent adherence to the principles of moderation and forbearance, by opening a latitude to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah to form, by means of an amicable adjustment, that satisfaction and security which the hostile and faithless conduct of his supposed father had entitled the Brit. govt to demand, and which the dictates of prudence and self-defence compelled it to require. The reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, by and with the advice

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of the persons appointed by his father's will to assist his councils, has persisted in opposing a determined resistance to this demand, thereby exhibiting an unequivocal proof, that the spirit which actuated the hostile councils of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has been transmitted with unabated vigour to the supposed son of Omdut ul Omrah, secured in its operation under the sanctimonious forms of their testamentary injunctions, and preserved with religious attachment by the ostensible descendant of that prince. Frustrated in the hope of obtaining, from the reputed son of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, reparation for its injuries and security for its rights, the Brit. govt is now reluctantly compelled to publish to the world the proofs of this flagrant violation of the most sacred ties of amity and alliance, by the nabobs Mohammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the hereditary spirit of enmity manifested by the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah to the interests of the Brit. govt. The duty and necessity of self-defence require the Brit. govt, under the circumstances of this case, to exercise its power in the attainment of an adequate security for its rights; justice and moderation warrant, that the family of Omdut ul Omrah shall be deprived of the means of completing its systematic course of hostility; wisdom and prudence demand, that the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah shall not be permitted to retain possession of resources dangerous to the tranquillity of the Brit. govt in the peninsula of India. Wherefore the Brit. govt, still adhering to the principles of moderation, and actuated by its uniform desire of obtaining security for its rights and interests in the Carnatic, by an arrangement founded on the principles of the long subsisting alliance between the comp. and the family of the nabob Mahommed Ally, judged it expedient to enter into a negociation for that purpose with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, the son and heir of Azeem ul Omrah, who was the second son of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and the immediate great grandson by both his parents of the nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan, of blessed memory. And his highness the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder having entered into engagements for the express purpose of reviving the alliance between the comp. and his illustrious ancestors, and of establishing an adequate security for the Brit. interests in the Carnatic, the Brit. govt has now resolved to exercise its rights and its power, under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder in the soubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut. And, for the more full explanation of the grounds and motives of this declaration, the rt hon. the govr in council, by and with the authority of his excellency the govr gen. in council, has caused attested copies and extracts of several documents discovered at Seringapatam to be annexed hereunto, together with an extract from the treaties of 1787 and 1792.—By order of the rt hon. the govr in council.

J. Webbe, Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 31st July, 1801.

Appendix to the Declaration of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, bearing date the 31st July, 1801.

No. 1. *Extracts from a letter from Gholaum Alli Khaun and Alli Rezza Khaun, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 26th Tuckee*, 1220, (*15th June*, 1792.)

The following conversation took place at a visit made by the princes to the nabob Wallajah on 21st Tuckee, 1220, (10th of June, 1792)—We presented Nuzzurs of eleven gold mohurs to the nabob Wallajah, of which his highness took one, and rising, embraced us and said, "May God long preserve Tippoo Sultaun, who is the pillar of the religion of Mahomed. Night and day I used to be absolved in this contemplation, and to pray for his highness's prosperity; I call God to witness this fact, because the confederacy of three allies was for the subversion of the Mahomedan religion. It is solely to be attributed to the Divine goodness, that the prayers of us sinners have been accepted. Believe it true, that I from my heart desire the welfare of the sultaun."—When the princes and we took leave of the nabob Wallajah, and were going away, he came up to us, and with a great deal of warmth desired us to stay, as he had something to say to us. We replied we were ready. He then told us, that his life was now drawing to a close; that for what had hitherto taken place between his highness and your majesty there was no remedy; but now, merely out of a regard to the faith (of which your majesty was a pillar) he was desirous of establishing a cordial harmony with your majesty; and if we, having in view the claims of both parties (upon our endeavours) would in the presence of God exert ourselves for this purpose, the Almighty would reward us, and both parties would reap the benefits of this event, which were great and numberless; that although his highness wanted to prevent the war between your majesty and the three allied states, yet that Nizam Alli Khaun, at the latter period of his life, was thus preparing for futurity, by exerting himself for the destruction of religion. It was solely from a regard to the faith, that his highness did not encourage the measure, and that he now declares that, in a thousand points of view, it was adviseable that perfect harmony should reign between your majesty and his highness. We replied, that we would undoubtedly report all this to your majesty.

Farther Extract.—On the 24th of Tuckee (14th June, 1792) Wallajah, Omdut ul Omrah, and Hussien Nawauz Khaun, youngest son of Wallajah, ld Cornwallis, and gen. Meadows, came to visit the princes. They sat two hours (about three quarters of an hour English) and talked a great deal with them. His highness took occasion to observe, that we considered him to have been an enemy, whereas he declared in the presence of God, that he was not, and is not; that, on the contrary, he was a friend and well-wisher; and that he had opposed the breach between your majesty and the three allied states to such a degree, that every one decided in his own mind, that inwardly your majesty and his highness were one; and he desired us to ask ld Cornwallis and gen. Meadows, who were present, whether he said true or not.

(A true translation.)

N. R. Edmonstone, Pers. Transr to the S.G.

No. 2. *Extract of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khaun and Alli Rezza, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 4th of Sumree of the year Sehr*, 1220, *A. H. Muharrem*. (*21st June*, 1792.)

We had the honour to receive your majesty's most gracious letter, dated 8th Turkee (28th May, 1792) giving cover to a slip of paper, upon which

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were written two couplets on the 28th Turkee. We have from the first understood the writing, your majesty knows of, as your majesty has explained it, and when occasion requires, will act in conformity to your majesty's commands. Your majesty has desired that we will not disclose this subject to any person. God is our witness that we have, from the commencement of our service to the present time, inviolably kept your majesty's commands, which we consider as a religious obligation: and we declare to your majesty that we have not divulged, neither will we divulge them to any one: we are the servants of God, the disciples of Mahomed, and the dependants of your majesty, during our lives, and never will. An observance of the secrets of our masters is enjoined by the Khoran. By the grace of God, and through the blessing of the salt of your majesty, the King of Kings, we have never infringed, and never will infringe, this injunction in the slightest degree upon any occasion.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 3. *Translation of an Arzee from Alli Rezza Khan and Gholaum Alli Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 4th of Sumree of the year Schir, 1220, A.N. Mahomed* (22d *June*, 1792.)

On the 14th Jaffree (23d July, 1792) we had the honour to receive by two messengers your majesty's letter, dated 8th Sumree (26th June, 1792) enclosing a slip of paper containing a couplet. We were before acquainted with the meaning of the couplet, as explained by your majesty, and accordingly have before this written to your majesty in conformity thereto, and will still continue as occasion may require, to write to your majesty. Your majesty desires that we will not divulge the circumstance to any one. Refuge of the world! we consider the concealment of the commands and secrets of our superiors in the light of a religious duty; not to divulge the orders of princes is enjoined by the Khoran, and this is a duty imposed upon all servants by the word of God. Who would be so forgetful of his God, and regardless of religion, as to sacrifice, by a disclosure of secrets committed to his charge, his present and future happiness? In the presence of Almighty God, we declare to your majesty, that from the time we entered your majesty's service to the present moment, a term of 11 years, none but Almighty God is or shall be privy to the commands with which you have entrusted us. Such is our fidelity, that Divine Providence may, perhaps, through its blessings, prosper us in this and a future state, and keep us supported in respectability and credit near your majesty. All farther particulars will be fully made known to your majesty from the arzees which we have successively dispatched to you. The princes, who are in health, beg to offer their most humble respects to your majesty. (A true translation.)

N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 4. *Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 16th of Jaffree of the year Schir, 1220, A.N. Mahomed,* (4th *Aug.* 1792.)

On the 8th Tehejeh (29th July, 1792) the nabob Wallajah sent a messenger to us by Mahomed Abdoolla Khan, that the following day, being that preceding the Eed, he would, if we desired it, pay a visit to the princes, as he was very anxious to see his sons (as he called them). In reply, we begged he would give our respects, and represent to his highness, that the houses of the princes, and they themselves, were his own, and that the princes were his guests; that he was their superior, and his company there would afford them much happiness; but that, if he wished it, we ourselves would most readily attend him. Accordingly, at one pans of the following day (about 9 o'clock) Walajah, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and Hassein Newauz Khan, paid a visit to the princes, and taking them upon his knees for about two hours, blessed them, and said, May God long and permanently preserve the shadow of Tippoo Sultaun extended over you and me, since in this age the preservation of religion depends upon him alone. I have passed my 80th year, and in that time many are the things I have seen and done, and experienced. What is passed is passed, and God only knows what futurity may bring to light. At present the maintenance of religion rests with Tippoo Sultaun, and may God preserve and keep him victorious and triumphant. I do not say this merely in your presence; but I say it, taking to witness Him who knows all that is hidden. Night and day, after the prayers of the day, and on Friday after public devotion, I offer up my prayers (meaning for Tippoo Sultaun) and require the people also to do the same. His highness spoke to us also in terms of great warmth and friendship, and after sitting two hours went away. As Wallajah had paid a visit to the princes, it became necessary that they should return it, and consequently they waited upon him the next day, which was the Eedoo Zoha (or Feast of the Camel); the nawaub, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and the other sirdars, came out to meet them as on the feast day, and having assisted the princes in alighting from their palanquins, took them within the house, where he repeatedly caressed them both, and said, "God preserve the sultaun in safety, for through him alone these rituals and observances of the faith (alluding probably to the Eed) yet remain." He then observed to us, "In my first conversation with you, I spoke to you upon the subject of establishing a friendship and harmony between me and Tippoo Sultaun. Have you intimated it to him, and have you received a favourable answer?" We replied, that we had set forth to your majesty, word for word, the friendly sentiments his highness had expressed, and that your majesty had written in reply, that friendship, union, and brotherly regard, had, from the beginning, been established among the professors of Islamism, as was evinced by the testimony of the holy book, agreeably to the prescriptions of which your majesty wished that cordial friendship and attachment should, without prejudice or partiality, be established between the followers of the faith, as the means of supporting the religion of Mahomed; and that your majesty added, "God preserve the nawaub Wallajah, who is a prince, and one of the leaders of the faithful, and a pillar of the faith. At the term, "a pillar of the faith," the nawaub could not suppress his tears, and said, "I am what I know myself to be." Tell the Sultaun, that *he* is the pillar of the faith; and may God preserve him and grant him a long life, since I and all Mussulmen derive support from him; for otherwise the

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state of affairs here is evident. That which is evident does not require explanation." We also, in conformity to your majesty's commands, mentioned to his highness in a becoming and suitable manner, whatever there was to state upon the subject of friendship and attachment. His highness replied, "In consideration of the complexion of the times, the state of which is manifest, and that the support of the religion of Mahomed in this country entirely depends upon the sultaun, my nightly and daily prayer is offered up for his good." He then said to the princes, "Oh! my sons! if my life and property can be of any service to you, God is witness that I will not refuse them to you." He then gave orders to the superintendant of the gardens to carry every day fruits and flowers to the princes, before his (the nabob's) own children; and said to us, "You are not acquainted with the state and order of affairs here. Consider me from my heart your well-wisher and sincere friend; and at all times be assured, that in whatever I may be able to effect your benefit, either by word or deed, I will not decline my exertions. What I said and wrote to his ldp upon the subject of making peace, God well knows who was then or is now desirous of it. His ldp, however, possessed uncontrouled authority, was a man of wisdom, and listened to the advice of others, and my observations made an impression upon me. God preserve you and me from the wicked designs of others." Major Doveton and another officer being of the party, his highness appealed to them, observing, that they had been present at the time, and could speak to the truth or falsity of what he said. Major Doveton replied, that it was very true; and that several English gentlemen were consequently much displeased with his highness. That one day, when his highness had assembled all the gentlemen, under pretence of giving them an entertainment, but really for the above purpose, and had accordingly suggested pacific measures, the expediency of which he urged in a thousand ways, they were so displeased that they went away without partaking of the entertainment; nay, that to their animosity migh be attributed the assumption of his highness's country: that when the orders were received from the king of England to restore the country, they framed the pretence among themselves that his highness was too much attached to Tippoo Sultaun; and that the restitution of his country would consequently be an impolitic measure: but his ldp maintained his opinion singly, and, disregarding the animosity of all the others against his highness, delivered to him (his highness) the country, agreeably to the directions of his majesty. The story is very long. We have only written to your majesty a very small part of it. At present the commanding officer of the fort, and the other English gentlemen who are here, behave towards the nawaub Wallajah as if they were his servants. The princes staid two hours with his highness, and at the time of departure were presented by him with two khellauts of embroidery for the tenanch, two kulgus, and two surpaishes of the finest jewels. We made endless apologies, and requested that he would excuse our acceptance of them. He said, "This is a festival, and I have given to my sons and my whole family new garments. These are also my children, and I entertain for them even a greater degree of regard, and I must not neglect them; these things possess little value, and it is not your province to interpose between me and my children." In like manner his highness presented Gholaum Alli Khaun with a khellaut, consisting of a khulgu and surpaish, and with a surpaish and khellaut, and Shirkh Soliman Khan with another. He then took a hand of each of the princes, and descending from the upper part of his house, accompanied them to the outer door of the toshuk honnah, when he took leave of them. Omdut ul Omrah, and his other sons, attended them to the road, where they left them, after seeing them into their palanquins, and the nabob at parting embraced them with the greatest warmth.—We have thus communicated to your majesty the particulars of the friendly conduct of the nabob Walajah and the other sirdars; in fact, the disposition of all ranks of people is equally favourable, for whenever the princes go out any where, thousands of them stand in the street, and offer up prayers for your majesty's prosperity. On festivals and on Fridays in congregation, all the Mussulmans first offer up their prayers for your majesty's preservation. May God fulfil them! Upon our return dancing girls and musicians, &c. were sent with the prince's retinue, and after our arrival at the prince's house, and sitting there for two hours, danced, and were then dismissed.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 5.—*Extract from a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Alli Rezza Khan and Gholaum Alli Khan; dated at Seringapatam, the 16th of Hejree, of the Year Scio 1220 from the Birth of Mahomed.*

I have received and understood the contents of your arzee, intimating the distinguished kindness and regard with which the nawaub Wallajah treats my sons, and the sincere friendship which he entertains towards me. It is evident that the nawaub is a pillar of the Mahomedan religion, the elect of the Almighty, a man of dignity and worldly experience; whatever favour and attention he may shew towards my sons, who are his guests, and you, I shall assuredly consider as a kindness conferred upon myself. This circumstance has afforded me much pleasure. My hopes from Almighty God and his divine messenger are, that the nawaub will do whatever may tend to the support of the religion of Mahomed, and that he will give the necessary attention to this point. You will mention to him that he must consider my sons as his own: that, in conformity to the command of God and the prophet, the improvement of Friendship among the professors of Islamism will be beneficial to various concerns both spiritual and temporal, and that, deeming me attached to our common religion and to his highness's person, he will direct his attention accordingly; you will also state to the nawaub the other points of friendship, which you have repeatedly heard from my mouth.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 6.—*Key to a Cypher found among the Records at Seringapatam, and received at Calcutta on the 3d of March* 1800.

Oh God, glorious and exalted! Oh propitious God! May the blessing of the Lord be upon him. Religion. Bishteh. The nabob Walajah, *the friend of mankind.*—Alli Rezza, *the distinguished in friendship.*—The power of God, *a saddle.*—Heaven, *earth.*—The nabob Tippoo Sultaun, *the defender or protector of the faith.*—Nothing or nonentity, *Nizam ul*

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Dowlah.—The victorious, *a scymeter.*—A state of dominion, *a ring.*—The faith religion, *Gholaum Alli Khan.*—Nawaub Laheb, *the spring, a flower garden.*—A letter, *an interview.*—Benevolent, *the hand.*—A heart, *a seal.*—The English, *newcomers.*—The mean or despicable, *the Mahrattas.*—A flower, *a present.*—⊖ The restorer of the faith, *Omdut ul Omrah.*—⊖ The writing of Omdut ul Omrah.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 7. *Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan to Tippoo Sultaun.*

The departure of Alli Khan at this time, in conformity to the orders of the presence, is very expedient, especially for the purpose of bringing to a favourable issue the propositions of Id Cornwallis, and the *well-wisher of mankind*, (the designation of the nabob Wezajah in the cypher,) which is most ardently to be wished. There are many points which cannot be committed to paper, and can only be communicated in person; at this time the friendship and good will of both sirdars is from God, and the royal auspices: The particulars of this summary, which is an unlooked for good, will be made known to your majesty by the verbal representations of Alli Rezza, who attends the presence especially for that purpose; although it is contrary to the rules of respect to presume to give an opinion upon this subject, yet I am emboldened by my long attachment and my sense of the duty I owe your majesty; when your majesty shall have maturely deliberated upon and fully brought home to your mind the representation of both the sirdars, from a consideration of the changeableness of the times, your majesty's agreeing to this affair (upon the principle recommended in the words of Hafiz, of Shiraz; the mercy of God be upon him! With Friends, cordiality; with enemies, dissimulation) seems highly expedient and advantageous to your Majesty's interests.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 8.—*Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Nawaub Walajah.*

In the name of the most merciful God. After reiterated praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who assembled the body of Mussulmans under the banners of Mahomed, and lighted the torch of mutual attachment among them, and praise to the chosen of prophets, who promulged the saying, "All Mussulmans are brothers," and took upon himself the task of intercession for all believers; and after intimating my desire of being personally known to your highness, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I have the honour to represent that the receipt of your highness's kind letter, after so long a lapse of time—(according to the saying, "all things depend upon the appointed season")—rejoiced me extremely, and your highness's obliging recollection of me exacted my acknowledgments, and I return thanks to Almighty Providence for the joyful news of the welfare of the well-wisher of mankind *meaning the Nawaub himself)*; my delaying to address your highness has been owing to my not having been favoured with any letters from your highness. By the grace of God! your highness is pre-eminent, characterized for all praise-worthy qualities, and acquainted with all affairs. It is probable that your highness's delay in writing to me may have been occasioned by the particular circumstances of the times, and in consequence I also have delayed to write, else I should have written to you an hundred times. Now by the receipt of your highness's letter, and the account of your highness's friendship and attachment, which I have had from the verbal communication of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship*, (key to the cypher) the trusty, I am certain that (according to the words of the prophet, the union of the Mussulmans is as that of the soul with the body) that warmth of attachment, original affection, implanted among Mussulmans, exists between us. My hope from Almighty God, and my confidence in the prophet is, that according to the command of God, and of the prophet, which is well known to all Mussulmans, all the faithful will exert themselves with heart and soul in maintaining and rendering permanent the religion of Mahomed upon your highness, who is one of the heads of the faith; this is an absolute duty, and I am confident that your highness will by all means constantly employ your time in performing what is obligatory on you; and I am perfectly satisfied that you will shew that kindness which is becoming your exalted station, towards my two sons, your guests, and who are as your own. I hope that regarding me inwardly and as your well-wisher, and that of all Mussulmans, you will continue to rejoice me by letters; you will learn my fathers sentiments from the representations of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship.*

Dated 11th of Takree of the year Sikir 1220, from the 10th of Mahomed, (29th Nov. 1792.)

(A true translation) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 9.—*Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Omaut ul Omrah, the Nabob of the Carnatic.*

After reiterating praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who hath adorned the multitude of the professors of Islamism with the gem of religion, and lighted the torch of friendship for each other in the region of the heart, and endless thanks worthy of the last of the messengers of God (Mahomed) who with his prophetic tongue spoke this divine saying, "That all Mussulmans are brothers;" and who was pleased to take upon himself the task of intercession for all believers; and after intimating my desire of personal communications and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I set forth my object: By the grace of God the most sincere attachment and perfect unanimity have from the beginning been established among the believers of the enlightened doctrine of Mahomed, but every event has its proper season, and hence no opportunity has yet offered for the external demonstration of our mutual regard. Now, however, the receipt of your kind letter, replete with the friendly sentiments with which our hearts are mutually impressed, has doubly added to my sincere attachment and cordial regard; when I learnt also from the intimation of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship*, the trusty, of your great and noble qualities, and the sincere friendship and cordiality you entertain towards me, my happiness was greater than language can adequately express; may God realize this source of happiness; that is to say, that perfect attachment and union among the followers of Islaum, which is the greatest

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gift of the Almighty, and than which nothing is more essential to the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. May God render it attainable, and may he preserve us firm in the faith of Mahomed, the boundless benefits resulting from which will by the divine grace be manifested. I am confident that you will direct your attention to the adjustment of affairs between me and the *well-wisher of mankind*, who is the chief and principal of the professors of Islamism; and that deeming me from my heart your well-wisher, you will always keep me in your recollection by your friendly letters: All other particulars may be made known to you from the representations of the high in rank.—May prosperity and happiness attend you!

Dated the 15th of Zakru of the year Sehir 1220, (29th Nov. 1792.)

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 10.—*Translation of Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan to Tippoo Sultaun. (Without Date.)*

On the 2d of Rehmany of the year Sehir 1220, Mohummudee (14th Jan. 1793) the nabob Walajah sent a message by Khadir Nawaz Khan to this effect. Whatever animosity and estrangement formerly existed between us (meaning himself and Tippoo Sultaun) are now, thank God, completely removed. If the slightest trace of them remain in my heart, I am no Mussulman, nay of another sect; and on the part of the Hyderee Sircar, also I am confident the same friendly sentiments are entertained: God knows, and the prophet is witness, on the most deliberate reflection and deep consideration, I see no one sirdar who has at heart the interests of the true faith, except Tippoo Sultaun, and after him this sinner (of whom the same may be said in some degree). In the second place, the sight of the princes gives new force to the attachment and regard that my heart feels; indeed it is superfluous to express this; hence I offer up my most earnest prayers to God for the welfare of the sultaun, and the prosperity of the affairs of the Hydree Circar. From the impulse of these sentiments it is requisite that I should communicate some articles of intelligence, which are as follows: I have always kept stationed in Bengal several persons of the higher class, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting secret intelligence daily. In the paper of intelligence which came on the 25th of Rubuossaunce 1207 (10th of December 1793) it is stated, that sir Chs Mulet, the English resident at Poonah, has written to ld Cornwallis, that numerous messengers from the Khodadad Sircar pass to and fro between Seringapatam and Poonah; whence it would seem that Tippoo Sultaun was endeavouring to form a close connection and affiance with the Poonah govt, and through that govt with the mogul (Nizam Alli Khan); and that deeming this information of importance, he had written it to his ldp. The members of council in Bengal on hearing this, are said to have stated their opinion to his ldp that Tippoo Sultaun was infringing the settlement which had taken place between him and his ldp, and was entertaining views of a sinister nature; that, for example, the sultaun withheld payment of the kists, as prescribed in the treaty, and refused to release the European and other prisoners subjects of the comp.; that this sort of discourse had excited some degree of suspicion, nay even of alarm in his ldp's mind. Such is the present state of affairs: What, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this, in a short time his ldp will go to Europe; the princes, please God, will soon return, and the kists are in a course of payment; after his ldp's departure the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be his highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper; at present it is better to be silent upon every thing, because at this time his highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the imputation will in every respect and in every measure fall upon him.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Note.—The following extract is preceded by an account of the nabob Walajah's having invited the princes to an exhibition of fireworks, on occasion of the eed or festival. The govr of Madras lent his garden for the purpose.

No. 11. *Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Reza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 22d Ahmedy of the Year Sehir 1221, A.H. (2d May 1793.)*

The princes having arrived at the garden, the nawaub Walajah sent Omdut ul Omrah to them, desiring him to remain in attendance upon the princes as long as they should stay at the entertainment. Omdut ul Omrah accordingly attended the princes at the exhibition of fireworks until nine o'clock at night, when he took leave and went away. At parting Omdut ul Omrah said to us, "You will give my respectful compliments, by way of remembrance to his majesty, and inform him that he may consider me from my heart attached to him, and that, please God, at a proper occasion my fidelity towards him shall be made manifest to him."

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 12.—*Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Reza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 25th Behaurce of the Year Sehir 1221, A.H. Mahomed (5th June 1793.)*

Refuge of the world! Yesterday *the well-wisher of mankind* sent the following message by Khadir Newaz Khan: "At this time a complete rupture has taken place between the English and French. The story of the king of the French and their domestic commotions are well known. Six or seven European powers have united for the destruction of the French, and you will soon hear that the whole of the French territory has been divided amongst others: The English (troops) from Madras will proceed in a day or two against Pondicherry. Although there is a body of troops in that place, yet domestic dissentions have arisen to the utmost pitch there, and nothing will be done, and the place will at length be taken. The object in mentioning this event is this:—The vakeel of the Ahmedy Sircar, who was at Pondicherry, has lately, it seems, returned to the presence (Tippoo Sultaun). Please God, there is no doubt that the sultaun keeps in view all things and downs of the time. At this time no assistance will be afforded; but out of friendship which I feel for the sultaun, I recommend that the vakeel remain a short time at the presence, and also that epistolary correspondence be discontinued for a short time. Although a friendly connexion has long subsisted with the French

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the part of the Ahmedy Sircar, yet, considering the circumstances of the times, it is not adviseable (that is to maintain an epistolary correspondence with the French); should there be any point of urgency to communicate, there is no objection to do it verbally. For God's sake, let not the sultaun ascribe what I say to a wrong motive; I am actuated solely by my good wishes in making this communication. Since the day that a cordial union took place between us, let me be no longer a Mussulman, nor a servant of God, if I have not always offered up my prayers for the sultaun's good, and afterwards for my own. May the Almighty preserve firm and uninjured the Mahomedan church, and the safety of the sultaun!

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 13.—*Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun, dated 15th of Sumree, of the Year Sehir 1221, A.N.M. (23d July 1793.)*

The nawaub Walajah has repeatedly sent word to us by Khadir Newaz Khan, that he had something of a secret nature which he wished to say to us in private; adding, that if we would go under pretence of seeing a mosque which his highness has built, he would send Omdut ul Omrah alone to meet us. Accordingly on the 17th of Tuckee (21st June 1793) we went to the mosque; whither Omdut ul Omrah repaired also. On the left of the mosque is the tomb of a celebrated devotee (by name Futtah Shah) who died about six months ago, and erected at his highness's expence. Under pretence of performing the fautehah (or prayers for the dead) Omdut ul Omrah took our hands and carried us into the tomb. When there he asked us whether we had full powers from your majesty, or were under the necessity of making reference upon every subject. We replied, that we had been a year and more in attendance here, during which period many points of business had been negociated, and continued to be negociated, by us; and that, please God, our proceedings were and would be approved and confirmed by your majesty; and that with his (Omdut ul Omrah's) knowledge of this, his question appeared very extraordinary to us. That it was proper to put to vakeels, that we were only servants and well-wishers of the sircars; and that we had powers to act in any thing that appeared to us calculated to promote your highness's interest and welfare; but in the other case not. Omdut ul Omrah was much pleased, and, smiling, said to us, "So it ought to be." He then delivered the following, on the part of the nawaub Walajah:—That for a very long time there had been, without a cause, a veil (or want of cordiality) between his highness and your majesty, which had been productive of injuries to both; but now that, by the favour of God, a system of harmony, such as is becoming among the professors of Islamism, had taken place, his highness confidently hoped from God, the prime cause of all, that the time past might be amply redeemed; that for his highness's own part, considering from his heart himself, his country, and his property, to belong to your majesty, he had made it a testamentary injunction to his children and family, taking God and his holy prophet to witness, to pray night and day for the pillar of faith; (that is to say) your majesty; and to consider their prosperity and welfare as inseparably connected with your majesty; that we must ascertain your majesty's wishes on this head in a manner satisfactory to both, and if your majesty should be, from your heart, solicitous of this proposed cordial harmony, his highness would, under the testimony of God and his prophet, detail to us his sentiments fully at the time of our departure, which, please God, would soon take place. May it please your majesty! His highness is in expectation of an answer from you to these points, and we shall represent to his highness whatever reply your majesty may direct us to make. Please God we shall hereafter have occasion to address your majesty, notifying our succession; the affairs you know of. May the sun of prosperity, &c.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 14.—*Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun (without Date.)*

Prior to this we communicated to your majesty the circumstances of the nawaub Omdut ul Omrah's coming to the mosque; our meeting there, and his communicating to us several points, with which particulars your majesty must ere this have become acquainted. On a subsequent day, the 3d of Sumree, we sent a message to him, purporting that we were going to the garden to see and arrange the effects we had with us; and that if he also would come there, under pretence of taking the air, we should be very happy. Accordingly on the next day we went to the garden with Omdut ul Omrah. We sat together for four hours, (about an hour and a half English); and Omdut ul Omrah discoursed in the most undisguised manner on the part of the nawaub Wallajah, as well as on his own, of the sincerity of their friendship, attachment, and regard.—He also made use of some particular expressions of his attachment, requiring us upon oath not to commit them to writing, but to defer the communication of them until our return to your majesty. "Since" said he, "I have expressed myself as I have done merely from my regard for the faith, and from my friendship and goodwill towards *the defender (or protector) of the faith.* [Key to the cypher.] Please God, you will shortly be with his majesty, when you will communicate them in person." We answered, that we would act as he desired, and not divulge what he had said to any one.—Protector of the world! Concerning the affair with which your majesty is acquainted, we have, under suitable pleas, and a proper introduction, prevailed upon Omdut ul Omrah to lay the foundation of it, and he is exerting himself with zeal in this business. Please God, we will inform your majesty of the result.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 15.—*Extract from a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan; dated 28th Sumree of the Year Sehir 1221, A.N.M. (6th Aug. 1793.)*

I have understood what you have written relative to the conferences with Omdut ul Omrah: I desire that you will privately commit to paper his discourse with you, and send the same to me. You will also write me information of the transaction, with which you are acquainted.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTON

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No. 16.—*Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 24th of Jeafree of the Year Sehir* 1221, *A.N.M.* 31*st Aug.* 1793.)

[After the usual form of address.]—We have had the honour to receive your majesty's two gracious letters, giving cover to a paper containing a form of obligation, and a question of orthodoxy, by the hands of Mahomed Dewan.—We assembled all the servants, high and low, belonging to the sircar, and communicated every thing to them; and enjoined them, that on the next day, which was Friday, they should all bathe, put on their best clothes, and attend us. On that day Gholaum Alli Khan was indisposed (as he still continues), and therefore I, Alli Rezza, carried all the servants of the sircar with me to the jaumah mosque: There were present the cauzy of the city, the khuttub, or preacher, Syed Mahomed, a person of great learning, and others, to the number of near a thousand; and likewise the sons of the nawaub Walajah. As it happened the kostba was well adapted to our purpose. After the Friday's prayers were over, I caused all of them to sit down, and first applied to the cauzy, and other persons of learning who were present, to have the kostba delivered in the Hindoostanny language, in order that every body might understand it. One of them accordingly explained the contents of the kostba, which comprized the command of God to wage holy wars, not to take to flight in combating with infidels; to form an union among all the professors of Islamism; and other obligations of the faith. I then asked the cauzy what was the law if any Mussulman acted contrary to these commands? to which the cauzy replied, That, according to the duties and obligations of Mussulmans, whoever neglected to act up to the commands was a sinner. Upon which I remarked it was very extraordinary that, notwithstanding the notoriety of this and the great plurality of Mussulmans, they should so depart from the obligations of the faith as to take up their abode in such a place, and choose to render obedience to those of a different persuasion. God grant it may turn out well for the Mussulmans of this place! I then said, it is written that the prayers which are offered up in the kostba in favour of a prince who fights for the faith, are accepted of God; but the prayers in favour of those who do not are rejected. Either reconcile the law in this instance to the care of him in [Shah Allum] whose name you have read the kostba, or else conform to the law; why are you knowingly guilty of sin? To this he replied, "All things depend upon their appointed season." After this I asked, according to the law of the faith, what was the duty of servants? he answered, The sentence of the khoran is plain, "Obey God and his prophet, and those of yourselves who are placed in authority over you."—In other words, the most high God hath blended obedience to the sovereign with obedience to himself, and to his messenger; hence it is incumbent upon all servants to do that which belongs to fidelity, and to the interests of religion. I answered, that although this, that is obedience to the prince, was a duty indiscriminately binding upon all Mussulmans, yet I wanted after prayers, the blessing of which I prayed might descend upon every individual, to take an obligation from the servants of the Khodadad Sircar. Accordingly, after I and all the servants of the Ahmedy Sircar had finished the prayers in conformity to your majesty's commands, I addressed all the people and said, "The error of which ye have hitherto been guilty is, for the sake of God and of his messenger, forgiven on the part of his majesty." Upon this they, one by one, arose and declared, that since all their errors had been forgiven on the part of your majesty, they now, under the testimony of God, his messenger, and the holy book, bound and engaged themselves, that hereafter, as long as they lived, their conduct should manifest nothing else than fidelity, devotion, truth, and zeal; that they would never be guilty of flight in the face of an enemy, of theft, of lying, of injuring, wishing ill, or of enmity towards those who wished well to the Khodadad state, nor of any thing that belonged to treachery and ingratitude; adding, that they would never swerve from this engagement a hair's breadth; that they would cultivate friendship and amity with the followers of the faith, and among one another; that they considered the honour of all Mussulmans as an object of individual concern, and would never commit oppression and violence upon any one, either by word or deed. After this a fautchah (or service for the souls of the dead) was performed, and prayers that the khodadad sircar might be triumphant and victorious. We then came out of the mosque, and halting in the area of it, I took an engagement from the Hindoos with me to this effect; that as they derived their support from the Ahmedy Sircar, they engaged upon oath, and upon the faith of their poorauns, that they would be faithful to the duties committed to their charge; that their conduct should ever manifest fidelity, without their ever being guilty of theft; or false speaking or writing: to this they added, that if they departed a hair's breadth from this engagement, they should consider it tantamount to their having killed and eaten of a cow in the holy city; and that they should be considered as delinquents against the sircar. Protector of the world! Mahomed Dewan verbally communicated to us your majesty's commands, that we should not suffer ourselves to feel any apprehension in fulfilling this ceremony. Cherisher of the world! We can only feel apprehension and hesitation in not obeying the orders of the presence. What apprehension can we entertain in obedience and submission to commands, such only is the apprehension we felt in the present instance? The commands of the presence are imposed upon their servants, not upon others; princes and governors who entertain servants, do so for the purpose of experiencing from them obedience and devotion to their interests; and if they exact of them the obligations and conditions of obedience, fidelity, and devotion, what harm is there in it? Others who every Sunday assemble in church, and according to their laws and regulations, deliver precepts and admonitions, who entertain troops and exercise them daily, do so with a view to the adjustment of their own concerns. If we act with a view to the arrangement and adjustment of our concerns, take obligations and engagements from our servants, where is the objection? Please God, this measure, which your majesty has suggested, your having taken obligations and engagements from the servants in attendance upon your majesty, and your directing us to do the same here, is highly proper, expedient, and advisable;

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nd in sight of men of understanding, the good effects and benefits of it are endless and without ounds. The measure was necessary too; for what is the meaning that there should not be an inion among the professors of the faith; that they hould not devote themselves to the interests of heir masters, and that, disregarding the claims of ratitude, they should turn their backs upon the nemy in the day of battle; these engagements nd obligations are very proper, and involve many dvantages; farther particulars will be made nown to your majesty by the verbal representa- ons of Mahomed Dewan, who attended, and as an eye-witness to all that passed. A list of he servants who are here present, and who en- ered into the engagements, is enclosed.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

o. 17. — *Translation of a Note, written with a Pencil upon Half a Sheet of Post-paper, with an Envelope of English Paper, by his Highness Omdut ul Omrah; apparently addressed to Gholaum Alli Khan.*

Good faith is the law for (or practice of) Syeeds. complain of frequent neglects; let me be some- mes called to remembrance; at all events the telligence of the marriage of the princes has joiced me. The presents usual on such occa- ons from my father will be sent, or (it may be erpreted) are now sent. Repeat the following mplet on my part to the nabob Tippoo Sultaun. the preservation of thy person is the perpetual permanence of the faith.

e him not remain who wisheth not thy pre- servation.

Make my complaints to his highness of his not iting to me; if permission be required (for king those complaints) you will obtain it. To e princes respect; to Kezza Alli Khan compli- ent. Gholaum Hussain.

Dated 14th Moberrum 1209 (12th Aug. 1794).

(A true Copy.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

. 18. — *Translation of a Letter from Mahomed Ghyauss and Mahomed Ghose Khan, Ambassadors from Tippoo Sultaun to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, dated 6th of Tahree, of the Year Sheand* 1203, *A. N. Mahomed* (17 Dec. 1795.)

The humblest of the servants of his majesty, shadow of God, Tippoo Sultaun, king, defen- r of the faith, may his dominion endure for ver! Mahommed Ghyauss and Mahomed Ghose, r performing the ceremonies of obeisance, ably represent to those who stand in the en- tened presence. Prior to this we had the ho- r to forward an address to your majesty from scottah, whence we proceeded, and by regular s, arrived on the 29th near Tirmulkerry. From t place we wrote a note to Khader Newaz an, which we dispatched by hircarrahs; a reply ved, signifying that the nabob Omdut ul Om- was much rejoiced at our approach, and de- d that we would proceed with all possible ex- ition; adding, that an habitation was prepared our reception; at about 3 o'clock in the after- n we arrived there, and immediately a gentle- n waited upon us, and told us he was come to form the rights of hospitality. We answered, t it was perfectly conformable to his highness nabob's known kindness and urbanity: he n caused firewood and earthen pots to be ught, and told us he had brought 100 rupees for our immediate expences. We answered, that we were come on an occasion of condolence, what necessity was there for money? He was very importunate with us to accept it, but we made him carry it back. He returned with it however again, and again we sent him back with it. About 8 o'clock at night, Khader Newaz Khan himself came, and told us that the nabob was much displeased; however, if we would not accept the money he would send us dressed provisions. We replied, that, as we were his highness's guests, he might do so for a day or two: after paying Khader Newaz Khan the compliment of the paun and ottur, we let him take leave. In the morning his highness sent us provisions from his own kitchen; this was continued for 3 days, and was continuing longer, but we sent word to Khader Newaz Khan, in the most earnest manner, that for 3 days it was very well, but if the practice was continued we should be under the necessity of sending the provisions back. Immediately on our arrival at Tirmulkerry, we sent our compliments by a choldar to the gov. who returned for answer, that he was happy to hear of our arrival. The next day an European, named Grant, who commands the governor's body guard, came to see us, and invited us to wait next day on the gov. who would conduct us to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah. We accordingly next day went to the governor's, to whom we delivered your majesty's letter, and the khelaut (or honorary dress). The gov. asked after your majesty's health, and we replied in suitable terms; after complimenting us with the paun and flowers and rose-water, he told us that he would introduce us early the next morning to the nabob. We then took leave and returned home, and sent notice to Khader Newaz Khan, that the gov. had postponed the intended visit of that day, but that we were desirous only of consulting his highness's pleasure, and should act as his highness might direct; he returned for answer, that it was no matter, we might come the day following. Early the next morning we went to the gov. and taking him with us we proceeded to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and delivered the khelaut of mourning and letter of condolence; his highness was very much pleased, and conversed about your majesty's health, and other subjects, a whole hour (23 minutes.) He then complimented us with the paun and ottur, and allowed us to depart; on our taking leave he took our hands, and observed to us with a great deal of anger, that we were his guests, and it was not proper for us to decline receiving provisions, conjuring us for God's sake not to send back the provisions which should be sent us while we remained here. We resisted as much as possible by argument, but his highness would not listen to our refusal, and again conjured us by oath not to return the provisions which should be sent to us while we remained; we could say no more and returned home. The next day his highness, having sent for Nussur ul Dowlah, appointed the next day for our again attending him, and we then delivered the khelaut and letters which were for him (Nussur ul Dowlah). He also made enquiries after your majesty's health, to which we made a suitable reply. His highness then gave us the ottur and paun, and suffered us to take leave. The day after we again went to the durbar, taking with us the letter and khelaut of congratulation, the jewels and horses.

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We delivered the letter and khelaut, presented nuzzers of five rupees each, and sat down. His highness, with the greatest degree of kindness, placed us close to himself, and launched out into great praises of your majesty, and appeared delighted with the subject, telling us that it was his intention to send for us, and say what he had to say in private; adding, that our arrival at this time was extremely proper. His highness told us, that he had committed the late nabob Walajah's body to the earth, at the shrine of the saint named Mucktdoom Sahib, at Mylapore, to be removed in 4 months. May the sun of prosperity always continue to shine. (A true translation.)

N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 19.—*Translation of a Letter from Mahomed Ghyass and Muhomed Ghose Khan, deputed by Tippoo Sultaun to the Nabob of the Carnatic, to the former (without Date.)*

After dispatching our arzee, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah sent for us and spoke a good deal upon the subject of friendship between the two states; and then said to us, "You are both come on the part of my friend, and I do not design to part with you soon." We replied, that we certainly considered both states as one, but that at present some pressing business required our return, and therefore we must request him to give us leave to depart. Upon which he said, that please God he would soon do so; but, said his highness, it is not proper in you to send back the provisions, as you have repeatedly done so. I swear to God, that as long as you remain here, I shall send you provision; and you must also, for my particular satisfaction, wear clothes that I will provide you; you must not return them. We said in reply what appeared suitable to the occasion, but his highness would not listen to it, but renewed his adjuration, and giving us the ottur and paun dismissed us. The next day, the 12th Takree, at 3 in the afternoon, Khadir Newaz Khan came with cloth and taylors, and told us it was his highness's command to him, to see the cloth cut out before us and fitted to us; we contested the point to the utmost with Khadir Newaz Khan, but he told us his highness had taken an oath, and that it was not proper in us to refuse. At length he caused four pieces of spotted muslin, and four pieces of [manuscript effaced] for each of us, to be cut out, and set the taylors to work, with injunctions to get the whole ready by the evening. From Sunday, during 5 or 6 days, the rains were incessant. On the 16th, when it ceased a little, Khadir Newaz Khan sent a message, that the rain had latterly prevented our receiving our dismission, but now the khelauts for your majesty, the elephants and horses, &c. would be sent on that day, and that the following day his highness would send for us, and give us our dismission. Accordingly, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, an elephant and five horses, two khelauts of embroidery, and two pieces of jewellery, one a khulgu, and the other a surpaish, besides a large box sealed, in which were khelauts of spotted muslin, &c. and another box also sealed, containing the otturdawn and paundaun, were brought by Daood Khan, and the keeper of the wardroke, &c. who desired us to take charge of these articles, and convey them safely to your majesty; that his highness had moreover sent two khelauts of embroidery for us, and that he would send for us the following day, and after having communicated to us that he had to say, would give us leave to depart. At their desire we took a memorandum of the articles. The next day we were prevented from waiting upon his highness by the violence of the rain. On the 3d day, at about 9 o'clock A. M. his highness sent word to us to come in the clothes which had been nearly made, as it would be a great gratification: to please him we accordingly did so. After many salaams, his highness, with the appearance of great satisfaction, arose, and taking our hands said, now am I extremely happy. We then sat in a private place, when his highness expatiated during 2 hours with great warmth upon the subject of union and friendship; after which he gave us the otter and paun, and suffered us to take leave and we returned home. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we received a note from Khadir Newaz Khan, stating that his highness sent 2,000 rupees for our horses, and 300 rupees for the 3 duffadars, naik of Hircarrahs and duffadar (or hoad) of Khidmutgaes. We, in the presence of his highness's naik of Hircarrahs, made presents to his highness's servants out of that 2,000 rupees. We write this for your highness's information.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Note.—The original of the following translation is written in the same hand as the nabob of Arcot's letters invariably are; but on the cover, in place of the seals, are written the name of "Gholaum Hussain;" and in the place of direction, "Gholaum Alli." The date of its receipt is the 9th Rejeb 1211, (8th Jan. 1797.)

No. 20.—*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to Gholaum Alli Khan.*

After a lapse of time, and the moment my heart was desirous of learning accounts of your health, I had the pleasure to receive your friendly letter; and I was gratified by the news of your welfare. I have fully comprehended the several points contained in that letter; you will become acquainted with the circumstances alluded to from the communications of Mahomed Ghyauss and Mahomed Ghose Khan. Deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your health, you will gratify me by communicating them. (Endorsement on the letter by one of Tippoo Sultaun's monshees.)

Received the 10th of Rehmaunu of the year Shaud 1223, A. N. Mahomed, answering to the 9th Rijib 1211 Hegeree, (8th Jan. 1797.)

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 21.—*Translation of a Letter, under the Seal of Khader Newaz Khan, to Gholaum Alli Khan.*

Deeming my desire of the honour of a meeting, which is replete with happiness, beyond the power of writing or speech to express, I proceed to represent the purpose of this address. Your kind letter, intimating that you had been indisposed after your leaving this place, but that your health was completely restored, has reached me, and its contents have been understood. Although I am concerned at the accounts of your indisposition, my thanks are offered up to Almighty God for your recovery. What you write of the satisfaction of the nabob Tippoo Sultaun Behauder, may his shadow be extended! Upon the intimation of my attachment, has called forth my highest

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thanks and endless praises; and I beg you will present my respectful acknowledgments for his kindness and favours towards me. I have been from first to last endeavouring, that, through the favour of God, the degree of union between these two chosen of the Lord (meaning the nabob Omdut ul Omrah and Tippoo Sultaun) which is calculated to promote the happiness of God's people, may daily be strengthened and cemented, and mutual friendship and attachment be confirmed and established; and thanks to the Almighty, that the system of harmony and union has acquired the requisite degree of stability and firmness, (literally, that as it should be, so it is). Always believe me anxious for the news of your welfare, and constantly praying for your health and happiness.—(Endorsement on the letter by one of Tippoo Sultaun's moonshees.)

Received the 10th Rehmauny of the year Shaud, 1223, A.N. Mahomed, answering to the 9th Rejeb, 1211, Hegeree, (8th Jan. 1797.)

Superscription on the cover.—Be it honoured by the respected perúsal of Syed Gholaum Ali Khan Behauder, Musheddy *(i. e.* Mushud, a place in Khorosan.)—Be his favour perpetual!

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Extract from the Treaty concluded in 1787, *between the English E. I. Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic.*

Art. 15. Whenever the comp. shall enter into any negociation wherein the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned, the president in council of Fort St. George shall communicate the proceedings to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, as the firm ally of the comp.; and also the direction of the combined force of the country is committed entirely to the hon. comp. or their representatives. It is nevertheless understood, that his highness shall be informed of all measures which shall relate to the declaring of war, or making peace with any of the princes and powers of Hindostan, so far as the interests of the Carnatic may be immediately concerned; and the name of his highness shall be inserted in all treaties regarding the Carnatic; and his highness will not enter into any political negociations or controversies with any state or power, without the consent or approbation of the president in council of Fort St. George.

Extract from the Treaty concluded in 1792, *between the English E. I. Comp. and the Nabob of the Carnatic.*

The said nabob shall receive regular information of all negociations which shall relate to declaring war or making peace, wherein the said comp. may engage, and the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned; and the said nabob shall be considered as an ally of the said comp. in all treaties, which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic and countries depending thereon, or belonging to either of the contracting parties contiguous thereto; and the said nabob agrees that he will not enter into any negociations or political correspondence with any European or native power, without the consent of the said comp.

(True copies.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 8. *Copy of a Letter from the Govr Gen. to his late Highness the Nabob.* [*Written 28th May*, 1801.]

Mem.—This letter is presented on a supposition that it is the same which is required by the 11th order of the hon. house, and therein described as having been shewn by Messrs. Webbe and Close to the Regents on the 15th July, 1801.

To the Nabob of Arcot.—For some time past your highness must have observed, that although I have received various communications from you with relation to the internal govt of the Carnatic, and to the general state of your affairs, I have not deemed it consistent with my public duty to return any reply to any other letters, which I have had the honour to receive from your highness, excepting those containing the usual interchange of compliments between your highness and the Brit. govt; the cause of my silence is of the most serious nature, and has occasioned the deepest and most sincere regret to my mind. The success of our arms against the late Tippoo Sultaun has brought to light many important and extraordinary transactions. My determination on the subject of the proofs which I possess has been formed after the fullest deliberation; and after the most dispassionate review of all the circumstances of the case, I have communicated my final opinion to ld Clive, with my positive directions to carry into effect, without delay, those arrangements which the nature of the case appears to me to require, for the security of the Brit. interests in the Carnatic. Ld Clive will enter into a full explanation of all the evidence which has been discovered at Seringapatam, and will also state to your highness the purport of the instructions which he has received from me. I request your highness to consider ld Clive to be fully authorized by me to terminate the requisite arrangements, and under this view of the question, I trust that you will not expect from me any interruption to the course of those measures which I have judged to be indispensably necessary, and which I have directed ld Clive to accomplish without further reference to my authority.

No. 9. *Copy of Proceedings of the Govr in Council of Fort St. George, on the signing of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Doulah.*

To his Excellency the most noble the Marq Wellesley, K. P. Govr Gen. in Council at Fort William.—My lord, ld Clive has had the honour of informing the govr gen. of the demise of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the late nabob of the Carnatic, on the 15th inst. His excellency has also been apprised by his ldp of the measures adopted by ld Clive, in conformity to the separate dispatches of the govr. gen. for establishing the rights and interests of the Brit. govt in the Carnatic, on the permanent basis of territorial security.—2. Those dispatches, and the result of ld Clive's measures for the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, having been communicated to us, we have the honour to acquaint your excellency in council, that a treaty has been this day concluded, subject to the ratification of the govr gen. in council, for settling the succession to the soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the entire civ. and mil. govt of the Carnatic in the hands of the comp.—3. The separate dispatches of ld Clive will have explained to his excellency the govr gen. the cause which prevented his ldp from communicating to the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the nature of the govr gen.'s

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instructions, founded on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam; the subsequent demand made by ld Clive of an adequate security for the Brit. interests in the Carnatic, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah; the positive and formal rejection by that person of an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, founded on the rights acquired by the comp. from his reputed father's violation of the alliance, and of the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792; the subsequent motives of ld Clive for opening a negociation with the prince Azeem ul Dowlet Behauder, for the purpose of reviving the alliance between the family of his highness and the Brit. govt, founded on the instructions of the gov. gen. to avoid the humiliation of the family of the nabob Mahomed Alli, if it should be practicable to obtain by negociation the security required for our rights in the Carnatic, and finally the terms of the arrangement which has been concluded by the deputies under the immediate authority of ld Clive: these points having been fully stated in his ldp's separate dispatches, we trust that it will be sufficient for us to refer the govr gen. in council to those dispatches, with the expression of our entire concurrence in the arrangements adopted by ld Clive under his excellency's separate instructions. —4. We have now the honour of transmitting to your excellency in council, an official copy of the treaty, which has this day been executed, and interchanged by us, with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlet Behauder; and we recommended that a ratified copy of the treaty may be transmitted to us with all practicable expedition, for the purpose of being delivered to his highness.—5. The change of circumstances arising from the conduct of Alli Hussein, and the persons appointed to assist his counsels, has rendered it necessary for ld Clive to introduce a correspondent change in the structure of the declaration transmitted to his ldp by the govr gen. We have the honour of transmitting to your excellency in council, a copy of the declaration, in the form in which we should judge it adviseable to publish that paper, if your excellency should deem the publication of it to be expedient.—6. It is our intention that a copy of the declaration in this form shall be immediately transmitted to the govr in council at Bombay, and to the residents at Hyderabad and Poona, for the purpose of communicating to them the grounds on which the succession of the soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, have been settled and established; but we shall use no further means for the distribution of that document, unless we should receive instructions for that purpose from your excellency in council.—7. In concluding an arrangement involving consequences of so much importance to the Brit. interests in India, it is impossible for us not to feel a degree of anxiety correspondent to the magnitude of the subject, until we shall be honoured by the receipt of the determination of your excellency in council on this transaction. In the mean while, anticipating with confidence the concurrence of your ldp's sentiments with our own, we offer our congratulations to your excellency in council on the conclusion of an arrangement, by which the rights and interests of Gt Brit. in the Carnatic have at length been fixed on the solid foundation of territorial security.—8. We have the honour to inform your excellency in council, that his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlet Behauder has this day been instated in the musnud of his ancestors, as nabob sobehdaur of the Carnatic, with every mark of public respect from the Brit. govt, and with every practicable degree of splendour conformable to the usages of India.—9. It is our intention to dispatch the Whim packet immediately for the purpose of conveying to the hon. the secret committee of the court of directors our dispatches on the subject, which is now submitted to the govr. gen. in council.—We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Clive, J. Stuart, Wm. Petrie, E. W. Falkfield. Fort St. George, 31st July, 1801.

No. 10. *Copy of the Correspondence between the Govr Gen. and the Govr of Fort St. George, on the Subject of the Carnatic; from the Period of the Death of his late Highness Omdut ul Omrah to the Elevation of Azeem ul Dowlah to the Musnud.*

No. 11. *Copies and Extracts of Letters from the Govr Gen. and the Gov. in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, relative to the Revolution in the Carnatic, and the Assumption of its Govt by the Comp.*

[As Nos. 10 and 11 are in substance a repetition of the foregoing papers, we think it unnecessary to give them.]

No. 12. *Copy of Orders published to the Settlement of Fort St. George, dated 31st July*, 1801, *relative to the Treaty between the Comp. and Azeem ul Dowlah. Proclamation.*—1. Whereas the object of the connexion subsisting between the hon. comp. and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, was intended to cement the union and alliance between the contracting parties, and to establish, on a solid foundation, the security and rights of the said contracting parties in the territories of the Carnatic: And whereas the several engagements concluded for that purpose have failed to answer the intention of the contracting parties, whereby the form of govt throughout the provinces of the Carnatic has been subjected to changes injurious to established opinions, to general confidence, and to permanent prosperity: And whereas the munsub of the soubadarry of the territories of Arcot having become vacant, his highness the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Madar ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azeem ul Dowlah, Shewkul Jung Sepah, Salar Anwerodeen Khan Behauder, has succeeded by the hereditary rights of his father, and by the full acknowledgments of the hon. comp. to the possession of the said munsub: Wherefore his said hness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, and the said comp. being desirous of correcting such errors as have been heretofore introduced into the govt of the Carnatic, and of supplying the defects of all former engagements between the said contracting parties; and being also anxious to give full vigour and efficiency to the govt of the Carnatic, with a view to fix the rights of the people, and the interests of the state, on a broad and stable foundation, have mutually, and of their own accord, agreed, by a treaty bearing date the 31st July, 1801, that all former provisions for securing a partial or temporary interference on the part of the hon. comp. in the govt, or in the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, shall be entirely annulled; and that in lieu thereof a permanent system for the

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collection of the revenue, and for the administration of civil and criminal judicature, under the sole and undivided authority of the hon. comp. shall be established throughout every village, purgunnah, and province, of the entire territories of the Carnatic.—2. Now proclamation is hereby accordingly made to all zemindars, jaggeerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of every description of the Carnatic, that the hon. comp. have, by the treaty above mentioned, acquired a perfect right to ascertain, determine, and establish rights of property, to fix a reasonable assessment upon the several purgunnahs and villages of the Carnatic, and to secure a fixed and permanent revenue, to be collected and accounted for by such officers as shall from time to time be appointed for that purpose by the said comp. And it is further published and declared, that the said comp. have also acquired a perfect right to establish courts for the due administration of civ. and crim. judicature, under the sole authority of the said comp. which said courts shall be conducted by officers to be appointed from time to time by the said comp. under such ordinances and regulations as shall from time to time be enacted and published by the govr in council of Fort St. George.—3. And whereas his said highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder has divested himself, by the treaty above mentioned, of all controul, authority, or interference in the collection of the revenue, or in the administration of civ. and crim. judicature: Wherefore all zemindars, jageerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are hereby required to take notice of the same accordingly. And it is hereby farther proclaimed and declared, that the engagement now entered into between the contracting parties for the purposes above mentioned, are unconditional, and liable to no change whatever. Therefore the said zemindars, jageerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are hereby required to take notice, that the right and power of fixing and collecting the revenue, as well as of administering civ. and crim. judicature throughout the provinces, purgunnahs, and villages of the Carnatic, are vested in the said comp. alone, as long as the sun and moon shall endure.—4. Wherefore all zemindars, jageerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, officers, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are severally and collectively required, by virtue of the rights and powers acquired to the said comp. by compact with the present lawful nabob of the Carnatic, his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, to yield due obedience to such officers as may be appointed, and to such ordinances or laws as may be enacted by the said comp. alone, for the administration and govt of the territories of the Carnatic, and in all time to come.—5. Although the rt hon. the govr in council trusts that the experience whch the inhabitants of the Carnatic have already had, will have rendered it unnecessary for his ldp to explain the general principles of moderation, justice, protection, and security, which form the characteristic features of the Brit. govt; yet his ldp, in accepting the sacred trust transferred to the comp. by the present engagements, invites the people of the Carnatic to a ready and chearful obedience to the authority of the comp. in a confident assurance of enjoying, under the protection of public and defined laws, every just and ascertained civil right, with a free exercise of the religious institutions and domestic usages of their ancestors\—By order of the rt hon. the govr in council. J. Webbe, Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 31st July, 1801.

No. 13. *Information submitted to the Hon. House of Commons, in obedience to several Orders dated 11th June*, 1802, *stating Reasons why the same have not been fully complied with.*

The papers required by the 3d order, are presumed to be contained in the documents numbered 1 and 2. The paper required by the 4th order, is contained in paper No. 4; and that required by the 5th order in the same document. The attestation of the Mahomedan lawyers, and of the families of the nabobs Mahomed Alli and Omdut ul Omrah, required by the 6th order, have not been transmitted to the court of directors by the govt of Fort St. George; nor has the correspondence required by the 8th order, or the proceedings and minutes required by the 13th order, or the separate minutes required by the 15th, or the proceedings required by the 16th, been yet received. The comp. have not any record in England of the will of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, required by the 20th order.

No. 14. *Copy of the Affidavit of the Physician of the late Nabob of Arcot, on the State of his Highness's Health; dated 22d June*, 1801.

Maurice Fitzgerald, esq. physician to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, having been apprised by the rt hon. Ed. ld Clive, govr in council of Fort St. George, of his ldp's desire to communicate to the nabob of the Carnatic the arrival of a dispatch from the govr gen. in council, involving considerations of great importance relative to the affairs of the Carnatic, and of the govt of Fort St. George; and the said Mr. Fitzgerald being farther informed, that it is the intention of ld Clive to solicit the nabob's appointment of an early period of time for the consideration of the object of that dispatch, unless the medical gentlemen attending his highness's person should be of opinion that such a communication would be attended with consequences injurious to the state of his highness's health: declares upon oath, that although from the actual state of his highness's illness, he the said Mr. Fitzgerald cannot take upon himself to swear, that the communication of ld Clive's intentions above described would produce effects immediately dangerous to the existence of the nabob; yet, as a professional man, he can have no doubt, and accordingly declares on oath, his belief that the knowledge of the arrival of dispatches from the govr gen. seriously affecting the interests of the Carnatic, would tend to aggravate and inflame the dangerous symptoms which now threaten his highness's life.

M. Fitzgerald.

Sworn before me at Fort St. George, this 22d June, 1801. Clive.

No. 15.—*Extracts from the Examination of certain Persons, taken before Messrs. Webbe and Close, at Vellore and Seringapatam, in May* 1800, *by Order of Marq. Wellesley. Vellore, 3d May* 1800.

Ally Rezza having been required by lt col. Doveton to attend the commissioners, is accordingly introduced, and is informed of the orders of the rt hon. the govr in council, and of his ldp's authority committed to the commissioners, for the

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purpose of conducting an enquiry into certain transactions of great importance, connected with the interests of the hon. comp.—Previously to the commencement of his examination, the following introductory explanation having been translated into the Persian language, is read, and explained to Ally Rezza.—"The consideration which the English comp. has shewn to the family of Tippoo Sultaun, and to the dependants of his govt, must have manifested to all descriptions of persons the liberality and moderation by which it has been always guided; and it must be equally evident, that having consulted the claims of humanity, as well as the dignity of its own character, in this distinguished manner, the English govt would meet with the utmost degree of regret and concern, any necessity which should compel it to modify the arrangements which have been made for the comfort and happiness of the dependants of the late Tippoo Sultaun.—It is however not inconsistent with this magnanimity, that the Brit. govt should exact from those who have accepted its bounty, the duties of attachment and truth, in all matters connected with its interests; and it requires no explanation to shew, that as the Brit. govt has the generosity to forgive, so, if necessary, it possesses the power to punish those who may wilfully depart from the duties which they owe to it. It is known to you, that after the fall of Seringapatam the whole of the records and papers, public, secret, and confidential, of the govt of Tippoo Sultaun, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and, considering the causes which produce the necessity of the late war, it will be obvious to you, that the Eng. govt has been inquisitive to discover the arrangements and councils, by which it was the intention of the late sultaun to have effected his purposes of enmity against us.—This enquiry has naturally led to the discovery of much important matter, and many original documents, plain as well as in cypher, relative to the measures and intentions of the late sultaun. Some of these measures require the explanation, which it is known to be in your power to give: The Eng. govt has therefore appointed us to be commissioners for receiving this information; and it will be your duty, as well as your very near interest, reflecting on what is already stated, to give a faithful and just explanation.—From the treatment which you have already experienced, it will be evident to you that the Brit. govt places too just a value on the observance of fidelity, to impute to the servants of the late sultaun any blame for being the channel of executing his orders or measures. According to the established practice of the law of nations; according to the principles of justice and reason, servants are not held to be responsible for executing the orders of their sovereigns, as far as they may be consistent with the public law, by which the intercourse between independant states is regulated; you may therefore rely on a liberal construction of your conduct by the Brit. govt; and it is not the intention of that govt to deprive you of any of the works of the public bounty which you now enjoy, unless by prevarication, or any treacherous attempt to conceal the truth, you should render yourself unworthy of the continuance of its favour.—From the manner in which this enquiry has originated, as well as from the means adopted for carrying it into effect, you will perceive that it is matter full of importance and gravity; it will therefore be expedient for you to deliver your sentiments and explanations, with the degree of consideration and respect which is becoming the occasion."—Ally Rezza acknowledges that he comprehends and feels the force and meaning of the foregoing exhortation, and having himself perused it in the Persian language, professes his entire readiness and desire to answer all questions, and to give all information which may be required, to the best of his power and knowledge.

The Commissioners proceed to the examination of Ally Rezza.

The papers marked [Nos. 14 and 15,] in the correspondence transmitted from Bengal, having been produced and read to the witness, are immediately recognized by him.—Q. What did Omdut ul Omrah communicate to you in the secret meeting which you held with him in the garden, subsequent to the 23d July 1793?—A. Omdut ul Omrah informed the vakeels, of the probable rupture between the French and the English, and of the consequent attack on Pondicherry; he stated, that Tippoo Sultaun had a vakeel, Ram Row, at that place; that the keeping a vakeel at that time might give offence; and that therefore the nabob Walajah, from his attachment to the faith, made this communication to prevent any indisposition between Tippoo Sultaun and the comp; that these sentiments were communicated from a regard to the welfare of Tippoo Sultaun.—He recommended, that after the departure of the hostages, the sultaun should appoint an ambassador at Madras, which would be attended with the best consequences, and stated that this was not communicated from any partiality to the Eng. but from good wishes towards Tippoo Sultaun.—Q. What were the particular expressions of his attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, but to defer the communication of them until your return to the presence of your master?—A. Having repeated the substance of his answer to the preceding question, Ally Rezza was about to explain the expression of the "Affair known," which is mentioned in the last paragraph of papers [Nos. 14 and 15,] but was interrupted.—Q. What answer did Tippoo Sultaun return to the said communication from Omdut ul Omrah, and through what channel was that answer transmitted?—A. The sultaun replied, that the vakeels were persons of ability and information, and would conduct their affairs for the benefit of the sircar. The vakeels communicated the message after their arrival in the presence, that no immediate observation was made upon it; that nine days after they fell under the displeasure of the sultaun, and that the intercourse between them and the sultaun was in consequence discontinued. The only subsequent communication was on the subject of a letter from Bengal, relative to the release of the English prisoners, and to the war between England and France. Tippoo Sultaun, notwithstanding the contents, fully directed him, Ally Rezza, to prepare an answer, and send it to the presence that it might be dispatched.—Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun return any answer to the letters, Nos. 14 and 15?—A. Yes. He directed us to enquire into the particulars of the affair, to represent them after our arrival, when he would act according to propriety.—Q. Have you any recollection of receiving from

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Tippoo Sultaun, a letter directing you to commit to writing, and to transmit to the presence, the communications of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. No. He wrote nothing more than the above.—He, Ally Rezza, says, that at the departure of the vakeels, Omdut ul Omrah made three obeissances; and directed them to assure the sultaun of his, Omdut ul Omrah's regard, and to advise him not to break with the English; that he should not consider this communication to be a deviation from the principles of their religion, but that the true Islam consisted in preserving unity with the English.

[The paper, No. 13, is produced.] Q. Do you recollect this letter?—A. Yes; and he wrote besides to the above effect.—Q. State the nature and object of the agreement, which was established through you, between the nabob Wallajah and Tippoo Sultaun?—A. At the time of the departure of ld Cornwallis, his ldp desired me to proceed to Seringapatam, and to communicate to the sultaun much matter of advice, containing observations on the state of hostility, which had been protracted for a long time, from the early descent of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, and the action of col. Baillie: That ld Cornwallis wished the sultaun to preserve the relations of peace and friendship; and desired that Ally Rezza should proceed from Madras to Seringapatam, to represent verbally and fully the subject of this discourse. That at the same time the nabob Wallajah also made similar observations, with professions of his friendly disposition towards the sultaun. On his arrival at Seringapatam, he, Ally Rezza represented the whole of this discourse, and, according to the orders of the sultaun, committed it to writing, which was delivered to him, the sultaun: That Tippoo Sultaun wrote an answer to ld Cornwallis, professing his disposition and wish to preserve peace and friendship; that the letter was very full on this point, and was accompanied by presents to ld Cornwallis, govr Oakeley, Mr. Cherry, &c. He, Tippoo Sultaun, also sent letters to the nabob Wallajah certainly; but the witness does not recollect whether any were sent to Omdut ul Omrah.—Q. In the preceding question, you were desired to explain the nature of the agreement established between Tippoo Sultaun and the nabob Wallajah; in your answer you have not done so?—A. The agreement was to preserve the friendship established between the two durbars, the English and Tippoo Sultaun, as well as the intercourse of civility and attention. Besides this the nabob Wallajah, at the time of taking leave, presented khelats, &c.; and Omdut ul Omrah delivered a khelat into the hands of sir Chs Oakeley, to be given to the vakeels of the sultaun; which was accordingly done. Omdut ul Omrah told them that it recommended the preservation of friendship, peace, and attention. A copy of this letter was delivered to the vakeels, which they opened at Conditoor, [two stages from Madras,] and were surprised to find, that it contained nothing more than the ordinary expressions of friendship, and a list of the presents. The letter was delivered to the sultaun. The nabob informed the vakeels, that it was his highness's wish to grant a jagheer for the private expences of the princes, as well as of the vakeels: They replied, that it was contrary to the customs of this govt to receive those jagheers, but that they should represent this wish of his highness, on their arrival at Seringapatam.—Q. Did you, according to the sultaun's orders, commit to writing the matter of a secret nature, which was communicated to you by Omdut ul Omrah?—A. I complied with the orders in the sultaun's letter.—Q. In what manner?—A. By writing to the sultaun the particulars of the professions of regard, which had been communicated by Omdut ul Omrah.—Having again referred to Nos. 14 and 15, and 13, the witness is asked what answer he gave the sultaun?—A. That he had been enjoined at his departure to postpone the communication until his arrival at Seringapatam, and that he would accordingly represent it in the presence.—Q. Why did Omdut ul Omrah defer this communication till your departure? And why did he exact an oath of secrecy on the communication of this regard and friendship for the sultaun?—A. Perhaps from apprehensions that this intercourse should be known, and give displeasure to the English.—Q. Did he exact a formal oath?—A. No; he conjured us.—Q. It appears that the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah stated, in the presence of Eng. gents, their regard and friendship for Tippoo Sultaun: Why should they be so anxious to conceal it in the private meeting?—A. He repeats the same answer, and can give no other explanation. The paper [No. 14,] is again produced and read.—Q. Reconcile the formality of the proceeding described at the mosque, with the mere professions of friendship? A. He acknowledges that the formality may be considered preparatory to more important matter; but nothing passed except professions of regard, the propriety of keeping up a friendly intercourse, and an offer of settling some munsbon themselves, which they declined in a suitable manner. Q. During your residence at Madras, did you understand that there was any restraint on the intercourse of the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah with the hostages, or with the vakeels? A. There was no restraint, they had but four or five meetings, which were with maj. Doveton's previous knowledge. Q. Did maj. Doveton know of the meeting at the mosque? A. No; the vakeels told him that they were going to the mosque for the fatihah. In regard to the meeting at the garden, they informed him that they were going to arrange their effects for the journey. Q. As Omdut ul Omrah had nothing to communicate but professions of friendship, why did the vakeels depart from their established custom by concealing from maj. Doveton the intended meeting at the garden? A. As the nabob Omdut ul Omrah intimated a wish of seeing them privately, they thought that the presence of maj. Doveton would be embarrassing to his highness. At my departure from Seringapatam on my return to Madras, Tippoo Sultaun communicated to me his desire of forming a connexion by marriage between his own family and that of the nabob Wallajah. This message I delivered by the sultaun's orders to Gholam Ally Khan; and on our meeting at the garden a second time I withdrew; a conversation took place between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholam Ally Khan. From him I afterwards understood that the agitation of the affair was suspended, until the entire completion of the treaty of Seringapatam, and the release of the hostages, in order that the disposition of the sultaun might be well ascertained

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at the distance of some time; that in the mean while there was neither a positive desire nor indisposition expressed by the nabob Wallajah for this connexion. The proposal was first made from the sultaun; and as it passed in the lifetime of the nabob Wallajah, I conclude that the answer of Omdut ul Omrah was with his knowledge. After the return of the vakeels to Seringapatam, they fell under the displeasure of the sultaun; and I understood that Gholam Ally Sudder and Poonia were deputed to Gholam Ally Khan, to ascertain what progress had been made in the affair of the connexion, wishing at the same time that Gholam Ally Khan should give a letter on that subject to Omdut ul Omrah. This letter he supposes to have been granted, but does not know. Q. Did any orders pass from the sultaun on the subject of the marriage before your return to Seringapatam from Madras? A. No. This question was not agitated before. On my arrival at Seringapatam, Tippoo Sultaun enquired of me the particulars relative to the children of Wallajah. Ally Rezza, of himself states, that the nabob Wallajah communicated in the most earnest manner, taking God to witness, his entreaty to the sultaun, that he should refrain from breaking with the Eng. and that he should adhere to the friendship established between them. Q. The proposal of marriage having been made in the first instance on the part of the sultaun, it was certainly evidence of his wish to cultivate a good understanding with the nabob Wallajah's family. It is extraordinary therefore that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah on making a simple proposition of friendship, should doubt the sultaun's acquiescence, and should on that doubt postpone the final communication of his sentiments until the answer of the sultaun should be received? A. He, Ally Rezza, acknowledges that the proposition for the marriage was an indication of entire and cordial friendship. But although he understood from Gholam Ally Khan, that the nabob Wallajah was disposed to this connexion, he yet learned from others, that the case was different; he therefore conjectures that the nabob shewed a desire of simple friendship, without reference to the marriage. Q. When the nabob Wallajah made his proposition of simple friendship requiring an answer, how did it happen that the vakeels, who were in possession of the sultaun's orders to effect a much more intimate connexion, did not satisfy the nabob Omdut ul Omrah of the disposition of the sultaun, without farther reference to Seringapatam? A. A proposition of marriage being of a very delicate nature among Mussulmans, and confined in this instance to Gholam Alli Khan only, it was not proper for both vakeels to interfere on this subject; the conversation was entirely confined between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholam Alli Khan at the garden; when they took leave at parting, Ally Rezza states of himself, that after the vakeels had arrived at the mount, on their final return to Seringapatam, Omdut ul Omrah came to the mount, and had a separate conversation with Gholam Ally Khan, which he supposes to have related to the proposition of the marriage. Q. Were you, or were you not, on terms of confidential communication with Gholam Ally Khan, relative to the progress of this affair of the marriage? A. I was; and heard from Gholam Ally Khan, that the nabob Wallajah had consented, although I understood from other quarters that this was not the case. Q. Both vakeels being (as is stated in your answer) in confidential communication relative to the point of the marriage; how did it happen that they did not take on themselves to satisfy the doubts expressed by the nabob Wallajah, in order to promote the wishes of the sultaun, there being no impediment to a proper communication either between the vakeels themselves, or between Gholam Ally Khan and Omdut ul Omrah? A. Having observed the doubts of the nabob with respect to the disposition of the sultaun, I took occasion to suggest to Gholam Ally Khan, at the time of the meeting at the mosque, the expediency of satisfying the doubts of Omdut ul Omrah, by pointing out the positive proof of the sultaun's disposition evinced in his proposal of marriage. I then retired with Kadir Nawas Khan, and understood from Gholam Ally Khan, after the nabob Omdut ul Omrah went away, that he, Gholam Ally Khan, had made a communication to his highness to that effect, and that his highness had acquiesced. The witness repeats that he has heard from others, that the nabob Wallajah was averse to this connexion. Q. As the nabob Omdut ul Omrah acquiesced in the arguments of Gholam Ally Khan, why did it become necessary to apply for a further declaration of the sultaun's disposition, on the proposition of simple friendship? A. I conceive that there are two different questions, one of the marriage, the other of simple friendship, and the vakeels thought it necessary to address the sultaun on that point. Q. In the paper (No. 14,) the nabob Omdut ul Omrah is stated to communicate his wish of discovering a matter of secrecy, and accordingly a secret meeting was contrived for that purpose. By the foregoing answers, the result of this proposition is nothing more than a simple proposition of friendship, connected with a doubt of its being received by the nabob Tippoo Sultaun. At the very same time that this doubt is stated, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, is said to have been reminded of the proof of the sultaun's disposition, contained in his proposal of marriage, and (according to Gholam Ally Khan) to have acquiesced in the arguments. It is extraordinary that Omdut ul Omrah should require so much secrecy in declaring his wish of cultivating the friendship of Tippoo Sultaun; and it is inconsistent with reason that he should doubt this proof of the sultaun's disposition at the moment of his endeavouring to discover it. This explanation of Omdut ul Omrah's proposition cannot be therefore reconciled with the explanation which has been given; for as the respective propositions of marriage, and of simple friendship, did not depend on each other either the doubt of Omdut ul Omrah must have been without foundation, or the necessity of further reference to the sultaun under the appearance of secrecy, must refer to other matter?

Mem.—The foregoing question is explained and stated in every point of view to Ally Rezza, with a serious warning to consider it, and to declare the truth.

A. He acknowledges the inconsistency, but takes God to witness in the most solemn manner that nothing passed at the mosque with his knowledge, save the communication between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholam Ally Khan, on the subject

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of the marriage, the declaration of Omdut ul Omrah's desire of cultivating Tippoo Sultaun's friendship, and his offer for establishing jagheers and munsubs for the princes and the vakeels. Q. You have stated, that on pursuing the copy of the letter delivered to you through the means of sir C. Oakeley, you were surprized to find that it contained nothing but expressions of civility, and a list of presents. What did you expect the letter to contain? A. I expected that the letter would relate to the proposition of marriage, or friendship, or to the jagheers or munsubs. Q. What do you mean by the expression in No. 14, "to redeem the time past?" A. That the injuries of enmity should be replaced by the benefits of friendship.—The letter in figure cypher is now produced, and Ally Rezza acknowledges it to have been written by him. Q. Was any other cypher used in the correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun? A. I do not recollect any other. Q. When was the cypher delivered to you? A. When I was returning from Seringapatam to Madras. Q. For what purpose was it given to you? A. For the purpose of writing intelligence and other matters of a secret nature.—The witness states, that he once received a letter in cypher in Tippoo's own hand-writing, which could not be explained, and was returned back to him. He also states, that the sultaun was at the time extremely interested in the state of French affairs; and was desirous of obtaining information respecting them by every possible means; and he told the vakeels so, upbraiding them for not having transmitted intelligence. Q. Explain *the affair* referred to in the last paragraph of No. 15; and state how Omdut ul Omrah became the means of laying the foundation of it? A. It refers to the proposition of marriage; and Ally Rezza explains, that it was the wish of Tippoo Sultaun to obtain a daughter either of Wallajah, or of Omdut ul Omrah, for sultaun Moyen ul Deen. The affair was communicated to Omdut ul Omrah, and he was made the farther instrument of communication to the nabob Wallajah. Ally Rezza states of his own accord, during this part of the examination, that he took occasion of stating to gen. Harris (he believes through capt. Macleod) at Seringapatam, the anxiety which had been expressed by ld Cornwallis, the nabob Wallajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, that Tippoo should refrain from the infraction of the treaty, and should be induced to preserve friendship and cordiality with the English, as the only means by which the fortunes of his house could be supported; and that he, Ally Rezza, had explained these sentiments to Tippoo Sultaun in vain.

The paper [No. 16] is produced and read.—Q. Was Omdut ul Omrah present at the ceremony described in this letter? A. No; the younger sons of Wallajah were present. Q. What was the object of this ceremony? A. He explains; it was a practice of Tippoo Sultaun's to administer oaths to his servants, dependants, and officers of his government, on the points stated in the paper, and that the order was received by the vakeels for swearing those at Madras, which was accordingly done in the manner described. Q. Was it not to engage the congregation present to assist the Khodadad Sirkar, and to throw off their allegiance to the Brit. govt? A. The oaths were administered only to the servants of the Khodadad Sirkar. The discourse was addressed to all the Mussulmans present; and it is obvious, from the letter itself, that the intention was to attach the Mussulmans to Tippoo Sultaun, and to reprove them for adhering to those of a different persuasion. He, Ally Rezza, adds, that he divests himself of all difficulty in making this confession, since it is the object of the present enquiry to obtain the truth. Q. Did the nabob's sons, who were present, join in the prayer, that the Khodadad Sirkar might be triumphant and victorious? A. The prayer for victory and triumph refers entirely to the servants of the Khodadad Sirkar. Q. Why did Tippoo Sultaun imagine that you might feel apprehensive in fulfilling his orders respecting this ceremony? A. Because the ceremony was to be performed in the territories of a foreign power, and because the nature of the oath administered to the servants was adverse to those of a different persuasion. Q. Was the obligation and engagement taken on that day in the mosques from the servants of Tippoo Sultaun only; or was it a general union among those professing the Mahomedan faith at Madras? A. No person but the servants of the Khodadad Sirkar received the oath. Q. When did you leave Madras for Seringapatam? A. On the 22d Jaffer 1209 Hagry. (A mistake, this answers to Sept. 1794.) Q. How often did you go to Seringapatam? A. Once during the residence of the princes at Madras? Q. When did you return to Madras? A. I was absent nearly three months, and returned about the 18 or 19 of Jemrady ul Ovol.

The paper, No. 7, is produced.—Q. Who was meant by the term well-wisher of mankind? A. The nabob Wallajah. Q. Why was he distinguished by that name? A. In consequence of a desire expressed by the nabob Wallajah to be distinguished by that epithet, in order to shew that he was not confined to any party, but well-disposed to all mankind. Q. What are the points which could not be committed to paper, and could only be communicated in person? A. To recapitulate, according to ld Cornwallis's directions, the course of hostile transaction which had taken place from early times between the two states; to insist on the detention of the prisoners by Tippoo Sultaun, and his cruelty towards them; to inculcate the necessity of a reform in his sentiments towards the British nation, and to lay the foundation of permanent friendship, to be farther confirmed in Europe.—These propositions of ld Cornwallis were confirmed by the advice of the nabob Wallajah, founded on his long experience and age. Q. What sirdars are meant in the passage "At this time the friendship and goodwill "of both the sirdars is from God and the royal "auspices?" A. Lord Cornwallis and the nabob Wallajah. Q. Why could not these points be committed to writing at Madras, since they were committed to writing after your arrival at Seringapatam? A. The time of paying the kists had passed; and the prisoners were still detained; it was with the intention therefore of using my personal influence with the sultaun in these points, since all writing had proved vain.—Ally Rezza states from himself, that about this time he had received a letter from Tippoo Sultaun, mentioning that no prisoners remained in his dominions; that this communication was in consequence made to the Brit. govt, but that in one month three prisoners made their escape and arrived. Q. Where were you in the months of Mehurreon and Suffer 1209?

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A. In Seringapatam. Q. Were you at that time in the habit of attending the durbar of Tippoo Sultaun? A. It was stopped. No. Q. Were you in the habit of corresponding with the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, after your final return to Seringapatam? A. No; there was intercourse between these nabobs and Tippoo Sultaun by means of letters, and of Mahomed Ghyaus and Mahomed Ghaus Khan. Q. Were any other persons employed besides those two persons as vakeels at Madras? A. I was under confinement; but believe not. Q. Did you at any time receive letters from the nabobs Wallajah or Omdut ul Omrah, after your departure to Seringapatam? A. None. Q. Did you receive any verbal messages? A. None; I was confined. Q. Do you know whether the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah used any cypher in writing to Tippoo Sultaun? A. I do not; I only recollect two letters from the nabob Wallajah, and one to him from Tippoo Sultaun.—[The paper, No. 6, is produced.]—Q. Did you ever see this paper? A. I have; it was instituted by Wallajah for purposes of secret communication, and the original I believe was written in pencil by Kadir Nawas Khan, or some person about the nabob Wallajah.—Q. You stated that you knew but of one cypher, and you acknowledge to have seen this 2nd cypher now produced? A. It is very true; but altho' this paper was intended for purposes of secret communication, it was of a different description from what I meant by the cypher. To my knowledge this paper was not brought into use, it having been intended for use after the departure of the hostages, in case of necessity. Q. Did you carry this paper with you to Seringapatam, when you went with ld Cornwallis's propositions? A. Yes, I did. Q. From whom did you receive it; and to whom did you deliver it after your arrival at Seringapatam? A. It was delivered to Gholam Ally Khan by Kadir Nawas Khan, and to me, at my departure, by Gholam Ally Khan, who told me that it had been composed for communication between Tippoo Sultaun and the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah; that a copy should be given to Tippoo, and the original brought back to Madras. Tippoo Sultaun however kept the original paper. Q. It appears that pains were taken to procure private meetings with the vakeels at Madras by Omdut ul Omrah, and it appears that two cyphers were established for the purpose of secret communications. It is therefore very extraordinary, that so much trouble should have been taken to conceal matters, which, if accomplished or known, must have tended to increase the friendship between Tippoo and the Brit. nation? A. I acknowledge another inconsistency between the means used and the purposes already stated, and that such an inconsistency does afford ground for suspicion. With respect to the second paper, I do not know of its having been brought into use; and I call God to witness, that I am ready to meet any extremity which the English govt may choose to inflict, if any point was agitated with my knowledge besides those already stated. Ally Rezza adds by way of explanation, that the real cypher (in figures) was intended for communication of intelligence between the vakeels and Tippoo Sultaun, and not to be used between the two durbars. He, Ally Rezza, once took occasion to enquire of Gholam Ally Khan, what was the reason of this attention to the observance of secrecy in affairs which were apparently innocent. Gholam Ally Khan said, that a certain delicacy of concealment (hijalee) was to be observed in the affair of the marriage. Q. You have stated, that when you received from Gholam Ally Khan the cypher, No. 6, you considered it to be for purposes of secret communication. What was your idea of the nature of the intended secret communications? A. I concluded it to be for the purpose of concealing the mention of any affair whatever; whether relating to the English, or the Nizam, or the Mahrattas, or any other point referred to in the paper. Q. A paper of this nature is generally prepared for some particular purpose; for what particular purpose do you believe this paper, No. 6, to have been prepared?

Mem.—Great pains have been taken to explain the above question, Ally Rezza, after fully comprehending the purport, and after due consideration, states:

A. That he conceived the paper, No. 6, to have been prepared for use, in case of any necessity whatever, but that it was not intended for any particular purpose. Q. It appears that all intercourse had been suspended for a long time between the durbar of Tippoo Sultaun, and that of the nabob Wallajah; that a communication was opened on the conclusion of peace, under great suspicions and doubts on the part of the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, with respect to the disposition of Tippoo Sultaun; and although that intercourse is stated to be merely for a friendly communication between the two durbars, yet the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah put into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun a confidential paper, calculated to conduct hidden correspondence of a general political nature. A. I acknowledge, that to an indifferent person there are strong grounds to suspect, that more was intended than appears; but I repeat, that I do not know of any particular object for which the paper, No. 6, was prepared. He, Ally Rezza, adds, that it was delivered by Kadir Nawas Khan to Gholam Ally Khan, between whom some communications passed, of which he, Ally Rezza, had no knowledge.

Mem.—The foregoing answer being judged inadequate to the weight of the question which it follows, the commissioners think it necessary to explain this deficiency in the fullest manner, to refer Ally Rezza to the distinct explanations contained in the preamble, and to attract his serious attention to the difficulty of this passage in the examination.

With a full sense of this serious exhortation, Ally Rezza repeats, that he has stated every thing within his knowledge, on the points stated in the examination; that the inconsistencies pointed out are obvious, but that he is unable to give a further explanation of them.

Q. Do you attach any other meaning to the expression of "the affair known of" except that of the proposed marriage? A. None whatever. If I had, I would have mentioned it.

Mem.—Here Ally Rezza insisted how much it would be adverse to his interests, and contrary to the devotion he owes to the comp. to withhold any part of the truth. The fac simile of the indorsement on the cypher, No. 6, is produced. Q. Do you know this hand-writing? A. I do not. Q. Where were you in the month of Zawkry, of the year Shaud 1202, A. M.? A. Under displeasure at Seringapatam. Q. Were you in the

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habit of being in any degree consulted by Tippoo Sultaun? A. I was not consulted; Tippoo Sultaun instructed Mahomed Ghyaus and Mahomed Ghaus Khan to say, in the event of Omdut ul Omrah making any enquiry for Ally Rezza or Gholam Ally Khan, that they attended the durbar as usual. Q. What was the object of that deputation? A. I do not know; I was in confinement. Q. Did you send any letters or messages by those ambassadors to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah? A. None. Q. Did you receive any letter or verbal message by them from Omdut ul Omrah? A. None. Q. Did you receive any letters from Kadir Nawas Khan? A. None; I had no intercourse. Q. What were the couplets which Tippoo Sultaun sent to you soon after your arrival at Madras? A. I have no recollection of them, the papers, Nos 2 and 3, are produced. Q. What are the couplets of which you acknowledge the receipt? A. Ally Rezza repeats the following couplet, which was intended, he says, to explain or serve as a key to the cypher in figures, *viz.*— Q. What is "the writing you know of" mentioned in the letter? A. The couplets explaining the cypher. Q. You have stated that the cypher in figures (the specimen of which is produced) was brought to Madras at the time of your return to that place from Seringapatam? A. It was first delivered to me at that time. Q. If so, it is impossible that the couplets can refer to the cypher, because by dates they appear to have been sent from Seringapatam before your departure from Madras with ld Cornwallis's propositions? A. Ally Rezza ascribes this to some mistake of his memory, but makes no change in the matter of fact with respect to the cypher.

[The paper, No. 5, is produced.] Q. What were the expressions of friendship which Tippoo Sultaun states you to have heard from his mouth? A. I never heard any expressions of friendship from his mouth, and consider the expression to be nothing more than form.

[The papers, Nos. 1 and 4, are produced.] Q. It is stated that the nabob Wallajah dissuaded ld Cornwallis from the war. Did you hear the nabob say so? A. The nabob Wallajah did address himself particularly to me, and did use those expressions. Q. Did you believe the nabob Wallajah sincere in these expressions? A. I did not. —There was no sincerity on either part in those expressions. Q. Although you do not believe any sincerity to have been intended by the nabob Wallajah, in his expressions of friendship towards Tippoo Sultaun, do you give any credit to his professions of interference founded on his attachment to the religion of Mahomed? A. The whole is compliment. How is it possible that the nabob Wallajah could forget the indignities sustained by his own family at the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, when Abonel Wab Khan was confined, and his daughter and grand-daughter taken into the Mahal? And if there was any sincerity in these expressions of friendship, why was not the chain preserved after the departure of the princes from Madras? Q. Is the warmth of the expressions in this letter, No. 4, consistent with the general forms of civility? A. In the Western world, people are correct and limited in expressing themselves, but the people of India exaggerate extravagantly their expressions of regard. I regard the whole of the expressions in this letter, No. 4, to be exaggerated. Q. Did the nabob Wallajah actually make use of these expressions? A. It was customary for the vakeels to heighten the expressions of regard which fell from ld Cornwallis, or the nabob Wallajah, or any other person, for the purpose of conciliating the mind of Tippoo Sultaun. Q. Did the nabob Wallajah actually use the expression, "That the sultaun was the only pillar of the faith; and that with respect to himself, the state of affairs here (meaning at Madras) was well known?" A. The expression is certainly heightened; but the nabob Wallajah did allude to the difference of circumstances between himself and the sultaun, with respect to power and independance, so as to form a sufficient foundation for the representation of the vakeels.

Mem.—It being now eleven o'clock, and impossible to conclude the examination of Ally Rezza this night, great pains are taken by the commissioners to impress on him, in the most earnest manner, the absolute necessity of observing the strictest secrecy on the subject of this enquiry. It is further explained to him, that the knowledge of the circumstances of the enquiry being confined to the commissioners and himself, any disclosure of the proceedings must certainly be traced to him, and as certainly followed by the privation of his pension.—Ally Rezza stated, in a very impressive manner, the duties which he owed to the comp.; and urged, as a confirmation of his own desire to adhere to those duties, the intimate connection of his personal interests, which could in no manner be so well secured to him, as under the liberal protection and provision which he now enjoys from the company.

Vellore, 4th May 1800.—Ally Rezza again attends the commissioners, and, previous to his examination, he requests permission to state two points, which did not occur to him in the examination of yesterday. The 1st was, that at the departure of the vakeels from Madras, they had been charged with some rich presents and jewels, by the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, for Tippoo Sultaun, which were accordingly delivered to him. The 2nd was, that the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah had expressed a strong desire of obtaining an establishment of land within the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun. The ostensible object was, the greater convenience of sending presents and pilgrims to Mecca from some place on the Malabar coast, than from any part of the Carnatic; and the nabobs were in consequence desirous of obtaining an interchange of districts for this purpose.

The commissioners proceed to the examination of Ally Rezza. Q. Did you ever send to Tippoo Sultaun a description of the works of Fort St. George? A. I did. Q. By what means did you become acquainted with the description of them? A. I made the best description I was able, from my own observation, and from the information of a maistey carpenter, sent for that purpose from Seringapatam by Tippoo Sultaun. Tippoo Sultaun was desirous of building a fort on the model of fort St. George, and also an arsenal, of which the maistey took a drawing. Q. Was the nabob Omdut ul Omrah privy to this order? A. No; the order was kept secret. Q. Did you ever receive any intelligence from the nabobs Wallajah or Omdut ul Omrah of a secret nature? A. The vakeels received intelligence of the death of the king of France, with advice from Wallajah to withdraw Tippoo Sultaun's vakeel from Pondicherry. Q. Did the nabob explain his intention

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in giving this intelligence? A. The nabob explained, that his motive for doing so arose from good wishes towards Tippoo Sultaun. Q. In your first visit to the nabob Wallajah, he appears to have made a proposal for the establishment of union and harmony between his highness and Tippoo Sultaun. Soon after he enquired whether any answer had been received at a subsequent period; Omdut ul Omrah enquired whether you had full powers, and postponed the communication of his sentiments until the final departure of the vakeels. He then did not make the communication until he had exacted the most solemn adjuration of secrecy. What did you suppose to be the causes of this anxiety and caution, and what did you expect to be the result of this preparation? A. I certainly expected that some affair of importance to Tippoo Sultaun, and of a secret nature, would in consequence be communicated; but I had no fixed idea of what that affair would be.

[The paper (No. 11,) is produced.] Q. What do you suppose to have been the intention of Omdut ul Omrah's proposition of friendship described in this letter? A. The establishment of cordiality. Q. Considering the long established rivalry and enmity between the two families, something more than mere cordiality appears to be imputable to the anxiety of Omdut ul Omrah? A. The prosecution of the former wars had been attended with great detriment to both parties, and he (Ally Rezza) conceives that Omdut ul Omrah's motive was to repair those losses by the preservation of peace. Q. From the general warmth of the expression in the correspondence of Tippoo Sultaun and Omdut ul Omrah, do you suppose that it was the intention to extend the union and harmony of those princes, to a means for the general advancement of the Mahomedan cause? A. I do not believe that their views were extended to any object of that kind. Q. It appears from many passages in the correspondence, as well as from the proceedings at the Jaurnah mosque, that prayers were offered for the triumph and victory of Tippoo Sultaun; if those prayers had been successful, there is no reason to believe, from the former conduct and enmity of Tippoo Sultaun, that his victory would have been attended with any temporal advantage to the nabob Wallajah's family? A. Of course the success of those prayers would have been extremely disadvantageous to the nabob Wallajah. Q. Then the object of Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, in offering those prayers, must have been extended to the general success of the Mahomedan interests? A. It was the language of the tongue, and not of the heart. Q. Is not that language stronger than that used in the ordinary intercourse between princes? A. It certainly has the appearance of exaggeration, but to my knowledge it did not extend beyond civility.

[The paper (No 12,) is produced.]—Q. What is meant by the expression—"It is certain that no assistance will be offered from thence"? A. That the sultaun, attending to the circumstances stated in the letter, would not certainly assist the French. Q. Was there any communication between the vakeel Ram Row at Pondicherry, and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah? A. None.

Ally Rezza states, that at the time of the equipment against Pondicherry, Sir. C. Oakeley acquainted the vakeels in a private manner, that Pondicherry would certainly fall into the hands of the English, and that if Tippoo should offer the French assistance, it would as certainly be attended with injurious consequences to him.

[The papers (Nos. 8 and 9.) are produced.]—Q. Consider the particular points insisted on in these letters, and explain the object of them? A. It is well known that the object of the sultaun was to unite all Mussulmans for the purpose of extirpating the English or of failing in the attempt; and the frequent repetition of oaths to his servants and army was directed solely to that object. Q. This intention of the sultaun's being well known, is it not reasonable to conclude, that the frequent allusions of the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, to the interest taken by the sultaun in the Mahomedan cause, may be referred to the same intention, and included under the same consideration? A. I think not; but that they were expressions of civility. On one occasion the nabob Wallajah stated, that the sultaun should consider the connexion with the English to be the proper object of his religious care. Q. Was Kadir Newas Khan the only person of rank through whom communications between the vakeels and the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah passed? A. Yes. Q. Was Kadir Newas Khan acquainted with "the affair known?" A. He was. Q. Was it intended to have kept the marriage, if it had taken place, secret from the English? A. It was intended to have been effected with the knowledge of the British government. I brought presents for the purpose, which were to have been delivered in case of success; and otherwise to be returned to Seringapatam, which was accordingly done. Q. Was Kadir Nawas Khan acquainted with the use of the cypher; No. 6? A. He was; he gave it to Gholaum Ally. Q. Do you recollect the particular phrases used by Omdut ul Omrah, in communicating his ultimate message previously to your leaving Madras? A. I do not: but am certain that nothing more passed with my knowledge than what I have stated. Q. You are acquainted, that your report on the works of Madras, and your exhortations to the Mussulmans at the Jaumah mosque, have come to the knowledge of the Brit. govt: you must be sensible also, that in the one case you had taken advantage of the confidence reposed in you by the Brit. govt, as an hostage, to betray its interests under the mask of friendship; and that, in the second case, you have preached the language of rebellion in the capital of the company's dominions. In both instances you can have no doubt that you have acted contrary to the laws of nations, and are therefore liable to the resentment of the Brit. govt. The principles on which the Brit. govt acts, in reference to these points, were explained to you at the commencement of this examination; and as you will justly have forfeited all claim to its favour, if, on the examination of other persons, you should be proven to have deviated from, or to have suppressed the truth, which is the object of this enquiry; it is earnestly recommended to you by the commissioners to trace the whole subject in your mind, and to correct any errors which you may have committed, while it is yet not too late.

Mem.—The foregoing question being of a very serious nature to Ally Rezza, is translated and committed to writing; and Ally Rezza,

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after full consideration, delivers the following answer, written by himself in the Persian language:

A. The truth is, that in giving this information I was under the orders of my master. He gave me particular injunctions to procure information on these points, and also sent a carpenter in order to examine the works. In this case it was not in my discretion to act contrary to those orders; I therefore made known whatever I had observed. According to the rights of peace, this conduct was improper in a person entrusted: being without resource, I acted in conformity to the orders of my master. In respect to the exhortation, I acted under similar circumstances. Although these acts, in a foreign territory, were improper, yet I was without resource, and acted accordingly. With regard to the recommendation, of the commissioners to trace the subject of the enquiry in my mind, in order to correct any errors which may have occurred, or any omissions of the truth, the case is this: the transactions are of long standing; in every case in which I have been questioned, have answered to the best of my remembrance; if any thing further should occur to me, I will represent it without any deviation. It is for consideration, whether a person like me, enjoying such favour from the comp. would, by concealing any matters in his knowledge, wilfully expose himself to injury. It will never be, that I shall conceal from the comp. any thing of a secret nature in my knowledge. In every point in which I have been questioned, I have represented whatever I knew; and I repeat, that if any new matter shall arise in the enquiry, I shall be ready to give information to the extent of my ability. The injunctions on the subject of secrecy having been repeated to Ally Rezza, his examination is closed; and the commissioners think it their duty to state, that throughout the examination of Ally Rezza they have observed (as far as depends on exterior manner) a ready disposition on his part to give the fullest information; and that although great inconsistencies appear in the course of the enquiry, the commissioners did not discover any wilful prevarication, or outward endeavour, to suppress the truth. *J. Webbe. B. Close.*

Seringapatam, 9th May, 1800.—Gholaum Ali Khaun attends the commissioners, by the direction of the hon. col. Wellesley, and they proceed to take his examination; col. Wellesley being present. The introductory paper of explanation, translated into the Persian language, [No. 15,] and prefixed to the examination of Ally Rezza, is read and minutely explained to Gholaum Ally Khaun, who acknowledges himself to understand the meaning and extent of the paper, and professes himself at the same time ready to answer any questions that may be proposed to him. The papers [Nos. 14 and 15,] of the correspondence are produced, and Gholaum Ally Khaun acknowledges the contents of them. Q. What did Omdut ul Omrah communicate to you in the secret meeting which you held with him in the garden, subsequently to the 23d of July, 1793? A. I recommended to ld Cornwallis, that before his ldp's departure, some means should be taken to establish harmony and cordiality between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and of the nabob Wallajah: and the best means which occurred to me of doing so, was that of reciprocal marriages in the two families; and this affair is the ground of the two letters, [Nos. 14 and 15.] Q. What were the particular expressions of attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, but to defer the communication of them until your return to the presence of your master? A. That the enmity between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and the nabob Wallajah had been removed by the interference of ld Cornwallis; and that unity had been established between them. The whole substance of the discourse, however, referred to the object already explained. Q. What answer did Tippoo Sultaun return to the communication from Omdut ul Omrah, and through what channel was that answer transmitted? A. The answer was, that on the arrival of the vakeels this communication would be made known, and taken into consideration. Q. In what manner did the affair of the proposed connexion arise? and how was it conducted? A. The object of our mission was to attend the hostages until the completion of the treaty. Tippoo Sultaun, finding that there was a disposition on the part of the nabob Wallajah to establish cordiality and harmony between the two families, thought that the best means of effecting it would be by marriage; and therefore directed the vakeels to make a proposition to that effect.

Mem.—It is explained to Gholaum Ally Khaun, that this enquiry is of great importance, and that it will be necessary for him to recollect, in order that his answers may be consistent.

A. Gholaum Ally Khaun then states, that the agitation of the affair of the connexion first originated with the nabob Wallajah.

Mem.—This answer being so inconsistent with the fact, as it appears from the correspondence and from the other testimonies; the caution is repeated: and,

A. He still adheres to the last explanation. Gholaum Alli adds, that Tippoo Sultaun, on receiving this communication, considered it to be an affair of great delicacy, and not to be conducted by writing. He therefore ordered Ally Rezza to attend the presence, and returned by him a message, with considerable presents. Q. You have stated, that the nabob Wallajah was the first agitator of this affair. In your letter [No. 15,] you state, that you have made Omdut ul Omrah the foundation of the affair. Explain the inconsistency? A. It is true that the nabob was the first agitator of it, but in a disguised manner; and therefore Omdut ul Omrah was made the instrument of communication. Q. What was the object and intention of Ally Rezza's journey from Madras to Seringapatam, during the residence of the hostages at Madras? A. The sultaun considered the affair to be of great importance, not to be committed to writing; he therefore ordered Ally Rezza to attend the presence on that point.

[The paper, No. 7, of the correspondence, is produced and read.]——Q. It is stated in this letter, that the affair cannot be committed to writing, and that therefore *you* (the vakeels) considered the departure of Ally Rezza to be particularly necessary? A. The departure of Ally Rezza was considered particularly necessary, "in conformity to the orders of the presence."—Gholaum Alli states, of his own accord, that after the death of the nabob Wallajah, he (Gholaum Alli) wrote to Omdut ul Omrah, renewing the negociation by order of Tippoo Sultaun, which letter was sent to Madras by Mahomed Ghyauss of Cuddapah. The answer was not

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brought to him, but he has since understood from Ghyaues, that Omdut ul Omrah had said in reply, that the princesses were the daughters of the late nabob Wallajah, and his property; with which Omdut ul Omrah was not at liberty to interfere.—Q. The proposal having originated with the nabob Wallajah, and Tippoo Sultaun having shewn his disposition to agree, by sending Ally Rezza with presents for the occasion; how did it happen that the affair failed of accomplishment, both being willing? A. The nabob Wallajah considered ld Cornwallis's leave to be necessary, but which was not obtained. This was the cause of the impediment. Q. Was the first proposal, on the part of the nabob Wallajah, communicated to the vakeels, with the knowledge of ld Cornwallis? A. The nabob said ten times, in the presence of the whole durbar, that it was proper to establish such a connection, and that, for his part, he would consent to and effect it, if his ldp would have no objection.

[The paper [No. 6,] is produced, and an immediate change was observed, as well in the countenance as in the manner of Gholaum Ally Khaun.]—Q. Did you ever see this paper? A. I never saw it before this day, and do not know the intention of it.

[The paper, No. 7, is again produced.]—Q. Who is meant by the term, "The well wisher of mankind?" A. Wallajah. Q. Why did you call him the well-wisher of mankind? A. The nabob told me to use that phrase, and not his own name Wallajah.

[The paper, No. 8, is produced.]—Q. Who is meant in this letter by the term, "well-wisher of mankind?" A. The nabob Wallajah, who was always distinguished by that name in Tippoo Sultaun's letters. Q. Who was meant by the term, "the distinguished in friendship?" A. Ally Rezza. Q. Was that a title conferred on him? A. It was a mode of address fixed for him. Q. By whom? A. The author of the letter.—Gholaum Ally states, of his own accord, that formerly Tippoo Sultaun distinguished the nabob by the name of Wallajah, and latterly by that of "well-wisher of mankind." He adds also, that the paper, No. 6, contains certain figurative terms, established in the dar-al insha, or secretary's department. Q. At what time was it established? A. I do not know. Q. You say that it was established for the conduct of business in the dar-al insha. On what occasion? A. I did not attend the durbar for five years, and I suppose it to have been invented for that purpose. Q. What is meant by this passage in No. 8, viz. "I am perfectly satisfied, that you will shew that kindness, which is becoming your exalted person, towards *hearts* your guests?" A. The children.

Mem.—It is necessary here for the commissioners to explain, that the witness at once gave the above answer; but, on recollection, he endeavoured to refer the term "*hearts*" to its literal meaning in the composition of this passage, by explaining that Tippoo Sultaun meant his hearts (which was the same as heart, *i. e.* the plural for the singular) should be the guest of the nabob Wallajah, and that Wallajah should bestow his affection on it. It being evident to the commissioners that the witness is wilfully prevaricating on this point, from a remarkable change of manner and countenance; it is judged proper to repeat the injunctions contained in the preamble to this enquiry, and that paper in the Persian language is again read to him and minutely explained. Gholaum Ally Khaun again repeats, that he perfectly understands the paper, and acknowledges himself liable to the penalty eventually or conditionally denounced.

Q. You have stated that the nabob Wallajah expressed his desire of being distinguished by the name of "well-wisher of mankind." Recollect yourself, and describe the particulars respecting the communication of that desire? A. At the time of Ally Rezza's departure from Madras to Seringapatam, the nabob Wallajah expressed his desire to both the vakeels, that the name of "well-wisher of mankind," and not of Wallajah, should be used whenever it became necessary to mention his name. Q. Did the nabob Wallajah desire that his name might be used only in Tippoo Sultaun's letters, or did he desire that it should also be used in the letters of the vakeels? A. The vakeels being both present when Ally Rezza took leave, the nabob Wallajah said, that he was become an old man; that he was a fakir; that he had now nothing to do with the title of Wallajah, and directed the vakeels to tell Tippoo Sultaun, that he wished to be distinguished by the name of "the well-wisher of mankind." Q. Did you receive the expression of Wallajah's desire from his own mouth, or through the medium of another person? A. From Wallajah's own mouth. Q. In what place did he communicate this desire? A. In the fort, when the nabob Wallajah came out to give leave to Ally Rezza. Q. Who were present besides yourself and Ally Rezza. A. No person. Q. Did the nabob retire to a place of secrecy, as only three persons were present? A. I was sitting in my chair (he is lame and cannot move), and the nabob and Ally Rezza came close to make the communication to me. Q. Did the nabob Wallajah express any wish that any other persons or things should be distinguished by similar fictitious titles? A. No; only with respect to himself. Q. When was the title of "distinguished in friendship" first conferred on Ally Rezza? A. It appears, from the correspondence of Tippoo Sultaun, Ally Rezza was formerly distinguished by another title, which I forget; but on Ally Rezza's return to Seringapatam, he requested that his title might be encreased. This was done. Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun communicate to you this encrease of Ally Rezza's title? A. No. Q. Was no communication was made to you of the encrease of Ally Rezza's titles, how was it possible for you, or for the nabob Mahommed Ally, to know who was meant by the distinguished in friendship? A. Because Ally Rezza was himself the bearer of the letter. Q. At what time did Ally Rezza return from Seringapatam to Madras? A. I do not recollect; but believe that I can ascertain the point, from a memorandum of the preparation made by me to receive Ally Rezza. Q. Both vakeels being present at Madras, did it not happen that one of them wrote separate addresses to Tippoo Sultaun? A. When both were present, they wrote jointly. Q. The explanation which you have given of the expression "family" &c. being so constrained, as to render the passage almost void of meaning; how do you reconcile the absurdity of this passage, according to your construction, with the usual style of Tippoo Sultaun's letters, which is evident and consistent? A. I explain it thus: viz. "Our house, and (or) truly, [for] your house, and [for] your

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ones. In this manner [for this reason] there is the fullest confidence, that kindness becoming exalted [great] characters, will be put in practice." Q. Do you think that Tippoo Sultaun would have written a passage so absolutely destitute of meaning? A. He has written it.

Mem.—After a full discussion of this construction, it is stated to the witness, that the inconsistencies and absurdities of his explanation have established a belief that he is endeavouring to conceal the true meaning, which it remains for him either to remove, or to be answerable on his responsibility to the company.

Q. On this question being first put to you, you gave a direct answer, which was intelligible; but, on consideration, you have substituted an answer which is not to be understood. A. It is true, I may have said so.

The paper, No. 6, is put into the hands of Gholaum Alli Khaun again, and he is asked, in the most serious manner,

Q. Did you ever see this paper, or not? or did you ever hear of its being brought into use? A. I now see that Omdut ul Omrah's name is at the bottom of the paper. After the death of his father, Omdut ul Omrah sent it to Tippoo Sultaun, to be used in their correspondence. Q. How do you know this? A. Because it is endorsed by one of the moonshees of Tippoo Sultaun. Q. What connection is there between the endorsement and the period you have described? and on what grounds have you fixed the period at the death of Wallajah? A. [It is impossible to obtain any answer; but he he says, that] it came in the cover of a letter, which must have been dated. I am responsible for this fact. Q. It has been explained to you, that the English govt is in possession of the records and secret papers of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and, consequently, that they have ample means of examining all persons who appear to have had any share in the transaction of his affairs; consider well, and answer this question on your responsibility to the comp.: Did you, or did you not, receive this (No. 6,) written in pencil, from Omdut ul Omrah? A. No; I did not. After further hesitation, Gholaum Ally says, if he sent it, he may have sent it by means of Ally Rezza. Q. If he sent it at the time of the death of the nabob Wallajah (as you have stated), how could he have sent it by means of Ally Rezza? A. I spoke from conjecture.

Mem.—It appears from the whole of Gholaum Ally Khaun's answers, that he is wilfully prevaricating, and that no explanation can be obtained from him. As he appears, therefore, to be callous to the manifest falsehoods in his testimony, the commissioners deem it unnecessary to pursue this part of the examination further.

Q. Was there any cypher in use in your correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun? A. If there was, it was lodged with Ally Rezza, and I understand that such a paper was given to him on his return to Madras. After further hesitation, Gholaum Ally states, that Ally Rezza desired him to take a copy of the cypher, which he declined, saying that he was not a person to be engaged in those affairs. Q. Was it ever used by Ally Rezza? A. He never told me of his having done so. Q. Did you ever hear that it was brought into use. A. Never, never. Q. Did Ally Rezza ever communicate to you that he had used it? A. One thing is true, that Tippoo Sultaun did write a letter in cypher to Ally Rezza. Q. Did it ever happen, that both vakeels being present at Madras, they corresponded separately with Tippoo Sultaun? A. No. Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun ever send any letter separately to either vakeel, when both vakeels were present at Madras? A. No. Q. Did the letter abovementioned in cypher come to Ally Rezza alone, or addressed to both vakeels? A. Ally Rezza told me that he had received the cyphered letter, but I declined having any concern with it. Q. Was you not considered to be the principal vakeel? A. Ally Rezza had charge of the expences, and I was entrusted with political negociation. Q. Was it usual for Tippoo Sultaun to write in cypher on the subject of your expences at Madras? A. I know that he wrote one letter in cypher. Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun ever communicate to you any circumstance whatever by means of a cyphered letter? A. No. Q. Did he ever communicate any circumstance in cypher to Ally Rezza? A. No; no letter was received. He shewed me one letter. Q. Did you ever hear that Ally Rezza had, on any occasion whatever, written to Tippoo Sultaun by means of a cyphered letter? A. I did not know of it: I never heard of it; and never was told of it. Q. What were the orders of Tippoo Sultaun for conducting your correspondence? A. He gave us no orders; none whatever. Q. Did you ever hear that Tippoo Sultaun had ordered an oath of fidelity to be administered to his servants, at the mosque in Madras? A. Yes; orders came for that purpose, which were executed by Ally Rezza.

Gholaum Ally Khaun having earnestly requested permission to retire, leave is accordingly granted to him; it being evident, from his determination to prevaricate, that no farther useful matter can be obtained from his testimony.

Seringapatam, 11th May, 1800.—Gholaum Ally Khaun again attends the commissioners, agreeably to his appointment.

[The paper, No. 7, in the correspondence, is produced.]—Q. What are the points which could not be committed to paper, and could only be communicated in person? A. The communication of the friendship and harmony which was felt for Tippoo Sultaun. Q. What sirdars are meant in the passage, "At this time the friendship and good-will of both sirdars is from God and the royal auspices?" A. Ld Cornwallis and the nabob Wallajah. Q. What appeared to you to be so extraordinary in the friendship and good-will of both sirdars, as to make you think and say that it could only have proceeded from God and the auspices of Tippoo Sultaun? A. Formerly enmity was established between the two states; I therefore considered this disposition now manifested to be a most fortunate occurrence. Q. Why did you consider what had passed between you and the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah as an unlooked-for good? A. Because I found a better disposition than I expected towards my master. Q. What was the subject alluded to in this letter, in which Tippoo Sultaun was to deliberate maturely, and to bring fully home to his mind? A. The harmony and friendship which is mentioned in the letter. Q. What was meant by the allusion in this letter to the changeableness of the times? A. The instability of human affairs; I therefore meant to impress on the sultaun's mind the necessity of forming useful friendships. Q. What was the affair which you were desirous Tippoo Sultaun should agree to? A. My object was to promote a dispo-

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sition on the part of the sultaun to cultivate this friendship. Q. How did you mean to apply the passage from the poet Hafiz? Who were the friends with whom Tippoo was to maintain cordiality? and who were the enemies with whom he was to dissemble? A. I meant to impress the policy of cultivating the friendship of the two sirdars, and of keeping apart from the Mahrattas and the nizam. Q. Did you at any time receive letters or messages from the nabobs Wallajah or Omdut ul Omrah, after your final return to Seringapatam? A. Soon after my return I was put under restraint, and I received no communication whatever, either by letter or message, from the nabob Wallajah, or from Omdut ul Omrah.

[The paper, No. 17, of the correspondence, is produced.]—Q. Do you recollect receiving from Omdut ul Omrah the letter, of which this is a copy? A. As it is an answer to the letter which was written under my seal, by the nabob Tippoo Sultaun, I did not receive it. Q. Did you receive any verbal message or letter from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, or from any person in his confidence, through the channel of the ambassadors Mahomed Ghyaus and Mahomed Ghous? A. None.

[The paper, No. 20, is produced.]—Q. Do you recollect to have received this letter? A. No. Q. Was your seal sent for more than once by Tippoo Sultaun? A. No. Q. How many years are passed since the sultaun sent for your seal? A. I do not recollect; it is a considerable time, upwards of two years, as far as I can guess. Q. You say that the sultaun sent for your seal but once; two letters have been produced from Omdut ul Omrah to you, after an interval of 2 years and a half, in each of which a letter from you is acknowledged; one of them, therefore, must have been written by yourself. A. The sultaun kept my seal for 5 days, and may have prepared different covers of letters with it; I know nothing of the letter myself. Q. Did you at any time receive a letter from Kadir Newaz Khaun? A. I received one; it was a letter of recommendation. Q. Respecting whom? A. I do not recollect his name: he was a gentleman destined for this quarter; I returned no answer. Q. Did you receive any other letter from Kadir Newaz Khaun? A. No.

[The paper, No. 21, in the correspondence, is produced.]—Q. Did you not receive from Kadir Newaz Khaun, some time in the month of Rajeb 1211 Higery, a letter, of which this is a copy? A. I did receive it. Q. When? A. I have no recollection of the time. Q. It does not appear to be a recommendation of any gentleman? A. It is the only letter I received; and it might have contained a separate note of recommendation. Q. By whom was it brought? A. The gentleman above-mentioned, about a year after my return from Madras. Q. What were the contents of your letter to Kadir Newauz Khaun, which is acknowledged in this letter? A. Informing him of my arrival, and communicating the expressions of friendship and good wishes towards the sultaun. Q. What was the nature of the intimations of Kadir Newauz Khaun's attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which occasioned Tippoo Sultaun to express through you his satisfaction? A. Nothing more than the desire already expressed of establishing and preserving cordiality and friendship between the two durbars. Q. Through what channel were the said intimations conveyed to Tippoo Sultaun? A. I delivered the message of Kadir Newauz Khaun, on my return to the presence, and acquainted him with the reception of it by the sultaun. This is the answer to my letter. Q. What did Kadir Newauz Khaun mean by saying, that the system of harmony and union between Tippoo Sultaun and Omdut ul Omrah had acquired the requisite degree of stability and firmness? A. I explain, that being a man not very opulent, Kadir Newauz Khaun was desirous of rendering his instrumentality in establishing the friendship and cordiality useful to himself, by obtaining a present from Tippoo Sultaun. Q. Did he obtain any? A. None. The object of the connection was not accomplished. Q. You must be sensible, that, from the inconsistency of your answers, you have endeavoured to frustrate the object of this enquiry, and we have explained to you that this examination will be transmitted to our superiors. We refer you, therefore, again to the serious exhortation which was given to you at the commencement of this enquiry; and, as the prevarication in your testimony is too obviously intended to conceal some matters connected with the enquiry, we recommend that you should consider the nature of the evidence you have given, lest it should subject you to the serious displeasure of the Brit. govt?

Mem.—The above question having been verbally explained to Gholaum Ally Khaun, he is informed, that it will be translated into the Persian language, and sent to him in the morning (it being now very late), and that he will be required to subscribe his own answer in the same language at the bottom of the question. Gholaum Alli Khaun accordingly withdraws.

Seringapatam, May 12th, 1800.—The question recorded yesterday, having been translated into the Persian language, is sent to Gholaum Ally Khaun, by col. Close's moonshee, and after a considerable interval, the following note is received from Gholaum Ally himself:—"The moonshee is desirous that I should write at the bottom of the paper sent to me. At one o'clock to-morrow I will wait on the gentlemen, and communicate something. For the present, I request that the moonshee may be recalled."

Seringapatam, May 14th, 1800.—In conformity to his note of the 12th inst. Gholaum Ally Khaun attends the commissioners: and, after stating the reluctance which he felt for disclosing the secrets of his master entrusted to him, delivers the following answer (written by his own moonshee) to the question recorded in the proceedings of the 11th inst.: viz. "God and his prophet know and witness, that whatever was known to me from the beginning of the year 1207 to the year 1214 Higiry, has been explained, without deviation or difference, before the gentlemen of the company."

Q. In your note of the 12th inst. you stated, that you had something to communicate. What is the something? A. It was my intention to mention, that on the departure of Ally Rezza from Madras, he was charged by the nabob Wallajah with a sword and saddle of value as a present to Tippoo Sultaun. It was also my intention to state, that the ink was scarcely dry on the treaty (of 1792), when Tippoo Sultaun sent for his vakeel from Pondicherry; I did not know what passed between them, but I explain the obscurity of the passage in the letter [No. 8,] by referring the word "*hearts*," to Tippoo Sultaun himself, and the word "Khordegaum," to the French. Q. There being the most rooted enmity between the French and the nabob Wallajah, how

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ould Tippoo Sultaun, in a letter of civility to the ater, denominate the former the children of his ighness? A. It was an allusion.

[The paper, No. 10, of the correspondence, is roduced.]—Q. Did the nabob Walla ah actually ommunicate this intelligence to you? and did you ransmit the message without addition to Tippoo ultaun? A. I received the intelligence through he means of Kadir Newauz Khaun. On drafting he letter, I shewed it to Kadir Newauz Khaun, and e having approved of it, it was dispatched to the resence. Q. What is the meaning of this passage, iz. "What in the judgment of this well-wisher now ppears expedient is this. In a short time his ldp ill go to Europe, and the kests are in a course of ayment.. After his ldp's departure the liquida- on of the kests and other points, whatever may be is highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and roper. At present it is better to be silent in every ing, because at this time his highness's honour ould at all events be called in question. When nother shall arrive from Europe, the imputation ill in every event and in every measure fall pon him?" A. The French—the French—the rench—a thousand times the French. Q. How ould the agitation of the affairs here alluded , before the departure of lord Cornwallis, attended with disreputation to Tippoo Sul- an? A. Because lord Cornwallis himself being party to the treaty, any deviation from it on the rt of Tippoo Sultaun, at so early a period as during ldp's residence in India, would be particularly urious to the character of Tippoo Sultaun. Q. ow could the departure of ld Cornwallis remove y part of the disreputation of violating the treaty? By the possibility of *their* being able to conciliate e new comer to *their* views. Q. Do you mean to clude the nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah this intended arrangement for conciliating the new mer? A. I received the message from Kadir ewauz Khaun on the part of the nabob Wallajah, d therefore only include him in it. Q. What an- er did Tippoo Sultaun return to this proposition? An answer was received and delivered to the na- b Wallajah, but the contents were not explained me. The sultaun informed us that he had received r dispatch, and enclosed a letter for the nabob allajah from himself, which was accordingly de- ered. Q. Was the letter transmitted to the nabob allajah by means of Kadir Newauz Khaun? A. was delivered to the nabob Wallajah himself at e of his visits to the princes. Q. The original ssage from the nabob Wallajah having been ver- ally communicated to the vakeels, did his highness ake no mention to you of the purport of the answer hich he had received from Tippoo Sultaun? A. o; I made no enquiry on the subject. Q. You ve stated, that the whole of the affair alluded to this letter refers to the French; but the very sub- ct of the letter is founded on the too frequent com- unication between the sultaun and the govt of oonah. How do you reconcile this? A. It is ue, that the letter refers principally to Poonah; t the nabob Wallajah's caution was general, and cluded all. Q. Do you understand, that in giving is advice the nabob Wallajah communicated his ception to the Brit. govt? A. I have no know- dge on this point.

[The letter in figured cypher is produced, and re- ognized by Gholaum Alli Khaun.]—Q. Did you ansmit to the sultaun the description of the works f Fort St. George, promised in this letter? A. No, we did not; who would permit us to obtain the in- formation? Q. The Brit. govt is in possession of a very long and detailed description of the works of Fort St. George, written during the residence of the vakeels at Madras? A. It may be, but I have no recollection of it. If such a letter was written, it will have fallen into the hands of the Brit. govt. Q. At what place did you take your last leave of Omdut ul Omrah? A. At the mount. Q. As Omdut ul Omrah appears to have met the vakeels at the garden on the plain for the purpose of delivering his last message, why did he follow them to the mount? A. After our re- turn from our meeting at the garden, we received a message from Kadir Newaz Khaun, that the nabob would entertain us at the mount, and ac- cordingly Omdut ul Omrah came thither. Q. Had you any particular conversation with Omdut ul Omrah on that occasion? A. No; none what- ever. Q. Had you any particular conversation at the garden when you took leave of Omdut ul Omrah? A. None. That meeting was 5 or 6 months previous to our actual departure. Q. Was the affair which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, communicated only to yourself, or to both the vakeels? A. To both. Q. Was there at that meeting any conversat on between yourself and Omdut ul Omrah unknown to any other person? A. Yes: We conversed on the subject of the connection by marriage, and of the harmony of Tippoo Sultaun and the English, during which time Alh Rezza was on one side. Q. Was there any separate conversation between yourself and Omdut ul Omrah at the tomb? A. Yes. There was on the subject of the connection. Q. It appears that you held private conversations with Omdut ul Omrah at the mosque, and in the garden; recollect whether you had not also your- self a separate conversation with him at the mount? A. None whatever.——Gholaum Alli Khaun retires. (Signed) *J. Webbe. B. Close.*

No. 16.—*Copy of such parts of the Correspondence discovered in the Palace at Seringapatam, and al- luded to in the Letter from the Hon. the Gov in Council of Fort S. George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated* 3 *Aug.* 1801, *as are not included in the Appendix to the Declaration of the Gov of Fort St. George, dated* 31 *July* 1801.

Translation of a Letter from Mohummud Osmaun, Vakeel at Madras, to Hyder Ally Khan; dated 6th of Zykeed 1186, *(30th Jan.* 1773.)—" Agreeably to your orders, I had an audience of the nabob, at which, after expressing in strong terms the friendship that subsisted between us, I requested the passport for the arms. Immediately on hear- ing these expressions of friendship, his highness acquiesced in my demand of the passport, and taking me by the hand, led me to the top of the house, where there was a room, from whence the beautiful prospect of the sea, Fort St. George, &c. like a plain, appearing to our view, he re- marked what a beautiful spot it was, and added, " May Almighty God soon produce a cause, from which the nabob Hyder Ally Khaun and I shall be enabled here to set and enjoy ourselves toge- ther." He proceeded in these words," " The nabob Hyder Ally Khaun, inattentive to the value of my friendship, has always considered me sepa- rate from himself; whilst I have ever considered us as one: I may say indeed that I look on his existence as my own flesh and skin, and it is in-

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cumbent upon him to do the same. It is necessary that a friendship should subsist between us so firm, as that both our countries also should be one; that if any enemy, (which God prevent), should burn one of his villages, I ought to feel as if one of my own was consumed; and were one of mine to be destroyed by the fire of an enemy, he ought to feel as if one of his were destroyed: Again he observed, your master may make many friends, and doubtless will, but such a friend as I am he never can acquire; when friendship shall be established between us, then it will be seen what the friendship of friends is. I am that friend who, if he (which God prevent) should require the sacrifice of my child, as a means of promoting his prosperity and dominion, would, looking upon this as the greatest blessing in the world, most willingly deliver my offspring up to him. It is my wish to establish such a friendship with your master, that our children after us may be united in the bonds of affection and of love. Let us therefore, during this transitory life, be friendly and united, and render good offices to each other, since in the next no person can be connected with another; it is indeed singularly happy that Almighty God has been so bounteous to each, as that we want for nothing else than friendship and affection; it is incumbent upon us mutually to transmit to one another presents and rarities; &c. which God has bestowed on both, which, amongst friends, is a source of satisfaction, a means of over-awing others, and in every respect seemly. If therefore any thing in your master's country should be wished or required by me, let me take it without any apology; and in like manner should he want any thing from mine, let him send for it without excuse; this is the mode in which the princes of former times displayed their friendship for each other, and in the present times it is the same." Your slave, Mohummud Osmaun, upon hearing all these friendly expressions, made the two following remarks, "Almighty God has bestowed upon your highness, the nabob, a general knowledge of every matter, and a clear understanding, my master, Hyder Ally, contemplating by anticipation from his own great foresight all that I have now heard, and wishing to promote a unity with you, addressed to you a letter, wherefore did your highness not write him in return?" He answered, "I am convinced that your master wrote me that letter of condolence in friendship; but while I cherished in my mind his friendly sentiments, I judged it unprosperous and improper, as a beginning of friendship, to reply to a letter of condolence, and therefore failed to write to him; but should he wish in future to maintain a correspondence with me, I will look upon him, and address him as a king." My second observation was as follows: "Almighty God has made your highness powerful and great. The Mahrattas you know to be evil-minded and wickedly disposed; during three years they were at war with my master, and over-run and destroyed his country to the value of many crores. Notwithstanding his repeated demands of assistance from you, with an offer of paying the expences of the troops, how did you continue inattentive to his wish, and an inactive spectator? It would appear then, that you were unwilling to have him for a neighbour, or a friend, and preferred the neighbourhood, or friendship, of the Mahrattas." He replied, "The sentiments you express are precisely my own. May the Almighty destroy and root out the Mahrattas. It is with this object in view, that I am anxious to establish an alliance with your master, that in future whatever we may do may be concerted and engaged in with one heart and tongue, whether to make war or peace, because hitherto he has not, in the first instance, made applications to me, nor communicated with me, upon any subject. When he attacked the Europeans, and made peace with the English, who were my servants, it depended upon my consent to conclude it. I was the prince and owner of the country, and was at no great distance from the scene; but not a word, not a sentence, not even a man did he think proper to send to me. Hence I could not but conclude, that he wished not to be in unity and friendship with me, and consequently what ought I to have to do with his other wars and pacifications. Had your master maintained friendship and correspondence with me, and had I then neglected to fulfil my obligations, and remained an inactive spectator, these might be grounds for complaint: But let us totally forget the past, and if the nabob Hyder Ally Khaun should conceive that nothing or no advantage is to be gained from my friendship; let him reflect that the most trifling degree of its advantage is this; that if every year, whatever number of arms he may be able to purchase and carry away from this quarter, he may do so without molestation; it is no less a privilege than what he possesses in his own country. In the present instance, when you applied for a passport to the govr, you knew the answer he gave; he does not chuse to comply with your request. Upon a principle of foresight, I consider your master's friendship as paramount to every thing; it is incumbent likewise on your master to do the same by me, and continue firm in his friendship, for our two hearts are in reality one." His highness further added, that an odd incident had occurred, and told me, laughing at the same time, that when your highness came down upon the English, he was in this very garden where we were, and sending answers to the letters which he received; that the people told him, "To-day the English gentlemen "are embarking upon a pilgrimage." Here the conversation broke up, and his highness desired me to come to-morrow for the dustuck. P.S. In your former letter to the nabob, your address was such as to produce an observation from him, "That people in general write thus to their ser-"vants." It will be necessary therefore to consider this in future, that no offence may be taken. His highness gave me an English pocket book, as a present for you, which I enclose. If you send him something handsome in exchange, I think it would be proper.

(A true translation.) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 17.—*Minute of Lord Clive, dated 29th Sept. 1801, relative to the pecuniary Provision to be made for the Families of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ali and Omdut ul Omrah, &c. &c.*

Minute of Lord Clive, in Council, 29th Sept. 1801. —I have the honour of communicating to the board a statement of the pecuniary provision which I propose to make for the family of their late highnesses the nabob Mahomed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as for the principal officers and dependants of the late gov-

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This statement has been prepared in communication with his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. Reason therefore exists for believing that the provision now proposed extends to every branch of the family, and that the comp. will be liable to no further expence for its support.—It appears by the accounts with which I have been furnished from the durbar of the nabob, that the appropriation of the family jagheers by the nabob Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah has been extremely capricious; by these means many members of the family have lived in the enjoyment of superfluous abundance, while the greater part has with difficulty commanded the means of subsistence. This mode of appropriation has therefore afforded no guide for the allotment of the pecuniary stipends; and I have judged it most expedient to divide the family and its connexions into separate classes, according to the respective gradations of the different branches.—In proposing half a lack of rupees for the support of each of the legitimate sons of the nabob Mahomed Ally, I have allowed myself perhaps to exceed the bounds which a strict interpretation of the situation of those princes might justify; but I have been unwilling to detract from the liberality by which the Brit. govt has been guided throughout the recent transactions connected with this family; and it did not appear to be consistent with this plan of arrangement, that a less income should be allotted to the legitimate sons of Mahomed Ally, than that appropriated to the support of the elder sons of the late Tippoo Sultaun. To the inferior branches of the family I have allotted stipends, calculated in a relative proportion, according to the respective classes to which they have been referred.—Some oppressive exactions having been made by Hussain ul Mulk (the second surviving son of the nabob Mahomed Ally) in his capacity of foujdar of Trichionopoly, particularly in the pagoda of Seringam, the means of recompensing the sufferers will hereafter be a subject of consideration for the govr in council, but I shall consider it indispensably necessary to apply a great portion of the stipend of Hussain ul Mulk to this purpose; for the same reason I shall propose to reimburse the comp. in the amount of the arrear paid to the troops of sultan ul Nissa Begum, the favourite sister of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, from the stipend allotted to that princess.—The only deviation I have admitted from the principle of distributing the family into classes, is in favour of Tudjul Omra, the eldest reputed son of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah. The operation of that principle would have referred him to the class of Nekare sons, and perhaps a strict interpretation of his condition might be more consistent with that principle, because a deviation in his favour can only be founded on considerations connected with his former rank and expectations, and might therefore be liable to the imputation of encouraging hopes, which having been decidedly cut off it may be unwise to indulge. I am disposed however, in the present state of circumstances, to consider Ally Hussein to be more an object of compassion than of danger, and I think that the proposed stipend of Rs 24,000. per annum, affords sufficient means of gratifying his wishes, without encroaching on the expediency of suppressing his pretensions to the government of the Carnatic.—The list of the officers of the late government is not extensive, and the provision which I propose to make for them is liberal. Of the four principal officers of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, introduced to the deputies after the death of that prince, I have included only Tucky Ally Khan; and I have allotted to him a stipend proportioned to his former rank in the durbar. Nejeeb Khan (the other person named in the will of Omdut ul Omrah) holds at present a jagheer, which will hereafter come under the consideration of the board, and will afford, I have no doubt, ample means of maintaining that khan. The part which Hadir Nawaz Khan has acted in the extraordinary negociations of the late nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has rendered it impossible to include him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic upon the present foundation; and with respect to Mr. Barret, it will be manifest, from the description of that person contained in the report of the deputies, that the same considerations do not apply to him, which apply to the Mussulmen gentlemen of rank and character in the service of the late government.—The three princes connected with the family of the emperor Delhi have, I understand, resided in the neighbourhood of this presidency, and have been supported by the bounty of the late nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah during a long period of time; I have therefore judged it necessary, in framing the present arrangement, to secure to persons of their description the certain means of subsistence through the channel of the comp.'s govt.—Having concluded these arrangements with his highness the nabob, in conformity to the stipulations of the treaty, I consider it to be consistent with the spirit of that instrument, to give every appearance of support to the dignity and rank to his present highness, and to restrain the spirit of hostility which has been avowed by many branches of the family towards the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. While therefore I propose to secure to each branch of the family the actual enjoyment of the pension allotted to it, by rendering it payable at the comp.'s treasury to such persons as may be appointed to receive it, I judge it to be indispensably necessary, to the preservation of good order and harmony in the family, that the receipts to be granted by the different members of it should be previously subjected to the nabob's inspection, and that the payment of the pensions shall be suspended unless such receipts shall bear the seal and signature of his highness.—I consider it to be extremely desirable that every precaution shall be used for securing the happiness and comfort of the nabob on the foundation of the present arrangements; in order therefore to preserve his highness from the errors of his predecessors, to defend him from the machinations of interested persons, to restrain his expences within the limit of his income, and to impress constantly on his mind the principles of his connection with the Brit. govt, I judge it to be expedient that a person should be appointed to attend his highness's durbar, and to hold a constant personal communication with him on the part of this government. The general objects of this arrangement will be subject to the immediate superintendance of the government; and the duties of the subordinate office, which I propose to create, will be directed to the maintenance of that intercourse, to the timely communication of the intended measures

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of the nabob, and to the establishment of an immediate controul, under circumstances contributing at the same time to the honour and respect due to his highness's station.—The nature of these duties is such as to require the appointment of a Mussulman of good character and understanding, rather than an European gentleman. I have the best opinion of the fidelity of Gholaum Hussain, the principal moonshy in the Persian office, and of his qualifications to discharge the duties of that station with satisfaction to this govt, and advantage to the comp. I propose accordingly to nominate Gholaum Hussain to attend (under the immediate orders of the govr) the durbar of his highness the nabob, with a salary of 100 pagodas per month, and with an allowance of 50 pagodas for equipage and servants. These sums of money it is my intention to charge on the fund to be appropriated to the support of the family and dependants of the nabob. The board will observe, by the statements which I have the honour of communicating to it, that the amount of the proposed pecuniary provision for the family and dependants of the nabob, is less than the amount appropriable to that purpose, according to the stipulations of the treaty of 1792; and the nature of the present arrangement is calculated to secure a gradual diminution of this expenditure. I propose that the payment of the stipends shall commence from the 1st day of Oct.

1. *Statement of the pecuniary Provision to be made for the surviving Branches of the Families of their Highnesses the late Nabob Mahomed Ally, and the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.*

Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

	Rupees.	
Three Sons by legitimate marriage, viz.		
Sief ul Mulk	50,000	
Hussain ul Mulk	50,000	
Nassur ul Mulk	50,000	
		150,000
Three daughters by legitimate marriage, viz.		
Sultaun il Nissa Begum	25,000	
Mollickil Nissa Begum	25,000	
Omdut ul Nissa Begum	25,000	
		75,000
Ten sons by Nika; viz.		
Hussain Nawaz Khan	10,000	
Serafraz Khan	10,000	
Abdul Hamed Khan	10,000	
Nussur Oollah Khan	10,000	
Gholum Mahomed Khan	10,000	
Ismael Khan	10,000	
Hussain Mahomed Khan	10,000	
Aboo Tusab Khan	10,000	
Abdul Mahhood Khan	10,000	
Abdul Ghuffar Khan	10,000	
		1,00,000
Five Nekail Ladies; viz.		
Riesul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Zub ul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Lal Mahal	5,000	
Khuttajah Begum	5,000	
Padsha Begum	5,000	
		25,000
Twelve daughters by Nika; viz.		
Nejubul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Aziezul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Serojul Nissa Begum	5,000	

		Rupees.
Brought forward		350,000
Afzul ul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Fachnul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Dowlut ul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Rizzia Begum	5,000	
Reheem ul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Fazulut ul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Raabia Begum	5,000	
Lutful Nissa Begum	5,000	
Hafiza Begum	5,000	
		60,000
One grandson by Nika; viz.		
Abdul Bosil Khan		5,000
Inferior Nekail ladies; viz.		
Pursun Buby	3,000	
Hudjaing Buby	1,200	
Aumunah Buby	1,200	
Kanullah Buby	1,200	
Four Circassians	4,200	
Muddary Begum	1,200	
		12,000
The Haram		8,400
Total		4,35,400

2. Family of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

		Rupees.
The Begum Dolary Begum		25,000
Three sons by Neka; viz.		
Tadjul Omrah	24,000	
Shab Sowar Jung	10,000	
Bakir Hussain Khan	10,000	
		44,000
One daughter by Neka; viz.		
Hussa bul Nissa		5,000
Four Nekail ladies; viz.		
Gussaty Begum	5,000	
Colsum Begum	5,000	
Chuloor Begum	5,000	
Mahatab	5,000	
		20,000
One inferior concubine, recently admitted into the Mahal with her infant son		2,400
The haram		4,053
Total		1,00,453

3. The Family of Abdul Wahab Khan, the legitimate Brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally; viz.

		Rupees.
Two Sons by legitimate Marriages; viz.		
Dileer Jung	24,000	
Khan Jehan Khan	12,000	
		36,000
Four sons by Neka; viz.		
Serafra Khan	3,000	
Needum Oollah	3,000	
Abdo Rezzakkhan	3,000	
Kurrein odeen Ahmeed	2,000	
		11,000
One legitimate wife, Lally Begum		6,000
Three Nekail ladies; viz.		
Allah Rukky	2,000	
Mustura Khanum	1,000	
Sulliah Bee	500	
		3,500

* So in the original.

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	Rupees.
Brought forward	53,500
ive daughters; viz.	
Kurrem ul Nissa..... 2,000	
Rahmul ul Nissa..... 2,000	
Ahmedy Begum..... 2,000	
Buddyul Begum 2,000	
Wugjyul Nissa 2,000	
	10,000
he family of Ectadar Khan, a son by Neka	2,000
Total	65,500

. The Family of Maphooz Khan, the Brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally by Nika.

	Rupees.
ne son, Maphooz Khan	6,000
ree daughters; viz.	
The wife of Mahomed Merad 2,000	
Do. of Mahomed Ally Khan 2,000	
Ruby Saheb 1,200	
	5,200
Total	11,200

. Separate Connections of the Nabob Mahomed Ally Abdul Kadir, the Nephew of Mahomed Ally by his legitimate Sister .... *Rupees,* 12,000

The family of Jan Jehan Khan, nephew of Mahomed Ally by his legitimate sister.....	5,000
The family of Lewad Khan, a nekail, son of Mahomed Ally	5,000
The family of Hussain Ally Khan, a nekail, son of Mahomed Ally	5,000
The family of Nejeeb Ollah Khan, a nekail, brother of Mahomed Ally	2,000
The family of Budder ul Islam Khan, a nekail, brother of ditto	3,000
Total	32,000

. Offices of the Government of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, not included in the Provision made for the Family of his Highness Mochtar Jung Foujdar of Tinnwelly .... *Rupees,* 4,200

Ally Nowaz Khan, killadar of Arcot	4,200
Purky Ally Khan, one of the ministers at Madras	4,200
Meer Assud Ollah Khan	4,200
Kuttub Oodun Khan	4,200
Jowaher Ally Khan, killadar of Ryasgur	1,200
Scrafrag Ally Khan, killadar of Terrioor	1,200
Bakir Gewar, killadar of Chittoor	1,200
Ameen Ud Dun Ally Khan Behauder	2,400
Commandant Mahomed Ibrahim ...	1,200
Moonshy Gholaum Hussain	6,320
Total	34,520

. Three Relations of the Emperor of Delhi, pensioned by the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

	Rupees.
Humacoin Bucht 6,000	
Ally Bucht 4,200	
His young brother 1,200	
	11,400

Recapitulation.

	Rupees.
1. Family of the nabob Mahomed Ally	4,33,400
2. Ditto, ditto, Omdut ul Omrah	1,00,453
3. Ditto, ditto, Abdul Wahab Khan	65,500
4. Ditto, ditto, Maphooz Khan	11,200
5. Separate connections	32,000
6. Officers of the late government	34,520
7. Relations of the emperor	11,400
Grand total	6,98,473

(Signed) CLIVE.
A true copy,
(Signed) J. WEBBE, Chief Sec. of Gov.

No. 18.—*Copy of a Paper, purporting to be a Letter from Hussein Ally, the reputed Son of the late Nabob of Arcot, to James Stuart Hall and Samuel Johnstone, Esquires, his Agents in London.* (*This Paper will be found in our Register,* Vol. i. p. 1389.)

[*As we shall have repeated occasions to refer to Mr. Dundas's Speech on the Situation of Affairs in India, at the period of his retiring from office, we have thought it proper to insert a correct copy of it.*]

Mr. Dundas's Budget Speech in the House of Commons, on the 12th of June, 1801.

When I undertook the task of stating this year the situation of Indian concerns, in the manner I have been accustomed to do when in office, it was my original intention to have confined this statement to a dry recital, in the shape of resolutions, of the result of the accounts and estimates on the table. My reasons for this were, first, that with the opinions I entertain of the result of the administration of India, for 17 years past, under its present system, I could not well take a retrospective view of its past, compared with its present situation, without being liable to the imputation of an ostentatious display of occurrences, in which I may be supposed to have had a considerable share; and secondly, if I was to indulge myself in too flattering a prospective view of future expectations, I might be accused of holding out sanguine predictions on future events, respecting which I had no responsibility, and the fulfilment of which was to depend upon others, and not upon myself. But upon a nearer view of the subject, and considering the manner in which I concluded my statement of last year, I have persuaded myself, that it would be both unmanly and uncandid on my part, at this moment, if I was to conclude with barely recording resolutions, stating the results arising out of the accounts which have been referred to the committee. I concluded my statement of last year in the following words:—"The final result of the whole is, the financial departments in India have experienced material deterioration, from the united pressure of war expences, and provision of investments; but not in a degree to afford ground of alarm. A large proportion of the increase of the debt has been the occasion of adding to the assets, from whence the home concern has been considerably enriched. It certainly is of the first importance to devise a method by which the present burthens on India may be relieved; and I am happy in being enabled to remark, that the means for accomplishing this desirable object are

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to be found in various ways:—in principles of economy, as to the future expenditure; and in a proper application of the increased resources abroad. An examination must likewise be made, by what mode the home treasury can contribute to the diminution of the foreign debt. From the circumstances of the war, the establishments have been considerably extended. It will be a point of my diligent and close attention, that every practicable reduction shall be carried into effect, from which, with the favourable prospect to be indulged from the stability and permanence of the resources, and the unexampled prosperity of the commerce, no apprehensions need be entertained on account of the magnitude of the present debt: I am prepared, indeed, to meet it at 14 millions. My confidence in the means of retrieving the state of the finances abroad is further strengthened, by reference to the experience of former times. The situation of the comp. on the first establishment of the present system, is well known to have been such, that the full extent of their difficulties could not be ascertained till the year 1786. In 1797, I took occasion to offer to the committee a most flattering view of the surprising improvement brought about in the course of 10 years. The reduction of the debts, and the increase of the assets, were to an amount exceeding £11,000,000. It is true, that within that period, money had been raised on additional capital to the amount of £3,740,000; but it must likewise be taken into consideration, that the remainder may be termed a net improvement, under the events of an Indian war, at one time threatening serious disasters, though finally concluded, highly to the advantage of the comp.: under the events, likewise, of the present European war, during four years of the period, which caused enormous additions to the expence of freights, and of the provision of every article of equipment; and occasioned also great expences by several expeditions, from which our rivals were deprived of their possessions in the East. But I have carried the comparison 3 years further, which will take in a great part of the immense expenditure of the late war with Mysore, and find, that the improvement, during these 13 years, on the same principle, is £11,680,000. If it be inquired, what is the state of the concern between 1796-7, and the date of the present accounts, in which period the extraordinary pressure has been mostly felt, it is satisfactory to discover, that without any aid from increase of capital, the improvement has still been £747,000. It is fair, then, to infer, that so far from apprehensions, the most sanguine hopes may be indulged, from the present general aspect of the comp.'s affairs, whether considered politically or commercially; that unless any thing unforeseen should occur, the debts may, in a few years, be reduced to the amount of which it may be prudent to limit them; and that the surplus produce of the revenues may be applied to the purposes intended, when the last arrangement took place." These words have been given to the public, and therefore both my successors, and the public at large, have a right to expect from me, at the close of my Indian administration, that I should more distinctly explain the grounds of those expectations which I had thus held out. Although, in the discharge of this task which I impose on myself, I may be obliged to refer to past transactions, I shall refrain from doing it, either ostentatiously or in great detail; but if I am to state my expectations as to the future, it is impossible for me to do so, without stating the grounds on which my confidence rests. The change of system, in consequence of the institution of the present mode of administration, forming an æra rather remarkable in the annals of the E. I. comp. from the particular situation of their affairs, as well as from the clashing of interests and opinions occasioned thereby; it may not be altogether foreign to the present purpose, and particularly from the peculiar circumstances under which I have the honour to address the committee, if I take a view of some of the events, which have since contributed to the increase of our power and influence, and to their establishment on a basis not likely soon to be shaken. Beginning with the state of affairs in India, both as it concerns our external relations, and the internal situation of our own extensive and valuable possessions, it is with the most heartfelt satisfaction my mind contemplates the amazing change in our political relations in the East, at the present time, compared with what they were in 1784. A circumstantial detail of the many vicissitudes within the period, cannot be expected to be given, in the narrow space of time allowed to this enquiry: let it partly suffice to say, that by a happy combination of efforts, both abroad and at home, effects have been produced, which could scarcely have entered the minds of the most sanguine. In the year 1784, peace had been recently obtained from our inveterate and determined enemy, the late Tippoo Sultaun, as a boon, in fact, essential to the preservation of our possessions on the peninsula of India, for the most part suffering from the ravages of war, to a degree which peace and time alone could recover. The period following that peace, till the unprovoked hostility on the lines of our ally, the rajah of Travancore, was little more than an unceasing expectation of war. It then became necessary, not only upon the faith of treaties, but upon principles of self-defence, to enter again upon a most arduous conflict with our enemy, in the plenitude of his power, the issue of which rested, at one time, upon a very precarious balance, till the rare and singular talents of him, whose name must ever be mentioned with gratitude and reverence, were called forth. (The noble and respectable character to whom I allude is the marq. Cornwallis.) Such, however, was the nature of the contest, that two campaigns were requisite to bring it to an end; and truly glorious it was, affording at once a display of British prowess in arms, and moderation in victory. The face of affairs was then completely changed. Peace was our grant, when summary vengeance was at our command. Policy and prudence required that the enemy should be reduced in his power, and justice prescribed, that our allies and ourselves should receive some reimbursements of the expences we had respectively incurred: he was, therefore, not only amerced in a considerable sum, but stripped of the half of his dominions. The next interval of peace bore a near resemblance to the last: and it has been clearly ascertained, that the fixt bias of the mind of our enemy, was not only the recovery of his dominions, but also the accomplishment of our utter destruction. The day at length arrived, when forbearance could no longer be exercised with common atten-

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tion to the safety of our own interests. A new war became essentially necessary, which, by the most signal exertions of wisdom, energy, and courage, was soon brought to a termination, in the death of him who provoked it, and in the entire conquest of his dominions. These great events, and the arrangements in consequence, are on the records of parliament; but I have adverted to them, in order to display the secure and permanent foundation on which our possessions are, at this time, held in that part of India. The accounts before the house will shew the pecuniary advantages derived from them: a reference to the map will discover, that we are now possessed of an extended territory, with a reduced frontier: and it further appears, that we are relieved from the dread of a power, which for a long series of years had, in connection with our common enemy, been bent, if possible, on our very expulsion from India. Such has been the extension of our power and influence in this part, since the year 1784. If we look to the state of our alliances with the several powers in India, on the same comparison, the view is equally satisfactory. 1st. The nizam: although allied by treaty during a long series of years, the advantages to the comp. were frequently problematical, from the fluctuating politics of his court; and although his highness furnished some assistance towards the object of the last war with Tippoo, and reaped his proportion of the advantages from the successful termination of it; very soon after an influence prevailed in his councils, threatening serious consequences. By the judicious and decisive conduct of the present gov. gen. that influence has been destroyed, our common enemy deprived of any prospect of annoying us from that quarter, and this alliance rendered truly valuable. It was to this circumstance we were indebted for the useful co-operation of his highness's forces in the late Mysorean war, and to this circumstance may likewise be attributed the happy event of our connection with Hydrabad being now more firmly cemented than ever. A new treaty has been lately entered into, stipulating for a considerable increased subsidiary force; and instead of leaving the payment of the subsidy to the uncertain receipts of his own treasury, he has assigned to the comp. the whole of the territories acquired from the late sultaun of Mysore. By this measure, the possibility of dispute between the two powers, on the score of punctuality of payment, will be effectually removed, and the comp. will receive ample remuneration for the expence of the forces supplied by them. The treaty with the rajah of Travencore, though not productive of advantages to so great an extent, may still be mentioned as an event, within the period alluded to, tending to strengthen our influence. Our more particular connections on this side of India are the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, and the nabob of Surat. The nabob of Arcot:—the alliance with his family is well known to have been of very ancient date. The identity of interests between him and the comp. is obvious. The treaty under which our present relation with him stands, was dated in 1792, and was entered into with his father, on terms extremely favourable to him. I have several times mentioned to the house, my wish, that treaty might undergo some modifications: the interests of the comp. and the welfare of the inhabitants of the districts under his highness's govt, required it. That it has not yet taken place, is no proof of any thing against our general influence, as no apprehension whatever is to be entertained of his power. With the rajah of Tanjore we stand upon far better grounds. I have formerly intimated to the house, the change introduced in this alliance, and the act of justice by which the present rajah was restored to his right. Districts were, in the first place, assigned to the comp. for the payment of the subsidy; but as this occasioned a species of divided government, and our system of management was far better calculated to restore this fruitful country to a state of prosperity, the young rajah, very wisely, chose to assign the whole to our direction, reserving a respectable stipend, for the support of the splendor of his own house and that of his family. A treaty was accordingly concluded to that effect in the year 1799. The nabob of Surat might not, perhaps, be thought of sufficient importance to introduce upon this occasion; but having adverted to the new arrangements with him, in the examination of the Bombay accounts, it is proper to state, that by the grants in 1759, the exclusive management of this city, and its dependencies, was particularly vested in the comp. From that period, however, it was thought proper to have a joint direction with the reigning nabob, till the last year, when it was deemed prudent, that the company's original rights should be re-established, and that the collection of the revenues, the civil government, and the military defence, should be placed with their servants. This was finally adjusted by an amicable compromise. A handsome stipend has been given to the nabob, and allowances granted to such of his dependants as appeared to have claims. I have first noticed the several powers with whom we are in strict alliance on this side of India, as being nearest the more immediate and active scene of political operations and changes; but the improvement of the connexion and influence with the nabob of Oude is of no less consequence to the interests of the comp. The occurrences since the death of the late nabob have been formerly brought to the notice of the house, and the hope that was entertained of the present nabob being induced to discharge his own useless and ill-disciplined army, and to employ an additional number of the comp's troops. This has been completely brought to effect, and at the same time the comp. derive substantial advantages, the real expence to the nabob will be diminished. Thus, we find, every alliance at this moment most completely strengthened, a very large annual resource obtained, and while the friendship of the parties is effectually secured, the subsidiary force employed still forms an integral part of the defence of our own dominions. If we turn our attention to other powers of the east, a view entirely satisfactory presents itself. From the present state of the Mahratta empire, I see no cause for apprehending the interruption of tranquillity, independent of its being the interest of its rulers to maintain the principles of harmony and peace. But if it were even at the zenith of its power, and hostilely disposed, our own situation is, at this time, such, as not to dread the utmost consequences. The friendly disposition of the Burman empire, is another proof of the great respect with which we are viewed by our neighbours. I trust it will there-

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fore be admitted, even from this abstract view, that with regard to our influence in the East, it is such as to gratify the wishes of the most sanguine. But a still further ground of satisfaction arises, from the recollection that our formidable European rivals have not only been expelled from their own possessions, but are, by the events now stated, effectually deprived of the power of seriously endangering our interests. I think it proper, however, to observe, that while I give this flattering view of our political situation in India, it is not with any intention to lull our rulers into any supine or dangerous security. It would be an unwarrantable indiscretion on my part, if I was, on such a subject, to enter into any detail. I say, in general, that unremitting vigilance and watchfulness are as necessary as ever. Having got the better of old combinations, and annihilated the force of ancient enemies, do not let us suppose that circumstances may not arise to produce new confederacies, and a system of intrigue, not less dangerous, though differently directed. Those who have given a comprehensive consideration to this subject will, without further explanation, understand me, when I direct their vigilant attention to the state of Persia, to the northern frontiers of Hindostan, to the mouths of the Indus, and to the gulphs of Persia and Arabia. I shall now refer to the state of our own immediate dependencies, and the govt of them. Here a most flattering picture presents itself, inasmuch as we have the satisfaction of knowing, that at the same time the comp.'s resourses have, during the period alluded to, been carried to the highest pitch of prosperity; the situation of the inhabitants of these extensive dominions has been considerably ameliorated; and every measure is adopted, that with the security of the established demand of the state, those who pay that demand shall likewise enjoy every security in their persons and interests. The advantageous terms of the permanent settlement, and the beneficial tendency of the judicial regulations in Bengal, need not now be mentioned, having been often before brought to the notice of the house; but merely as a display of the superior policy of the present system, under which, at the same time that every species of force or compulsion, further than what is prescribed by known and promulgated laws, is done away, the resourses are fully realized, and the land-rents carried to an almost unprecedented extent, as already observed. From the experience of this system in Bengal, it has been thought fit to extend it, as far as practicable, to every province under the comp.'s govt; and orders have been issued to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay for that purpose.

The internal govt of these presidencies improve every year. As to Bombay, the revenues of the province of Malabar had, for the two last years, much encreased in produce, as well as in facility of collection. One refractory tributary alone remained, who made the most ungrateful return for the clemency shewn him. Little doubt need be entertained but he will soon be effectually subdued. A material change has lately taken place on this side of India, by the transfer of the Malabar province to the entire superintendance of the Madras govt. The numerous tributaries under this govt are now happily brought to that state of subjection, as to furnish the hope, that the frequent insurrections which I had the mortification to learn by the advices, will no more be heard of. Their expectation of support, and indeed the main spring of every revolt, being effectually removed, in the death of Tippoo, every hope may be entertained of the perfect establishment of the quiet of the country. This has, in part, been already obtained amongst some of the most refractory, the southern Poligars, who are now reported to be changed from an armed and lawless banditti to a peaceful and industrious peasantry. The tranquillity of the northern Circars has frequently been interrupted, by the restless and turbulent disposition of some of the zemindars. Military aid has, on many occasions, been requisite to establish the authority of govt. A more favourable prospect presents itself with regard to these districts likewise, the vigorous exertions, very properly called forth, having convinced the rebellious of the inefficacy of their attempts. But the time is fully arrived for the complete assumption of every power of govt. The happiness of the numerous inhabitants of those parts renders it incumbent that they should receive the full benefits of a mild administration, in common with other classes of the subjects of the Brit. dominion; and that their quiet, and in fact their lives, should no longer be exposed to the caprice of subordinate rulers. The orders for the general assimilation of the system of govt, both revenue and judicial, are therefore very properly timed. From the various habits and prejudices of the land-holders and inferior renters, on this side of India, the full effects of this benevolent system may not so soon be proved as in Bengal. The jealousy of authority entertained by some of the zemindars may likewise occasion interruption; but no doubt exists, that steady and unshaken perseverance will eventually secure to the inhabitants all the benefits intended, and to the comp. the same advantages which they have reaped in the provinces of Bengal. This favourable prospect is further strengthened by the prudent plans adopted, as far as practicable, that the minds of the people should be prepared for the change, by their gradual introduction in some of the districts. In every case, however, the due consideration paid to their prejudices, cannot fail of producing the ready assent of all, who are not influenced by motives of private interest, in the perpetuity of the present divided mode of govt. The secure and easy collection of the rents of the country, is certainly an inducement to the introduction of this plan into the whole of the dominions; but it may likewise be safely averred, that the happiness and interest of the millions of industrious inhabitants is likewise one of the great and leading motives. The example of the Bengal provinces is sufficient to justify the intention, where the ready means of knowing the laws by their general promulgation, with those of obtaining justice, has produced the happiest effects; and it is certainly desirable, while the attempt is laudable, to secure the demands of the state, without the recourse to military coercion, which has unhappily been so frequently requisite in the districts under the Madras govt. If I had been the sole actor in those beneficial consequences which have resulted from the recent administration of India, I should not have felt it decorous on my part to have alluded to them, even in the general way I have done; but I owe it, in common justice, to those who have either assisted with their judgment in the formation of plans, or their active exertions in carrying them into execution: and it cannot fail of affording high satisfaction to the committee, to be informed, that every measure, whether relating to revenue or police, has been under-

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taken, no less with the view to the comfort and welfare of the Indian subjects, than to the advantage of the state. Having distinctly explained, from year to year, most of these measures, a further recapitulation is not now wanting. I shall, therefore, proceed to state, that the improvement of the commercial system, generally, has been equally an object of marked attention. The most liberal encouragement has been given that the productions of the fertile provinces under our dominions, should yield every advantage to the cultivators of the soil, to the manufacturers of goods, and to the adventure of the private merchant. Taxes discovered to be oppressive, have been uniformly abolished; and it may be safely averred, that a greater freedom of trade is enjoyed under our govt than in any other part of India. As to Bengal, by the official accounts, the general encrease of the trade has been stated with great clearness and precision. Articles of support, as formerly remarked to the committee, not known till late years, have been cultivated to an immense extent. That of indigo, particularly, has flourished in a most flattering degree; produced both in quantity and quality, so as to offer a formidable rivalship to those, from whom it was supplied in other quarters of the world. It may be said, that disappointments have occurred in the speculations of some individuals engaged in the trade; but it frequently happens, that a lucrative branch of commerce will so much engage the public attention as to be carried beyond the current demand. The level always, however, returns. But with regard to this article, a most essential and truly valuable end would have been gained, if it had only been discovered, that the ability existed to supply our own manufactures, without having recourse, as formerly, to the assistance of foreign merchants. The probability of the demand being still further extended cannot fail of affording the highest gratification. The encreased produce of sugar and of cotton might likewise be mentioned, as well as other articles; but it would carry me into a larger detail than might, at this time, be proper. The trade of the districts under the presidencies of Madras and Bombay cannot be exactly ascertained, as at Bengal, from the want of similar official documents. But that of the comp. at the former presidency in particular, has encreased in a very great degree, and would have been carried to a further amount, but for the pressing demands upon the treasuries, in consequence of the war. The way in which it has happily terminated, affords the prospect of the comp. being enabled to avail themselves of the industry of the whole of the peninsula, to their own advantage, to that of the inhabitants, both native and European, and no less so that of this country, from the encreased demand which will arise for its manufactures. It will therefore be admitted, that the commercial prosperity of India strongly corroborates what I have adduced, with regard to the improvements in other respects. Many objections have been, from time to time, raised to the policy of the restrictions imposed by the legislature on the trade of the East, and to the exclusive privileges placed in the comp. My decided sentiments on this subject are well known; I will, therefore, only now advert to it, by observing, that at the renewal of the charter in 1793, the legislature shewed every disposition to adopt such arrangements, as might secure to this country as large a share of the Indian trade as possible. If any of the arrangements then made have been found by experience inadequate to the objects in view, the wisdom of the legislature, and I trust a liberal and wise policy on the part of the East India comp. will concur in correcting former error. The manner in which this may be done, consistent with those regulations which parliament has thought proper to impose, has long been under serious consideration. Many indulgencies have already been granted to individuals; and I have no doubt that, ultimately, such a plan will be determined upon, as may be the means of affording all the satisfaction which, in reason and justice, could be expected. In doing this, I certainly do not mean to exclude every degree of proper caution; for I have no hesitation in expressing my thorough conviction, of its being incumbent on those with whom the final arrangement of this very important branch shall rest, never to lose sight of those salutary maxims, which have been prescribed by long experience, and that they be strictly upon their guard, that substantial and permanent benefits may not be sacrificed to casual, and perhaps illusory schemes of gain. The trade with China is well known to be a most consequential part of our commercial interests, not only as it concerns the particular advantages of the comp. but likewise as it concerns the empire in the demands for the manufactures, and to the material aid afforded to the revenue. It is, therefore, I have the greater satisfaction in bringing to view its prosperous state in every point. The credit of the comp. has always stood high in the opinion of the Chinese merchant, for notwithstanding, at one period, the arrear to them was considerable, their confidence has not diminished, and no interruption has occurred; if that was the case under such circumstances, the situation of affairs in China, at this time, must be admitted to wear a very pleasing aspect. The balance owing at Canton, in 1798, was £.1,073,607: by the accounts upon the table, there was a balance in favour of the comp. of no less than £.1,226,079, arising from cash in the treasury, goods in warehouse, or afloat homeward, or advances for future investments; making a difference, in that period, of no less than £.2,299,686. The consequence is highly propitious. The exchange upon India has materially benefited; and an opportunity has been afforded the govt of Bengal, to make the attempt to turn this favourable circumstance to the utmost advantage, in every possible respect. The effect has been already felt, in the revival of the trade in opium, the principal demand for which is in these seas. It has also been experienced in other branches of Indian produce. While every facility of export is given from our own provinces, the Canton treasury is opened for bills on the several presidencies, so that the consigner is assured of the return of the proceeds of his adventure. The bullion heretofore sent from Europe to China may go to India, to the enrichment of our possessions there: it will therefore appear, that the benefits resulting from this trade will not be merely confined to this country, but will be extended, in a great degree, to every part of the dominions in the East. The view of this trade, on a comparison with its amount in the year 1784, is particularly favourable to my present object. The sales, in the year 1784-5, of which tea formed the principal part, amounted to £.2,219,000. In the year 1800-1, they were £.3,616,000; the progressive encrease, since the passing the commutation act, was last year noticed to the committee. If the

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attention is directed to the state of affairs at home, on which I shall now offer a few remarks, every ground is afforded for the most satisfactory inferences. Here is found the grand criterion from which to form a judgment of the advantages which the empire derives from this immense traffic. The discovery is of importance, that notwithstanding the convulsions by which the commercial world has been long agitated, the trade from the east to this country has flourished from year to year, and is still flourishing in an eminent degree, realizing every expectation held out on the establishment of the present system, and justifying the measures hitherto adopted for its extension. The progressive encrease of the sales has been noticed at the proper times. The comparison of the sale in 1784-5, and by the last accounts, gives the most correct idea of the amazing improvement within that period. In 1784-5, the aggregate of the sales was £ 4,605,775: in 1800-1, it was £.10,323,452; which is an encrease of £.5,717,677. Lest it be objected, that the comparison is made on a period peculiarly favourable, I will take it on the average of the last three years. In this view, the sales amount to £.10,275,439, exhibiting still an improvement of £.5,669,664, which, in both cases, would have been yet more favourable, but for the operation of the act passed in 1799, respecting the customs, as already explained. Having given a cursory view of the very flattering situation of the affairs of the comp. both in their political and commercial relations, it yet remains to answer a question which must naturally arise;—From whence it results, that, in the midst of all this prosperity, the financial statements, for the two last years, have worn so unfavourable an aspect, with regard to India, as to disbursements and accumulation of debt? The very precise explanation given in each year on these points, will greatly lessen the difficulty of making the reply. I have, therefore, only to quote them in abstract. I must, however, take leave to offer one previous remark, that the comp. in their political capacity, are most peculiarly circumstanced. Possessed (as they truly are) of extensive dominions, enjoying, likewise, the advantage of beneficial alliances, yielding together immense resources, large and expensive establishments are required, not only for the administration of the govt, but likewise for the collection of the revenues, and particulaly for the protection of their territories, and the fulfilment of their engagements with their allies. Under these circumstances, even in time of peace, the outgoing must be great: still a considerable surplus revenue would be left for remittance to this country, through the channel of investments, for the purposes prescribed in the agreement with the public. But in the time of war in India, particularly, where the expences attending military operations are, beyond all proportion, greater than in this country, every financial disposition for peaceable times must necessarily be completely deranged, the demands upon the treasuries must encrease with the pressure of the times, while there is no possibility of procuring extraordinary aids, in any proportion to the exigencies of the govt. Thus circumstanced, no alternative remains, but having recourse to loans, either to supply the deficiency, or to prevent an interruption of the usual course of the investment. This measure, though affording relief for the moment, tends to add to the difficulties from the demand for interest. From this remark it will be inferred, that the war has been the chief cause of the present situation of the comp.'s finances in India. This will be a kind of general answer to the question stated as likely to arise, but may not be quite sufficient; it is therefore necessary, to preserve an accordance with the comparative statement given of our advantages since the year 1784, to enter a little further into the particulars of the charges since that time, which will likewise give some satisfaction to another query, which will follow, of course, on the most essential parts of the financial system. If, after the general termination of hostilities, any hopes may be entertained, that substantial benefits will accrue from our encreased dominions and extended trade, so that the financial embarrassments may be done away, and the advantages held out to the public may be realized? The expences of the Indian establishments underwent a very narrow investigation immediately after the introduction of the present system, and every practicable reduction was made. Upon the breaking out of the war with Tippoo, in the year 1790, and till the conclusion of it, the military charges were again greatly encreased; but the sum received under the partition treaty, and the revenues of the countries ceded to the comp. may be looked upon as affording some relief in that case. The establishments were then again reduced within such limits as the circumstances of the time would admit. I will, therefore, take my retrospect from the year 1793, when, preparatory to the renewal of the charter, every source of revenue, and every item of charge, underwent, once more, a most narrow investigation, and an estimate was drawn up with every possible degree of accuracy, in order to ascertain what might be a proper arrangement between the public and the comp. in a time of peace. It would occupy too much time to enter into the detail of that arrangement, or of the estimate; I will only make such references to the estimate as may be required for the explanation of the general heads of charge. On the comparison of the estimate made in 1793, with that for the year 1800 1, now upon the table, the results are found to differ in a material amount; notwithstanding the resources in the latter period, from the encrease of the old revenues, the additions of those from the conquered provinces, and the new subsidies, exceeded those of the former in upwards of three millions st. From the explanation of the detail of the accounts, the committee must be aware, that this apparently alarming difference arises from the enormous encrease of the expenditure. This subject, in particular, has constantly occupied my most vigilant attention, and the court of directors have always enjoined the strictest economy; but from the very time when the estimate of 1793 was framed, such has been the state of affairs, that it cannot properly be taken as a criterion of expence. The war, and the engagements with our allies, have necessarily occasioned an immense addition to the military charges, which have likewise been greatly encreased by the additional allowance to the officers, under the regulations of 1796, and by subsequent grants of encreased pay to the private Europeans, and to the native officers and sepoys at Madras. In the civil branches of the administration, great changes have also taken place: liberal allowances have been granted to offices of high trust and responsibility; the revenue and judicial departments have been entirely separated: and it will appear, on a minute investi-

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gation of the increased charge, that the part of it which may be looked upon as permanent, is to be attributed either to circumstances connected with the addition to the resources, or to the absolute prescriptions of policy and justice.—A very considerable part of the charge estimated for 1800-1, may be looked upon as temporary. The additional interest on the debts will cease as they shall be discharged; and I look with earnest hope to the reduction of the great expence of field operations, which may reasonably be expected, from the general tranquillity which, before this time, has probably taken place, in every part of India. A further expectation may be entertained, that when peace shall generally take place, the necessity will no longer exist for military establishments so extensive as the present. Partial reductions have already been ordered; but when every practicable retrenchment shall be made in the expenditure abroad, and when that at home shall be relieved of the war contingencies, means will be found to recover the disorders in the financial system, and to put the comp. in possession of every advantage, commensurate with all the general improvements, in other respects, which have been stated to the committee.

My sentiments on the propriety of furnishing investments, by means of loans, have formerly been distinctly given: they are still the same. The measure was proper at the time, but by no means so for permanent practice; and although the same measure has been pursued in the last year, I should hope the very considerable supplies which have now for several years been furnished from the treasury in England, and which it appears the intention of the court to continue, will prevent the further accumulation of the Indian debt.—The general state of the comp.'s affairs, notwithstanding the increase of the expences, and the accumulation of the debts in India, may be found, upon calculatoin, to have greatly amended, within the periods of comparison. I have, upon a former occasion, brought to the notice of the committee, that the improvement under the operation of the present system, to the period of account then under consideration, was found to exceed eleven millions sterling: the alteration since, not having been to any great amount, the amelioration may, on the same principle, be now taken at about the like sum. The additional capital must, as then noticed, be taken into the account, and some further adjustments will be required. If such has been the event, under the circumstances of two wars in India, in part of the period; under the circumstance, likewise, of a general European war, from the year 1793; the inference is highly favourable to the mode of administration; and the more so, when the great additional revenue, and the complete conquest of every enemy in the East, are taken into the account.—The debts abroad are certainly much greater than at the first period of the comparison; but the assets exhibit an excess still more considerable. At home, the favourable alteration, in both respects, has been to such an amount, as to form, in some degree, the most serious part of the present financial embarrassment, inasmuch as what appears to be the chief cause of the apparent deterioration abroad, has contributed to the amelioration at home, to an extent rendering it a matter of great importance and some difficulty to restore the balance. This cannot be expected fully to take place till the return of peace. It had, however, been an object of very particular attention on my part; and from the confidence I have in the ability of the comp.'s resources, I was led to form an extensive plan, by which, upon calculations as accurate as can be expected upon mere estimate, the comp. would be enabled in a few years to restore the whole financial system to a state of the greatest prosperity; so that the debts in India would be discharged, the engagements to the public would be fulfilled, and the ultimate operation would be, the security of the full capital, at the end of the present charter.—I am fully aware, that in the judgment of some, my expectations will be pronounced too sanguine, and perhaps to be such, that their realization exceeds every degree of probability, or indeed possibility; as the rapid increase of the debt in the few last years, must offer an insuperable bar to the accomplishment of events so desirable as those now pointed out. This consideration, however, strengthens the ground of my proposition. If the loss of the surplus revenue operated so quickly in an unfavourable degree, sure the acquisition of revenue must be allowed to have an equal effect in the recovery of the system. Difficulties of a formidable nature, it must be admitted, will be in the way of the execution of a plan on so vast a scale. But these difficulties are only at the outset; once surmounted, no other obstruction need be apprehended, than such as no providence or care on our part can possibly meet; and I have no fear of hazarding my opinion, that should peace take place, and continue uninterrupted for a few years, and the trade remain in its present flourishing state, the realization of the whole of the advantages now stated may be safely reckoned upon, provided the principles upon which the calculations are made are regularly attended to.—

The grand and leading features of this plan are;

1st. An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues shall, at the commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.

2dly. That the investments from India and China shall amount at prime-cost to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

3dly. That during the first four years from this time, the comp. shall avail themselves of the power they already have, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which, it is supposed, will realize one million.

4thly. That the additional money, so raised, shall be applied exclusively to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in bullion or export to India to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

5thly. That the extinction of this debt now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it termed the decennial loan, shall become payable, which is expected to take place on or about the year 1807-8; and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which is stated at £3,500,000 shall be discharged in that year: on which suppositions the debts at interest abroad will then be reduced to £4,500,000, at which amount it may be thought expedient to keep them stationary.

The gradual reduction of the debt will add to

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the surplus of the revenues, by the diminution of the interest; and in the year 1808-9, the sum of two millions st. may be applied to the investments. The application of the surplus, thus increasing from year to year, will of course lessen the demand of India upon the home treasury, so that the balance of cash cannot fail of increasing to an immense amount.—I have stated the great difficulty to lie in the outset; my estimate is so calculated. In the first year, no surplus revenue is reckoned upon; the charges to be defrayed at home are all on a war estab.; the whole cost of the investment, four millions is to be paid, and another million to be applied to payment of the debts, making together 5 millions, in aid of India. This must be furnished in exports; by the payment of bills to be drawn from abroad; and in whatever amount these, together, shall be found deficient, bullion must be remitted. In the second year, a surplus is expected in India of one million, and the freight is taken at a peace rate, and so continued from year to year only lessening the amount to be paid at home on account of India, in proportion with the increase of the surplus from the revenues, as already mentioned. Ample allowance is made for the whole of the home charges in all the years; and if any unexpected charge should arise, the increasing balance of cash might be so employed, in the purchase of govt securies, or otherwise, as to establish a fund, fully sufficient to meet any peace contingency. The result of the data I have stated will appear, by a reference to the appendix, No. 26, 27, and 28 *. —It may be objected, that the trade is taken on too great a scale, which, according to present appearances, I cannot allow to be the fact: still, taking it at a less amount, say only three millions of investment, the operation would be highly favourable, though not to the extent at first stated: while the other effect would be, to render the plan more practicable, from the smaller demand on the home treasury for the prime-cost of the investments.

These propositions, it must be observed, do not arise from any new theory: they are simply upon the system I laid down in the year 1793, and are only an extension of that system. The expectations I then entertained were not wholly disappointed, and would have been most completely realized, but for the various events which have been brought to the notice of the committee. The difference between that time and the present is highly favourable to the success of the system I wish to adopt. There then existed every appearance of war with our European enemies, who held possessions in different parts of India; our most inveterate and formidable enemy, Tippoo, was still invested with considerable power:—We now reckon upon the prospect of peace, and have no immediate fear from any power in India.

The summary abstract of what I have now brought to the notice of the committee is as follows:—An examination of the accounts upon the table, both abroad and at home;—The influence and power of the comp. in the year 1784, and at the present time;—The acquisition of territory and state of alliances;—Of foreign relations;—The improvement of the internal administration of their own dominions;—Of the commerce in India, at China, and at home;—An explanation of the increase of the charges, and the prospect of again obtaining a surplus revenue;—The supplying investments by means of loans;—The improvement of the comp.'s affairs, under every event, during the periods of comparison;—And finally, the plan in contemplation on the return of peace.—In retiring from my official connection with the affairs of India, the committee will do me the justice to believe, that I can never be indifferent as to the success of the measures I have pointed out. I entertain on the subject the most sanguine expectations. Under other circumstances, I might, at the present moment, have felt deep regret, in the apprehension that new systems might have been introduced, and new theories applied to the administration of our Indian empire. I make no doubt, many things will be found to require improvement and correction, and none will rejoice more sincerely than I shall in the fame and glory of those who may be the instruments of those improvements. But I am perfectly satisfied, no radical change in the system I have pursued will be made, but on the fullest conviction of its propriety; and under that impression I shall continue to contemplate, with heartfelt joy, every progressive improvement in our Indian concerns; reposing the most entire confidence in the talents and integrity of those whom his majesty has appointed to succeed to me in this important charge. And it only remains for me to apologize to the committee, for engrossing so much of its time; and that the result of the examination of the statements may, as usual, be placed on the records of parliament, to move the following resolutions.

The Letters of Aristides on the Deposition of the Nabob of Arcot, the Death of the Deposed Nabob, and the late Revolution in the Carnatic.

[*The Six following Letters originally appeared in the Morning Chronicle; as they are written with Ability, and throw a considerable Portion of Light on the Transactions alluded to in the preceding Papers, we have thought proper to preserve them.*]

Nabob of the Carnatic.—Letter 1.—To John Wallace Esq. One of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, &c.

Sir,—In tracing the transactions that have lately obtained in the Carnatic, by which a prince has been deposed and his dominions wrested from him; himself reduced to the situation of a subject, and one of his subjects raised to the dignity of a sovereign, it will not be a matter of surprise that I should address myself immediately to you. The spirited manner in which you advocated these transactions before the late house of commons, and the glowing enthusiasm with which you there pronounced an eloge upon the noble lords at the heads of our affairs in India, give you a fair claim to my first regards. Allow me, however, to observe that, although your conduct on the occasion should be demonstrative of your zeal, and evince the warmth of your attachments, I doubt whether it will do much credit to your judgment, or permit even your partial friends to assist you at a future period, when the important question shall be fully discussed. I am free to confess that assertions are sometimes advanced, and professions made in parliament with as little consideration, and possibly with as little sincerity, as those that

* These estimates are the same as are given in Mr. Dundas's letter of the 30th of June, No. 1, 2, & 3.

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flow from the lips of certain candidates when addressing the multitude from the hustings at a general election, and notwithstanding men cannot be excused in either case, yet there is assuredly a vast difference between the one and the other. When a member of parliament rises in his place to speak upon a momentous subject with which the rights of humanity and the principles of justice are blended, and the honour and good faith of the nation are inseparably interwoven, he ought to reflect that he is standing before the great assembly of the people, bound by no common ties to exert himself to the utmost of his power to their benefit and advantage, unawed by fear, unbiassed by affection. You are yet a young man, and may plead the ardor of youth in extenuation of your precipitancy. Age will incline you to be less violent, and experience teach you to be more scrupulous when the measures of public men are impeached, and public investigation becomes the inevitable consequence. These observations, springing from sincere regard, are offered to your serious thoughts; for, believe me, there are few who wish you better than I do, and if early acquaintance can give a right to advise, I certainly am no trespasser upon your attention.—I think you said in the house, that the transactions to which I have reference "were agreeable to the *most approved principles of the law of nations*, and that the manner in which they had been conducted was *consistent with the humanity and generosity* of the Brit. character;" and I am satisfied that you spoke as you believed, but I am equally satisfied that your review of facts has been too rapid for the information of your judgment; and hence it is I am to presume that your premises have been mistaken, and your deductions erroneous. Without all the aids that you posses, yet with many others to which you have not had access, I have given more time to the examination of those transactions than probably you were able to detach for the purpose from your more pressing avocations, and the result has led to sentiments the very reverse of those that you seem to entertain. Having thus premised, I hasten to give a rapid sketch of the subject as it appears to my mind, divested of prejudice, and unshackled by partialities. "In all cases of disputed points between independent powers," I quote from the highest authority, "neither party can erect itself into a judge of the conduct of the other party." Now I take it for granted that Arcot was an independent power; but if the fact should be disputed, I will support it by recorded proofs of ancient and recent date, and the whole administration of India must subscribe to their authenticity. Yet the E. I. comp. who, I aver, recognised both the maxim and the proposition, as founded in certainty and in truth, *did* erect themselves into judges of the conduct of the late sovereign of Arcot, and in the exercise of their judicial functions did, as far as lay in their power, consign his memory to infamy, and adjudge that his country should become their own property.—Here I pause, undecided whether I ought in prudence to give the circumstances connected with this extraordinary tribunal, lest their novelty, and their rigour should operate to render them incredible. His highness was not accused during his life time, nor did his trial commence until he had ceased to exist! and afterwards, when one of the lords of his court, whose fidelity to his departed master reflects the greatest honour upon himself, attempted the means of justifying his character, from a conviction of the rectitude by which his highness's actions had ever been regulated, the cold commissaries of govt, of whom I shall have abundant occasion to speak at a proper season, would not suffer him to proceed, and his benevolent purposes were in consequence defeated. In vain did this venerable nobleman, respectable for his great age, but more respectable for his numerous virtues, "repeat the reasonableness of entering into the defence of his sovereign," at a melancholy moment when he could not defend himself. He was answered by those commissioners, that "the Brit. govt had numerous proofs that Omdut ul Omerah had violated his alliances, and being satisfied with their sufficiency, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally;" and then, with a frozen indifference that checks even in reflection, asked whether, "on the part of Ally Hussan," for so they affected to call Tage ul Omerah, "he was disposed to an adjustment of the claims of the Brit. govt through the channel of an amicable negociation;" in other words, to give up the *whole* of his dominions, and leave him dependant upon the liberality of the E. I. comp. You know such to be the case, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to dwell upon it. This brings me to a second feature of the transactions. When the comp. had determined on obtaining possession of the Carnatic, policy dictated that apparently amicable methods should be adopted in order to throw a veil over the iniquity of their measures, and give security to their objects when they should have been accomplished; and therefore, immediately upon the demise of his highness Omdut ul Omerah, they acknowledged his son, Tage ul Omerah, as his heir and successor, opened a negociation with him as such, and treated with him as such for several days, in the view to "an adjustment of the claims of the Brit. govt," and upon a promise of *making* him the nabob; but after they had thus committed themselves, and after they had been fully apprized that he had ascended the throne of his ancestors in hereditary right as the heir of his father, and as his successor appointed by his will, they suddenly broke off all conference and communication with him, declared him an enemy although he had never committed either hostility or crime, imprisoned him and his family, and proclaimed Azim ul Dowlah, who had no pretension to the situation of nabob of the Carnatic. The motive that influenced the latter proceedings have in attempt been variously accounted for; its abstract meaning is easily explained. Tage ul Omerah knew his own rights, and, contrary to the expectation of the govt of Madras, and notwithstanding the threats and menaces used to intimidate him, shewed a disposition to preserve them.—Azim ul Dowlah had no rights, and therefore readily acted as the govt dictated—he had nothing to lose and every thing to gain; he therefore ceded the Carnatic to the comp. that did not belong to him, and gained a throne that belonged to his sovereign.—Had Tage ul Omerah yielded to the peremptory demand of the govt of Madras and relinquished his rights, I speak advisedly, he would this day have been as much as Azim ul Dowlah now is, the reigning nabob, and the name of Azim ul Dowlah, who is emphatically designated by the govt of Madras "the favourite of fortune," would never have been noticed nor

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even heard of. In the occurrence of events his situation is not much advanced by his elevation—a prince without a people, and a sovereign without a territory, the puppet of the comp. and the ridicule of mankind. On this brief statement the public will decide whether such transactions bear the legitimate relationship that you have ascribed to them, or whether they are not the offspring of tyranny and oppression, nurtured upon the spoils obtained by fraud and injustice, and in open hostility with EVERY principle of the law of nations. —In my next letter I shall go more into detail, and however painful the task may be to my own feelings, I pledge myself to the public to develope a scene of enormities long continued to be exhibited in Brit. India that will call forth their sympathy and commisseration, and excite their horror and indignation. I am no party man, nor am I propelled in my course by that impetus which owes its origin to a golden sourse. I espouse the cause of an injured prince and an illustrious family, plunged into indescribable miseries, and subjected to insults amidst their variegated distresses, as a public question of unequalled magnitude. ARISTIDES.

Letter II.—To John Wallace, Esq. one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, &c.

Sir,—In my last letter I spoke of the nabob of Arcot as an independent sovereign; that fact is now established, and therefore to adduce any further proof in support of it would be superfluous. If it were otherwise situated, an act that I am about to treat of would alone be demonstrative of independent sovereignty. I mean the treaty of 1792 made by the E. I. comp. with the nabob Wallagaw, an act by which the line of succession was guaranteed to his highness Umdut ul Omerah and his *heirs* and *successors*. In consequence of that guarantee Umdut ul Omerah, upon the demise of his father, Wallagaw, an event that took place in 1795, ascended the musnud, and dying himself in 1801, it became the right of his son, Tage ul Omerah, whose titles were fortified by the testamentary disposition of his father, who thereby declared him to be his successor and heir to all his property and possessions, both private and regal, but being then a minor, the provident author of his being, in anxious solicitude for his future welfare, appointed Nageb Khan and Tuke Ally Khan, men of high rank and universal acknowledged integrity, to be regents until he should become of age and capable of taking into his own hands the reigns of govt. In this situation of affairs, if the govr and council of Fort St. George were not to be prevailed upon by the common feelings of humanity to use the ample means within their power towards alleviating the sufferings of an afflicted family, they were, as the representatives of the E. I. comp, bound by the strongest ties to protect the young prince in the possession and enjoyment of the rights that had thus descended to him. But how adverse were their proceedings to the dictates of their duty! In the language of his highness, decent attentions had scarcely been paid to the inanimate form of his father to prepare it for its shroud, when commissaries, armed with the authority of *that* govt, entered the palace, not with a view to the discharge of those duties which the E. I. comp. had pledged themselves in the most solemn manner to perform, but in the contemplation of measures cold in their nature, unfeeling in their operation, and unjust in their objects; measures that outraged decorum, and added insult of grief. The prince was, at the time of their arrival, performing the last melancholy offices of filial piety near the hallowed repository that contained the remains of his beloved parent; regardless of those offices which bespoke indulgence and ought to have commanded respect, they required his immediate attention, and expected an implicit obedience. Najeb Khan, shocked at a requisition which purposed the violation of obsequies due to the departed, pleaded the recent death * of his master and friend, and the necessity of a sufficient interval for the observance of those rites that were called for by the mournful cause of them. The commissaries replied, that "the Brit. govt were aware of the usage of Mahomedans in all cases of such nature, but that the affairs of a great govt. could not give way to the ordinary practices of individual families;" and the prince was necessitated to appear in their presence, to hear from them the foulest imputations they could possibly urge against the memories of his father and grandfather; and after having thus wounded his feelings they proceeded unmoved by any consideration for his tender years and deplorable situation, and unaffected by the surrounding scene of misery and distress, to demand of him the instant and unconditional surrender of his dominions, remarking that the E. I. comp. would consider of an establishment for his family and a suitable provision for the support of his own dignity. It is not for me to speak of the contending passions that agitated the bosom of his highness, thus inhumanly tortured, thus cruelly assailed; I leave them to the kindred sensibilities of a generous public. During this extraordinary conference, which professes to be the basis of an "amicable negociation," his highness summoned all the fortitude he possessed and so much required, and entering fully into the importance of the eventful crisis, debated in his own mind upon the dreadful consequences it connected, and, with a firmness that would have honoured riper years, gave his answer to those commissaries in a manner so mild and yet so dignified, as to extort even from them a tribute of momentary admiration, notwithstanding it baffled their expectations.

Although disappointed, the commissaries were not defeated; they had taken their measures upon the strong ground of arbitrary power, and holding in their hand "*the sword, the most prominent and only essential mark of sovereignty*," † they were resolved on carrying them into execution, and this singular species of "amicable negociation," which on their part breathed nothing but enmity, spurning at every friendly proposition, continued for six or seven successive days. In the course of

* His highness's remains were then scarcely cold, he had ceased to breath only two or three hours.

† A sentiment that however incompatible with the feelings of Englishmen, and inconsistent with the principles of the Brit. constitution, was avowed by the court of Directors, and acted upon by their servants in India upon a former occasion, when they resolved to arrest from his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, that sovereignty which they had recently guaranteed to him by a treaty.

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that period the prince had offered to surrender the better half of his possessions, both as to extent and revenue, persuading himself that such an instance of his friendship towards the E. I. comp. would conciliate their good opinion, and ensure to the early commencement of his reign all the succour it might stand in need of; but, to his highness's astonishment and mortification, the offer was refused with indignant contempt, accompanied with an assurance, that unless he gave up the *whole*, he must not cherish the hope of the comp.'s friendship and protection, and this assurance was conveyed in language so imperious and peremptory, and in a tone so decided and austere, as to convince his highness that any attempted modification, however favourable, would serve only to add to his disgrace, and swell the number of his insults. With no other prospect then than splendid degradation or virtuous poverty, he had no alternative, and in adopting the line of conduct that he was to pursue, no hesitation. He had been taught from his infancy to revere and love the Brit. nation, and he determined to throw himself upon the Brit. justice, in fresh confidence of the utmost redress and every necessary support. An event, however, occurred that arrested his intentions: the ladies of the family who had never heard the voice of strangers, unless it were in compliment or kindness, and had ever been treated with refined delicacy, and all the tenderness of regard and affection, perceived themselves environed by European soldiery, whose unintelligible language produced the most alarming sensations; learning also that the government of fort St. George were hostilely disposed towards the prince, to whom they had offered every indignity, and were at the moment actually meditating the dissolution of his empire; and concluding that, if their sovereign could be degraded and dethroned, it was not for them to expect milder notice, their apprehensions caught the alarm, their fears became their guides, and they shuddered at the idea of polluted honour, which their overpowered minds imagined would be the certain consequence of the anarchy and confusion that prevailed. Under such impressions they communicated to the prince the horrors by which they were surrounded, and implored of him to relax in his purposes, and yield to the pressure of ruling circumstances. Touched by their sufferings, the prince acceded to their wishes, but the offer of further sacrifices was rejected with as little urbanity as had attended similar instances. "The requisition we make," said the commissaries, addressing themselves to the regents, "must positively be complied with; upon that depends his fate, either as the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or a mere dependent of the comp." Najeeb Khan, whose affection for his prince, and whose esteem for the subjects of these realms have always been conspicuous in every action of this life, earnestly endeavoured to effect a just and friendly understanding between the parties, and declared that the prince, the family, and the regents themselves would do any thing within their power that reason could demand and honour sanction: that they all looked up to the British govt for protection, and that it was their interest and their duty to obtain the favour of the Brit. nation; but to give up the integrity of the Carnatic was a proposition "calculated to frustrate the professed object of the arrangement, because, by such a procedure, the station of nabob of the Carnatic would be annihilated." The commissaries expressed themselves to be fixed in their determinations, and shortly after proceeded to pronounce his highness's sentence, in nearly the same terms that in a court of justice are adopted towards a convicted criminal: "You have determined the situation yourself in which you seek hereafter to be placed; that you *will* in future *be a private person*, HOSTILE to the Brit. interests, and dependant upon the bounty of the comp." A negociation now commenced with Azim ul Dowlah that terminated in a treaty, by which he surrendered the whole of the Carnatic and all its sovereign rights to the comp. for ever, they on their part agreeing to make him *nabob*, and take him under their protection. The preamble to the treaty is perfectly unique in the science of diplomatics, and will in all probability remain so. Independent of various inconsistencies it carries upon the face of it a contradiction in terms.

Previous to the execution of the treaty, the govt of fort St. George had affixed their seals upon every article contained in the public offices of the durbar, in which the records of the empire, and documents of every description were deposited, and upon the treasury, in which was only a small sum of money intended for the expences of the household. This done, an order was sent by a trooper to the prince, directing him to deliver the key of the *futte choukey*, built by his father, and the place of his own residence, to the servants of Azim ul Dowlah; and another trooper arrived with an order for the keys of the apartments, inhabited by the principal ladies of the family. The khans reasoned with a gentleman holding high military rank, and in the command of the troops at the palace, upon the indelicacy and indignity offered by such a measure, and that the family would be disgraced and dishonoured by it—but obedience was insisted upon, and it was in vain to attempt any resistance. The prince, terrified at these proceedings, fled for security to the habitation of his mother, and thence sent two papers to the govt of fort St. George, the one of them offering certain stipulations, the other a carte blanche. Of these papers one was returned, and the other detained, but detained only until the next day, when it was also returned without a comment, and was followed by the commissaries of govt, who entered the palace without ceremony, and after having examined the hall of audience and other places, proceeded to the upper rooms, the doors of which led directly to those belonging to the apartments of the ladies, who were thrown into the greatest consternation by the approximation of such obtrusive visitors. At the instalment of Azeem ul Dowlah, threats and promises were alternately employed with the public servants of his late highness to procure their attendance; and the soncars, merchants, and others of Madras, the subjects of the E. I. comp. were solicited to be present. On that occasion the regents were doomed to undergo sufferings far more painful and distressing than any they had yet experienced. In violation of their well-known principles and sentiments, and in breach of the trust reposed in them, they were compelled to appear and do homage to a man whom they detested, as the usurper of the rights of a sovereign whom they loved, and whom they had only a few days before seen upon the throne of his ancestors, and in the pride of

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loyalty gladly hailed and acknowledged as their liege lord. Flushed with power, and profiting by example, Azim ul Dowlah, soon after his elevation, sent a guard of Seapoys to *Tage ul Deen Khan*, a youth who had married the daughter of his late highness, with orders to bring him into his presence. The guard found him at the door of his house, and there seizing him dragged him before the despot, where he was obliged to make his offerings of submission. I shall conclude this enumeration of unparalleled outrages with stating, that very soon after the transaction last mentioned, the regents and other khans, and the approved servants of the prince, and who had been placed in attendance upon his person by his deceased parent, were commanded to retire to their own houses, and no more to come within the precincts of the palace, so that his highness was left a prisoner, without a person to perform even his menial offices, and his whole family were, at the same time, in like manner deprived of their liberty. I have been thus prolix in narrating this disgusting detail, in order that the observations I shall make upon the general conduct of the E. I. comp. towards their highnesses the nabobs Wallagaw and Omdut ul Omerah and their illustrious and unoffending family; and particularly as it relates to the deposition of his highness Tage ul Omerah, may be the more easily comprehended and correctly understood. Upon the very few points already embraced, I might with safety, as I certainly should with confidence, appeal to your own honourable feelings, how far the acts of govt in India, in the unhappy occurrences that every day become more interesting, and more the subject of public discussion, can be reconciled with the well-known humanity and generosity of the Brit. character. In matters of such high national importance it is due to the Brit. character, which surrounding nations have been accustomed to contemplate with wonder and admiration, to bring forward every information with which they are materially connected, to the end that the fact may be ascertained, and justice enabled to proceed in her due course. Such is my motive and such my object, and I trust that it will be in my power to manifest, not by indefinite assertion, but irrefragable proofs, that their highnesses the nabobs Wallagaw and Omdut ul Omerah died, as they had lived, our sincere friends and faithful allies, that their adherence to the good faith of treaties was exemplary, that their attachments to the Brit. nation were so powerfully cemented, that even the oppression and injustice of the E. I. comp. could not shake, or in the least diminish them; and that the correspondence, which in impotent attempts has been adduced as evidence of secret design to promote treacherous views, was selected by those who conducted the affairs of the comp. in this country and in India. ARISTIDES.

Letter III.—John Roberts, Esq. Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Sir,—Considering you, as I really do, an honest man, firmly attached to the principles of our happy constitution, and cherishing that loyalty which is due to the best of sovereigns; entertaining an anxious concern for the prosperity of your country, and tenacious of its honour: alive to the charms of humanity, and eagerly desirous to aid the cause of justice, I shall entreat your attention to transactions that, in my mind, form a prominent feature of our govt in India; where the grand object has lately been, and continues to be, the acquisition of territory, an object to which the rights of sovereigns and subjects have been devoted, and the justice and good faith of the nation sacrificed. The E. I. comp. have by their late conquests, and by other means, become possessed of an empire that extends from the gulph of Cambray, on the Malabar coast, to the mouth of the Ganges in the bay of Bengal, whence it stretches westerly until it approaches the provinces of Tibet, Lahore, and Moultan; then returning in an opposite direction, it passes through Hindostan, and continues its course until it reaches the shores that are bounded by the Arabian sea, having on its southern confines, the numerous principalities that confine the Maratta states. When the account of those conquests and their connections were first contemplated, the ideas became confused by the various objects they presented, and the mind, dazzled by the brilliancy thrown round them by official narrative, was incapable of that discrimination which leads to accurate conclusions. Wonder and astonishment superseded investigation, and we were taught to admire that which we did not understand, Thus predisposed to credulity, it is not surprising that every credit was given to subsequent statements by the India govt, of the benefits that were to result from achievements of such magnitude, and so much grandeur; amongst these were enumerated the prodigious encrease of revenue, and the addition of power, which from the extirpation of the sultan of Mysore, was declared to tower so high, that there was not left a force bold enough to provoke it, nor sufficient to disturb its progress. The fervor of the moment has at length subsided, and reason once more resumes her seat. Let us then examine dispassionately the propositions that these extraordinary occurrences have offered to our consideration; the importance they have raised, and the various rights they involve, press them forward to particular notice. To this end it will be requisite to take a cursory view of the *native* governments, by which our own are surrounded—their frontiers I have already delineated. Respecting those to the northward and westward, I shall say very little; our knowledge of them is extremely circumscribed, and I devoutly wish it may remain so. How far the system of measures pursued in the soubah of Oude may operate to defeat that wish, is a point that is of itself so demonstrative, as to remove the necessity of an opinion. Our ally there, a Mahomedan prince, has been divested of his possessions, that were his own of indefeasible right, and secured to him by the fences of an existing treaty; and he feels of course, as a sovereign ought to feel upon an event that has virtually driven him from his throne, and reduced him to a situation, little better than that of a subject, in his own dominions. In this revolution of things, many of the nobility of his highness's court and others, men of illustrious family, have lost the employments they held, and the consequence in which they had been accustomed to move; circumstances that must at least excite personal animosities, if they should not rouse them to open revenge, and if there be loyalty in the heart of an Asiatic, which cannot be denied, or even disputed, they will naturally sympathize in the sufferings of their prince, in whose misfortunes their

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own originate, and become the implacable, altho' possibly the concealed enemies of the authors of both. If this melancholy picture be overcharged, the nature of man must be altered from what it was, and new and debased sentiments must occupy his bosom. With the Marattas we have had much intercourse, and it will be necessary to enlarge upon these subjects. They have occasionally been our confederates and our adversaries; in the one case they made their bargains before they would serve, and were afterwards remunerated for services which they never performed—in the other, devastation and ruin have marked their footsteps, and dismay and horror accompanied their pursuits. When led by Senerjec, not quite a century ago, they were so insignificant as to be almost concealed from notice by the obscurity in which they were immerged. Since that period they have multiplied so surprisingly, that belief might hesitate in giving credit to the fact; and at this time they are indisputably the most warlike and powerful people existing, or, it may be, that ever did exist, in India; nor has their power yet reached its summit, and their ambition, like their avarice, is boundless. Adopting the example of the western world, they have formed their infantry, once an armed rabble, into regular regiments, and, assisted by Europeans of all nations, have arrived at a degree of perfection in military knowledge and discipline that may challenge admiration, and will certainly compel respect. It is their cavalry, however, on which they place their chief dependance, and of these, it is said, they can bring two hundred thousand into the field. They are of a restless disposition, of an enterprising genius, soldiers from their infancy, and plunderers by profession. But they have another character not less deserving of remark, and which may have a preponderating weight in those councils that are to advise their future operations —they are the aborigines of the country, and consequently of the Hindoo religion, which rejects with abhorrence every proposal of conversion to its tenets: holds the habits and customs of Europeans and Mahomedans in equal detestation, as the effervescence of impunity, and execrates both as abominable for eating of the flesh of the cow, an animal of sacred estimation throughout Hindostan, so much so that to kill a cow is amongst the highest crimes that can be perpetrated. The Marattas, then, must be regarded as a component part of the great Hindoo body, and the whole, actuated by one feeling, governed by one principle, and animated by the same spirit towards the accomplishment of one purpose common to all. Hence it is apparent that the far greater number of the E. I. Comp.'s subjects may be friendly disposed towards the Maratta interest, which, in some of its aspects must be dear to them, united as they are by the bands of a religion that, more susceptible than the sensitive plant, shrinks even at the approach of the uninitiated; a religion mild and benign in its institutes, enshrined by impervious forms, that are encompassed by unconquered prejudices, and administered by priests who hold the mind of its followers in the adamantine chains of superstition. That our troops in India transcend all praise, and are equal to any service within the ability, zeal, and exertion of the bravest and best disciplined troops in the world to perform, is a truth to which I subscribe with pleasure and gratitude; but there are situations in which the efforts of valour would be of no avail, and discipline becomes useless. The Marattas can with the greatest ease pour into different parts of our possessions twenty or thirty thousand horse, and the utmost consternation and confusion would instantly ensue. The inhabitants of every denomination, now entirely exposed, and totally defenceless, would fly to the woods for safety, where those who should be successful, for numbers must be lost in the attempt, would behold their habitations in flames, all their immoveable property destroyed, and their cattle, the bulk of their fortune, swept away by the invaders. Thus would the revenues of the public be suspended, its resources cut up by the roots, and a successful war carried on against us without the necessity of firing a shot. What could our troops do with such an enemy, whose motions are as vivid as lightning? Let it also be considered that those troops are to garrison countless forts, that are dispersed at the distance of 10, 20, 30, and so on, to 600 miles from each other. If, thus circumstanced, it should be deemed expedient to carry hostility into the enemy's country, it would require much time to assemble an army, during which a thousand embarrassing and ruinous occurrences might take place; but suppose the army assembled and arrived in the Maratta's dominions, would victory be within their grasp? Certainly not. They would find there a continuation of stupendous mountains, surrounded by impregnable forests, and the labyrinth by which these are accessible to the natives unknown to foreigners, and if we were acquainted with them, we should not be benefited by our knowledge. Where troops would be necessitated to march in single ranks through passes and defiles, thickly planted on each side by unseen assailants, in order to reach their destined spot, courage itself would stand appalled, or its exertions would be spent in vain. To these mountains and forests, which form at once their refuge and their treasury, their granaries and their arsenals, the Marattas retreat whenever they are overpowered, or find themselves inferior to a contest on the plain—there they smile at their pursuers and defy pursuit. To shut them up in these fortresses of nature, nearly one thousand miles in extent, and their rear completely open, would be impossible, and to fall back from such a position truly dangerous. The predicament of the army under gen. Goddard, in the year 1780, to which I refer you, will fully illustrate this fact, and the expences of that army may afford an useful lesson. Tippoo was the determined foe of the Marattas, whose growing power he saw and dreaded. His territories lay between theirs and those of the E. I. comp.; so that they could not have entered the one without having first subjugated the other; but in an evil hour this strong barrier was broken down, and the Marattas are become our immediate neighbours. It may be urged, that putting an end to a reign of usurpation, as the dynasty of Hyder has been called, must be highly gratifying to the Marattas, and I do not mean to deny it. But why are they gratified? Merely because a govt has been annihilated, which, under the rule of a man whom they feared and hated, impeded their views, and checked their inordinate ambition; and because it is now directed by a prince

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whose religious tenets, and native predilections may incline him to favour them; but if they should have nothing to hope from his assistance, they will have nothing to fear from his enmity. Here then are the effects of our wisdom and policy. The Hindoo influence, already gigantic, has been extended, and the Mahommedan interest, that has been rapidly declining for many years, has been lessened. The Hindoos are computed at forty millions, and the Mahomedans, who are scattered over the face of Hindostan, do not exceed four millions. The Hindoos were since made tributaries to the Mahomedans, at an æra when the one lived in all the simplicity of the primitive ages, and the other had been trained to arms, and inured to all the hardships of war. Their respective situations have undergone great changes, and the one is known to be as expert in the field as the other. But although the Hindoos submitted to the Mahomedans, they never lost sight of their former state; nor did they ever cease to cherish the hope of returning to it. They may now indulge that hope amidst more flattering prospects opened to them by means not within their power to have commanded. Their dormant spirit may now awaken, and who will say that it may not be roused to action? It is with nations as with individuals, when deprived of their dignity and honour, and reduced by injustice and oppression to humiliation and poverty, they will look forward to favourable seasons, and with avidity seize on the opportunity that may restore them to their lost rights and most valued privileges. The conquest then of Mysore, if I am correct in my premises, instead of strengthening the power of the E. I. comp. has very much weakened it, by weakening its defences, and the debility has been encreased, by raising to the musnud of that kingdom the *reputed* descendant of a prince also of aboriginal extraction, and of the Hindoo religion; and if your plans of conquest have on the one hand served only to introduce dangers, and open a wide field for disputes and controversies, which may be calculated upon as endless, it will not be less evident that they have failed in their purpose of advancing your revenue, which I shall hereafter endeavour to prove. But it will be of infinitely more importance to the public to know the means by which such ends were acquired. In those their stake has been great and their loss immense—fortunately they can and will retrieve it.

ARISTIDES.

Letter IV.—To John Wallace, Esq. One of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, on the Report of the Death of the deposed Nabob.

SIR—A report that has been some time in circulation of a nature much to be deprecated obliges me for a moment to deviate from those objects to which I had by my former letter called your attention. It has been stated in several of the daily prints, and particularly *The Times*, that accounts received from Madras mention the death of his highness the *deposed* nabob of the Carnatic. How far that statement, which concludes with a confidence that gives to it the colouring of certainty, is entitled to the credit that it claims, you best can determine, as your official situation must be informed upon a matter of so much importance; and relying upon your candour I persuade myself that you will feel a particular gratification in relieving, by such means as you may deem best calculated for the purpose, the painful doubt and anxious suspense it has produced in the mind of the country. To solicit the comp. upon the subject would be an unprofitable undertaking. Elevated by the pride of power, surrounded by the attributes of majesty, and exercising all the functions of royalty, they seem to have considered upon all occasions that a communication to the public of their Asiatic transactions would be a condescension incompatible with their pre-eminence, and derogatory to their dignity; yet surely they are not to learn at this day, that although sovereigns in India, they are subjects in England, and that they owe a larger debt of duty and of gratitude to the public than any individual or body of men in the kingdom: that whatever may be the privileges they enjoy under the charter they hold, every act of their government is amenable to the laws of the land, and that a violation of those laws will work a forfeiture of that charter. And if the report alluded to be true, it may be adviseable that they should pay an early attention to the consequences that must follow upon a disclosure of the circumstances with which the event it announces is connected. It has been asserted from various quarters, and I maintain the fact to be so, that immediately subsequent to the deposition of his highness, he was not only condemned to be "*a private person, hostile to the Brit. interests, and dependent upon the bounty of the comp.*" but in aggravation of this sentence, remarkable for the despotism by which it was dictated, and the absurdities that pervade it, his highness was also deprived of his liberty, and confined to an obscure apartment of the palace in which the usurper of his throne resided, and ruled with arbitrary sway, and as it has not been even suggested that his highness was afterwards restored to liberty, or removed to any other situation, we have a right to presume that he died in his prison, and that to the latest moment of his existence, he continued to be within the power of that man in whose sight he was odious and detestable; who, adopting the pernicious counsels of envy and jealousy, and bending to the grovelling sentiments of hatred and malice, greedily anticipated the death of his highness as an occurrence that would dispel all those fears and apprehensions that beset his new-fangled greatness, and secure him in the possession of his ill-acquired diadem. Contemplating this assemblage, the tendency to which it pointed, and the passions by which it was influenced, are you not satisfied that it offers ample ground for the strongest suspicions, that his highness's death did not proceed from that course of visitation to which our nature is subjected? But, sir, there are other facts that speak with more positive decision, and demand the awful decrees of retributive justice. The unhappy prince, whose only crime was possessing a judgment beyond the common attainment of his infant years; a fortitude that rose to heroism, and a soul that united with filial affection those generous feelings that ennoble man and endear him to his fellow creatures, very soon perceived that his life, which was delivered into the hands of the tyrant, was in imminent danger of falling a sacrifice to his machinations. At the dead hour of night, a season best suited to dark designs, a band of ruffians, headed by Azim ul Dowlah, forced his dreary abode, with the impious view of making it his tomb; but, eluding the malevolent purposes of such atrocious intentions, his highness fled to

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the mournful dwelling of his distracted mother, and the fury of "*the favourite of fortune*" was for that time spent in excesses of cruelty upon a child of 7 or 8 years of age, who had accompanied his uncle, the venerable Najeb Khan, to the solitude of their sovereign, with the pious resolution of lessening his misfortunes by becoming the partners of them. Thus attacked in a spot which was considered as a sanctuary, consecrated to grief and affliction, his highness looked upon his fate as irrevocably fixed, and that the period for his departure to another world was fast approaching; a feeble ray of hope, however, threw a glimmering of light upon his gloomy prospects, and he conceived the determination to address the govt of Fort St. George, complaining of the outrage that had been committed, and craving protection against future violence. His illustrious family, whose sufferings were equally severe and oppressive as his own, joined him in the application, but the answer it obtained, far from diminishing their sorrows, marked out for them new and more distressing channels, and they saw themselves abandoned to despair. They were charged with inveterate enmity towards Azim ul Dowlah, because they were absent when he was enthroned, and had withheld the obedience that was due to his authority as nabob of the Carnatic! Much praise was bestowed upon the manner in which Azim ul Dowlah had deported himself, and it was signified in terms not to be mistaken, that his conduct towards them was justifiable upon the principle of retaliation. On the subject of the imprisonment of their persons and the plunder of their property, adverted to by them in their address, they were left to conclude from the premises afforded to them, that such acts were a part of the prerogative to which Azim ul Dowlah had succeeded, and that govt were determined to guard and protect him in all his rights with honour and respect. This merciless answer finished with an intimation, that if Azim ul Dowlah, in the exercise of his authority, acted inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the English nation, he would be discountenanced, and that an inquiry would be made of him as to the measures of oppression that had been imputed to him. If these facts should be susceptible of proof, and if it should be manifested that the supplication of a dethroned sovereign and a royal family, reduced to wretchedness by the arm of power, had been offered to a Brit. govt for an asylum against insult, and to obtain security for personal safety, and was received with indifference, or noticed only in order to convey reproach, will you preserve your tranquillity? will you experience no impulse of indignation? will you persevere in defending the govt of India? I think too highly of your heart and understanding to believe it possible. The subjoined correspondence will illustrate the subject on which I have touched, and furnish the evidence that is necessary to support it. I know the emotions that it will excite in the public breast, and I leave it with every grateful sensation to the guardianship of the public feeling. ARISTIDES.

Translation of a Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Clive, Governor in Council, &c. &c.
(From the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family of Wallajaw and Omdut ul Omerah.)

My L.d, We had the honour of addressing your ldp in council on the 13th of Rajab, on the subject of our unhappy situation; but we have not yet been favoured with your ldp's reply. Circumstances will not allow us to remain inactive in seeking our safety; and these must excuse any seeming importunity in requesting your ldp's instant attention to our case. We shall not repeat to your ldp in council the aggravated injuries which we publicly represented in our former letter, and we hope they are not forgotten; and although they have hitherto received no redress, we cannot bring ourselves to think that they will be ultimately unrelieved. We have too high an opinion of your ldp's character, and those honourable men who are your ldp's council, ever to suppose that the indignities and cruelties which we stated to your ldp would pass, after our solemn representation, without inquiry or remedy. Since we last had the honour of addressing your ldp in council, our state has become more intolerable and more alarming. In a condition of imprisonment (sad reverse of our former fortune)—a condition which would awaken humanity in every civilized breast, we have been loaded with opprobrium and insult, more severe and more galling than the heaviest fetters which ingenious barbarity could forge. Weak, forlorn, incapable of offence, and sacred as it were from circumstance, we have been offended and attacked both in person and in property. The doors of some of our dwellings have been forced, and our interior apartments have been entered and profaned by a hired band, without a semblance of reason, and without a shadow of cause, which justice, or even policy, can avow and authorize. The house of the prince, the heir of our late much regretted brother and sovereign, has been violently and forcibly broken; the doors torn from their hinges: his cabinets plundered; his friends calumniated and reviled; his attendants beaten; and he himself driven before a scoffing horde of ruffians (for we cannot dignify them with the name of soldiers) into the sanctuary of the Muhl*, in the defence of what is dearer than life—his honour and his name. We need not declare to your ldp in council the author of those injuries, nor need we represent the events to which they lead, and to which they are so fast approaching. They are too inevitable, and too plain to escape the most common capacity and judgment. We think it a duty we owe to our rightful prince, to our families, and to ourselves, to make known these circumstances to your ldp in council, under a full conviction, that in regard to the calls of justice and humanity—to your own honour—to the character of the Brit. nation—and to the interest which your ldp represents, you will interpose your immediate authority to restrain proceedings which outrage every principle of right, and the best impressions of our nature. We request your ldp's most serious attention to the matters, of which we have now, and before apprised your ldp in council; and if it shall be deemed expedient, from public motives; if your ldp in council is liable to decide, to subject the prince and us to a temporary confinement, we hope that the horrors of it may be abated, inasmuch as it shall be consistent with the object which renders such a measure necessary. We must entreat most earnestly, that under the supposed necessity of such a measure, we may not

* Apartments appropriated to the ladies of the family.

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be left under the guardianship of one who has a decided interest in our destruction, and whose daily acts, we are concerned to see and apprehend, have a direct tendency to that end. If we are to be considered as prisoners, let your ldp's justice allow us the common privilege of prisoners—safety. Take us from the precinct of Chepauk, and keep us within the custody of the comp.; permit us any pittance which may minister to our wants; but do not suffer us to remain within the grasp and terror of a power that knows no bounds, and acknowledges no laws, and whose acts receive a countenance and encouragement from surrounding soldiers, wearing the uniform of his majesty the king of Gt Brit. and the comp. What need we say more?

Nabob Sultan ul Nisa Begum, own name Boody Begum.

Mulk ul Nisa Begum, own name Durya Begum.

Omdut ul Misa Begum, own name Fratta Begum.

Hussam ul Mulk Yetta Mauded Dowla Mahumed Abdulla Cawn Bahauder Huz-Cusung, own name Tippoo Bad Shah.

Altamad ul Mulk Bahauder, own name Hussain Navaz Cawn.

Nabob Rice ul Nisa Begum, own name Zalnab Begum.

Ria ul Omrah Mahumed Abdul Hussain, own name Abdul Hussain Miah.

Altzaud ul Dowla Bahauder Naseer Jung, own name Naseer Miah.

Eroohan ul Mulk Shojaul Dowla Haufuswe Ahumed Naufus Cawn Bahauder Sumsam Jung, own name Mahumed Hans ur Cawn Bahauder.

Ammeer ul Dowla Abdul Cauder Cawn Bahauder Ammeer Jung, own name Abdul Cauder Cawn, the sister's son of nabob Valaujah.

Chipak, Dec. 13, 1101.

Translation of a Letter from the exalted and high-titled Edward Lord Clive, addressed to some of the most respectable Personages connected with the Families of Anwar and Wallajah.*

I have recently had the honour of receiving two letters, sealed by some of the principal men of rank belonging to the noble and dignified families of the nabob (the repository of forgiveness) Mahommed Ally Khan and the nabob (the asylum of mercy) Omdut ul Omrah Behauder, and have fully understood their contents. It cannot be unknown to those noble persons that the English govt (consistent and suitable with the dignity of its intentions, and the justice and equanimity of its protection, so natural to, and inseparable from, that celebrated people) in the support of just and well-founded claims have been observant of the path of rectitude and moderation, which, by reason of the disaffection of the two before-mentioned princes, namely, Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, has become the more incumbent on the hon. comp. to attend to. Hence have proceeded the just and equitable intentions before mentioned, not from any concealed motives of obligation towards the families of the two before-mentioned deceased princes, but merely in regard to the old and long-continued friendly intercourse with those princes, and from the honourable and laudable desires of the above-mentioned govt, to establish and perpetuate the ancient honour and dignity of those families in all parts, and amongst all the princes of Hindostan, in pursuance of such their temperate exercise of authority. The Eng. govt might have entertained a well-founded hope that the regulations designed and finally established for the maintenance and prosperity of the Eng. nation in the Carnatic, and in preserving the honour of those noble families, would have been received with the sincere and united approbation of every individual personage of the above-mentioned families; it is nevertheless completely evident that those persons whose seals are affixed to the aforesaid writings have manifested every possible and unreasonable opposition to the before-mentioned regulations; and the greater part of them have endeavoured also to promote their several distinct claims; hence they have proved that any arrangement or mode that could have been adopted would be unsatisfactory. Finally, therefore, when the English govt resolved to exalt the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah (whom God preserve!) to the chiefship of the Carnatic, a reasonable hope prevailed in my mind that, after the rejection of those different claims, the noble persons of those families would assuredly have been anxious in desiring to signify their sincere and grateful compliance with, and approbation of a measure adopted *merely for the exaltation and advancement of the dignity of that noble family.* Wherefore, and agreeable to the before-mentioned considerations, by my authority, and in the name of the Eng. govt, at the proper season I caused to be published to those persons of quality the resolutions which the before-mentioned govt had formed of investing the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah (whose life may God prolong!) with the sovereign authority, and requested they would be ready in the presence at the time of seating the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah on the throne, by which attendance they would be honoured and advantaged. But it is fully known to those persons, and indeed public to all the world, that, at the time of enthroning *the favourite of fortune*, of all those persons *not even one was present*, and *from this circumstance there is the clearest proof of the most inveterate enmity of those persons* towards the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah (may whose soul endure for ever!) and the most unbecoming contempt of the authority of the Eng. govt; and the decided disobedience of those persons with the most pernicious designs (and which can only tend to injure the claims of their own families) have been also rendered most unquestionably evident. In pursuance of this public avowal of enmity and disaffection to the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah (whose life may God lengthen!) they have unceasingly manifested their opposition to his endeavours and my admonitions, which have proceeded from the sole motives of increasing and cementing friendship and good understanding on all sides. From the commencement of these improper disputes, I have observed with much anxiety of mind their gradual advancement and increase, and in this view my respectful exhortations were contained in a letter, written on the 11th of the month of Jemmad ul Awall, in the year of the Hegir 1216, addressed to the sultaun Ulmissah Begum, and which was designed for the purpose of exciting content and good will

* It has been customary in addressing the native princes to write in the Persian language, and to accompany such letter by a translation in English.

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amongst the several individuals of those families with each other; but this also has passed without any good effect, and disappointment upon disappointment has but increased. On observing so clearly these measures of opposition and indignity towards the authority of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah (whom God prosper!) *it must be acknowledged that, if the nabob before mentioned had entertained in his heart a similar degree of malevolence towards those persons who have so conspicuously avowed their most cordial animosity towards him, it would not have been extremely unnatural.* It is, however, incumbent upon me expressly to declare, that the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder has at all times afforded to my mind the most complete and satisfactory proofs of his willingness to renew the terms of friendship and affection with every individual of the families to which he is related. Those persons of rank before mentioned, whose seals are impressed upon the aforesaid writings, have complained through me to the Eng. govt of *the violence and oppression of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, in the imprisonment of their persons, and the plunder of their property,* when the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder ascended the throne of the Carnatic, to succeed to the rights of his ancestors and noble forefathers, namely the preceding princes of the Carnatic. In like manner *the rights before mentioned* are, and have been for a length of time, under the superintending care and direction of the Eng. govt; and it it well known to every individual of those families that the Eng. govt have not interfered with the order and arrangement of the affairs of those defunct princes, otherwise than in the way of friendship. If there was any one time more than another that particularly required the interposition of the Eng. govt, it was on the occurrence of the death of the nabob Ameer ul Omrah. Nevertheless, to some of those noble persons before-mentioned it is known extremely well what the deceased nabob Wallajah did on the occasion of the before-mentioned event, in the express exercise of his own authority, conformable to the Mussulman (or Mahometan) customs, without any consideration of his existing agreements with the Eng. govt*, and the existing agreements moreover of that time accord with the present agreements of the new treaty, by means of which the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah has himself effectuated a renewal of the basis of friendly intercourse with the Eng. nation, and of the aggrandizement of his own family. It is proper, therefore, *that the Eng. govt should consider as sacred* the rights *stipulated for in the before-mentioned* treaty, and it is certainly the most proper for me to be careful to reject every objection to the rights before-mentioned, and to resist any violation of the articles of agreement, which are now firmly established and consented to. Under this consideration, therefore, I declare the fixed resolutions of the Eng. govt to guard and protect the rights of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, according to the terms of the before-mentioned treaty, with honour and respect; and in like manner I promise, that at all times, the supporters of the authority of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah will controul that authority, whensoever it may be found, that the exercise of it is inconsistent with, and repugnant to the honour and dignity of the Eng nation; it will, therefore, be unquestionably necessary, if the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah should really act towards the protectors of his authority, in the manner and to the extent as stated in the forementioned writings, that in that case I should *discountenance* such mode of acting, and finally put a stop to such conduct—a species of authority nevertheless so entirely subversive of the care and prudence of the Eng. nation, and so incompatible with any permanent intercourse and friendship between the several persons of rank of the palace of Chepaux, that its existence can scarce be imagined.—It is also well known to me, that some of the circumstances stated in the writings beforementioned have been chiefly fermented and stirred up with much exaggeration by the excess of anger and ill will; but, notwithstanding this impression upon my mind, without neglecting the interposition of friendship, *I will enquire into from the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah* and investigate those oppressive measures, as set forth in the aforesaid writings; and, as soon as I have obtained a clear explanation, I will again write to those noble persons who have put their seals to the above-mentioned writings.—Every reparation consistent with the observance of the real good faith of the Eng. nation will be made:—What further is necessary to be said?

Written on the 11th of the month Shabaun, in the year of the Hegira 1216—corresponding with the 18th of December, in the year of Christ 1801.

Letter V.—To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,—A letter in the *Times* of the 11th instant, signed ZENO, has given to me principles which I trust do not belong to me, and endeavoured, by general assertions, to injure the cause that I have espoused. God forbid that I should entertain a thought injurious to virtuous atchievements, or attempt to sully an honourable act in which the public may have an interest. The man who might be wicked enough to pursue such conduct would soon meet the punishment due to its atrocity. Zeno ought to have known, that before the public form an opinion upon subjects of considerable magnitude that are submitted to their decision, they will require circumstantial details, supported by the evidence of irrefragable facts. If then, I should fortunately draw down their resentment upon the measures that I expose, there can be no foundation for the apprehension that exalted worth will sustain an injury, or that deserving merit may be deprived of its well entitled rewards. Zeno's propositions sufficiently evince that he "has but little knowledge of India affairs;" there was no occasion for a formal declaration of his ignorance. If he will take the trouble to turn over the page of Asiatic History, defective as it certainly is, he may notwithstanding perceive, that the greater number of the Indian princes hold their territories in right of hereditary descent, and of course these cannot be denominated usurpers. There are others who have acquired dominion by conquest, and if such means be questionable, there are very powerful reasons why Zeno should not court enquiry. I abhor usurpation as much as he does, but I know not of any other usurpers in Hindoostan than those whom he so strenuously defends. His ethics seem

* This alludes to the conduct of the nabob Wallajah, in seizing upon the estate and possessions of his son the Ameer, shortly after his decease: but it must be remembered that the Ameer died without making any will or disposition of his property, which in consequence became the right of the reigning sovereign, according to the Mahomedan customs.

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worthy of the proceedings that are honoured with his approbation, and may by and by be adopted by his friends in theory; they have already carried them into practice. I can, however, assure him that it will be a mournful day to the British interests when the Mahomedan influence shall cease to exist. On his political arguments I have only one observation. If a legitimate power enters into engagements with an usurper, the legality of the one will thus be acknowledged by the other, as both must treat upon the footing of equality; and if at any time it should be urged that those engagements had been violated, Zeno will surely allow that the party accused should be heard before he were condemned, and that the accuser ought not to be the judge to try the cause, the jury to pronounce the verdict, and the only one to be benefited by the fine to be exacted in consequence; and if he allows this, which the law of nations and the municipal laws of every civilized state hold to be just and indispensably requisite, he will allow almost all that I am contending for. The nabob of Arcot was not an usurper, although Zeno does not appear to be acquainted with that fact. He was our friend! shared in our adversity, and on the hostile field fought and bled with us, and when prosperity beamed upon our arms, he gloried in our successes, which was all the share that was permitted to him in their result. He was our most ancient and, as I will at a proper time demonstrate, our most faithful ally; and he subsidized our troops, the only military force in his country. Yet the E. I. Comp. who preferred no charge in the life time of his highness, condemned him after his decease, and seized upon his dominions, which they pretended had become forfeited by his crimes!!! I shall not discuss with Zeno the conduct of the E. I. comp. towards the *native* princes; he will soon enough perceive the fallacy of all his assertions, and that the information upon which he has taken up his pen has been an imposition upon his understanding. —For the sake of humanity, and for other considerations equally interesting, I sincerely wish that I could accede to the friendly sentiments which, as Zeno says the E. I. comp. have always manifested towards the nabobs of Arcot. With more consistency, and certainly with more justice than attaches to his questions and answers, I might go on thus: Did not the E. I. comp. frequently violate their treaty with these nabobs, who patiently bore the injury, soliciting only as a favour, that redress which they were warranted to demand as a right? Yes. Did they not often trespass upon the rights of these nabobs, and in some instances actually subvert their authority and establish their own in its stead, in the teeth of an existing treaty? I answer, yes; and I defy the E. I. Comp. to contradict me. I have not taken up the subject without the deepest impression of its importance, nor shall I at any time treat it with that levity with which others may have trampled upon all laws, and spurned every principle of justice. Appearing as I do before the august tribunal of a generous public, I feel all that awful respect which the situation naturally inspires, and I would not intentionally venture even a surmise that liberality might not sanction, and candour approve. I admit that, upon the demise of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omerah, the comp. offered the *empty* throne to his son, Tage ul Omerah; and without dwelling upon the absurdity of their making an offer to a sovereign prince of the dignity to which he was indisputably entitled, I will state the conditions that accompanied this *generous and liberal offer*—that he should give up to them the whole of his territorial possessions, trust to their benevolence for his subsistence, and brand the name of his ancestors with infamy!!! And if Zeno will consult the papers to which he refers me, he will find that Tage ul Omerah actually proposed to relinquish to the comp. those districts that were mentioned in the treaty as security for the subsidy it had provided for, and that they rejected the proposal with contempt; and he will also find, through the same medium, that every fort in the Carnatic, has for these twenty years, been garrisoned by the troops of the comp. —Zeno asks who I am: I can assure him that I am no hireling; that my circumstances place me above mercenary pursuits; and that I am sincerely attached to my country, to whose best interest my feeble labours are directed. In point of rank, I class with the humblest of his majesty's subjects; but I soar amongst the proudest in my zeal for my king, whom I love with the fervor that I adore my God. I do not ask who Zeno is: he supposes that his appeal, which is dignified and polished, will be heard, and that mine, which is simple and rude, will be rejected; I know enough of him, then, to be convinced that he has a very great advantage over me, and I do not envy him in the possession of it; I confess that my language is not elegant, but it is the language of truth, and that is sufficient to my purpose, and if it should be vulgar, in the literary meaning of the word, I hope it will not offend in the common acceptation of it.—I am more obliged to Zeno for his introduction of the letter dated the 30th of Jan. 1773, than those will be for whose advantage he was induced to bring it forward. Upon reflection it will appear to himself very extraordinary that a letter which seems to carry so much weight into the charge of criminal correspondence, which the comp. are so anxious to establish against the nabobs of the Carnatic, should not have been particularly noticed, or even glanced at by the govr gen. of Bengal and the govr of Madras in the proclamations and other declarations, that they have published to evidence the justice and necessity of the measures they have enforced, and the revolution they have effected against the sacred rights of those princes. A late chairman of the court of Directors may be able to furnish him with a complete explanation; it will be my duty to explain it to the public, accompanied with other truths, necessary to the knowledge of the state. The assemblage will form a lasting monument to the honour and fidelity of their highnesses, and of their friendship and affection towards the Brit. nation, and overwhelm their enemies with shame and confusion. I have paid this attention to Zeno; but I shall not again suffer myself to be diverted from more solemn objects: I am armed with proofs that would make a convert even of him, and warm him into an enthusiastic opposition of those principles which he now so ardently maintains. I trust that I shall not have occasion to employ them.

ARISTIDES.

Letter VI.—To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Sir,—In reference to the late revolution in the Carnatic, which if not more unjust in its principle, was certainly more outrageous in its means than any thing that has yet appeared in Switzerland, it is said by those who know, or ought to have known better, that upon the demise of the

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late nabob Umdut ul Omerah, the musnud passed from the family, conformably to the firmand of the emperor of Deli, under which they held it: that the comp. were the representatives of his imperial majesty, and that, as such, were justified in taking into their own hands the govt of those dominions that had thus reverted to him. To refute such fallacies which have made the desired impression even upon intelligent minds, I have subjoined an article of a treaty, executed on the 23d of Feb. 1768, between the comp. and the nabob Mahomed Ally, on the one part, and the souhah of the Decan on the other part, and I imagine that the evidence it affords will be conclusive.

ARISTIDES.

Art. VII. The exalted and illustrious Shaw Allam, having been pleased, out of his great favour and high esteem for the nabob Wallajaw, to give and grant *to him and his eldest son, Myen ul Malk Umdut ul Omrah*, and their heirs FOR EVER, the government of the Carnatic, Payen Gaut, and the countries dependent thereon, by his royal firmand, bearing date the 26th of August, 1765, or the 27th of the moon Zuphur, in 6th year of the said emperor's reign: and the nabob Asaph Jaw Nizam ul Mulk, &c. having also out of affection and regard for the said nabob Wallajaw released him, his son Myen ul Mulk, &c. and their heirs in succession for ever, from all dependence upon the Decan, and giving him a full discharge of all demands, past, present, and to come, on the said Carnatic, Payen Gaut, by a sunud under his hand and seal, dated the 12th of November, 1765, in consideration of the said nabob Wallajaw having paid the souhah five lacks of rupees, it is now agreed and acknowledged by the said Asaph Jaw Nizam ul Mulk, that the said nabob Wallajaw, and after him his son Myen ul Mulk, and their heirs in succession, shall enjoy for ever as an ultamgan, or free gift, the govt of the Carnatic, Payen Gaut, in the fullest and amplest manner.

COMMITTEES.

Years to serve	Accounts	Buying	Correspondence	Government troops and stores	House	Law suits	Military fund	Private trade	Preventing growth of private trade	Shipping	Treasury	Warehouses	
1			C			L	M				T		Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
3			C	G T		L	M	P	P G	S	T		Sir William Bensley, Bart.
2	DEPUTY.												Jacob Bosanquet, Esq.
3			C			L	M				T		Sir John Smith Burges, Bart.
2				G T				P	P G	S			Joseph Cotton, Esq.
2			C			L	M				T		Sir Lionel Darell, Bart.
4			C			L	M				T		William Devaynes, Esq. M. P.
3	A	B			H							W	The Hon. William Elphinstone
4	A	B			H							W	Charles Grant, Esq. M. P.
3			C			L	M				T		John Hunter, Esq.
1			C			L	M				T		Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. M. P.
1	A	B			H							W	Paul Le Mesurier, Esq. and Ald.
4			C			L	M				T		Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart. M. P.
1			C			L	M				T		John Manship, Esq.
1	A	B			H		M					W	Thomas Theoph. Metcalfe, Esq. M.P.
2				G T				P	P G	S			Edward Parry, Esq.
2	CHAIRMAN.												John Roberts, Esq.
4				G T				P	P G	S			George Smith, Esq. M. P.
1				G T				P	P G	S			George Woodford Thellusson, Esq.
2	A	B			H							W	Robert Thornton, Esq. M. P.
4				G T				P	P G	S			William Thornton, Esq.
4				G T			M	P	P G	S			Sweny Toone, Esq.
3	A	B			H							W	John Travers, Esq.
3				G T				P	P G	S			Stephen Williams, Esq.

THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR 1802.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman are of all Committees.

The following Gentlemen went out by Rotation in April, 1802; viz.

Simon Fraser, Esq.
Charles Mills, Esq. M. P.
Thomas Parry, Esq.
Abraham Roberts, Esq. M. P.
David Scott, Esq. M. P.
George [illegible], Esq.

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EAST-INDIA SHIPS FOR THE SEASON 1802-3, WITH THEIR MANAGING OWNERS, COMMANDERS, PRINCIPAL OFFICERS, TIME OF SAILING, &c.

Ships.	Chartered Tonnage.	Managing Owners.	Commanders.	First Officers.	Second Officers.	Third Officers.	Fourth Officers.	Surgeons.	Pursers.	Consignments.	To be absent.	To be in the Downs.
Ocean	1200	W. Fraser, Esq.	A. Patton	J. C. Lochner	G. Hitchins	R. Bethune	S. Trimmer	G. Playfair	J. Leathley	Cape, Madras, Bombay, and China.	28 Aug. 1802	7 Oct. 1802
H. Addington	1200	Sir A. Hamilton	J. Kirkpatrick	J. R. Toussaint	J. Coxwell	A. Chatfield	W. Hamilton	T. Brown	F. Winn			
Castle Eden	818	R. Webster, Esq.	A. Cuming	J. Anderson	H. Vaughan	R. Lucas	J. Bussey	J. Forrest	H. Morphett	The Cape and Bengal		
Lord Duncan	820	J. Woolmore, Esq.	A. Murray	G. Cleland	J. Hodges	H. Baker	T. Walker	T. Leake	J. Candler			
Earl Camden	1200	J. P. Larkins, Esq.	N. Dance	Wm. L. Pascal	W. C. Wright	W. Orrok	E. Davies	P. Maclachlan	H. Garden	Bombay and China	26 Oct.	15 Dec.
Bombay Castle	1200	J. Dorin, Esq.	A. Hamilton	K. Maxwell	J. Biddlecomb	W. Parington	M. Hamilton	W. Brydon	F. Zuche			
Royal George	1200	R. Anderson, Esq.	J. F. Timins	R. Nesbitt	R. Hay		W. Knox	W. Gillies	C. Yates	St. Hel. Benc. & China		
Hindostan	1248	R. Williams, Esq.	E. Balston	O. B. Tappenden	N. Turner	J. Creighton	G. Nichols	R. Addison	R. Pain	Coast and China	9 Nov.	31 do.
Cumberland	1200	W. Borradaile, Esq.	W. W. Farrer	J. Davey	W. Bund	Brook Kay	J. Yates	W. Livingstone	W. Hornblow			
City of London	820	W. Curtis, Esq.	S. Landon	F. C. Harr	P. Barchard	W. H. Kid	R. Dawson	J. Kelly		St. Helena and Bengal	25 do.	14 Jan. 1803
Admiral Gardner	813	J. Woolmore, Esq.	E. C. Bradford	E. Burford	C. R. Blunt	R. Penning	T. Bligh	G. Wray	W. P. Pope	Coast and Bay		
Sir S. Lushington	608	P. E. Mestaer, Esq.	G. Gooch					G. Routledge				
Elphinstone	1200	M. Agar, Esq.	M. Craig	J. Stevens	T. Haward	C. Mortlock	J. Walker	W. Dunbar	R. Harding	Bombay	9 Dec.	27 do.
	820	R. Wigram, Esq.	T. Graham							Ceylon and Madras		
Walpole	820	R. Anderson, Esq.	J. Sandilands	D. Sutton	F. Colpoys							
Hugh Inglis	820	M. White, Esq.	W. Fairfax		P. Bulteel	R. Wright		J. Rixon	W. H. Drake	Coast and Bay	9 Jan. 1803	28 Feb.
Calcutta	819	R. Charnock, Esq.	W. Maxwell	I. Hay	A. Hamilton				J. Lonsdell			
	800	(Ditto)	G. Robertson	T. Ley						Bengal		
	800	H. Callender, Esq.	W. Edmeades	W. Hay				W. Noyes	T. C. Kerr			
	800	R. Charnock, Esq.	C. Lennox	W. Younghusband						Ditto		
Charlton	818	Sir W. Leighton	T. Walladvice	J. Collins	G. Wood	J. Sinnet		J. Adams	J. H. Andrews		23 do.	14 Mar.
Wexford	1200	R. Wigram, Esq.	W. S. Clarke							China		
Warren Hastings	1200	J. P. Larkins, Esq.	T. Larkins			W. Elly						
	800	P. E. Mestaer, Esq.	I. Price	R. Ord		H. M'Crae	D. Dowman	R. Longdill	W. N. Portal	Bombay and Madras		
	810	J. St. Barbe, Esq.	T. Hudson			G. Chamberlain				St. Helena & Bengal	6 Feb.	29 do.
Europe	800	P. Mellish, Esq.	W. Gelston	A. Partridge	T. Mackeson		J. W. Paulin					
Exeter	1200	R. Lewin, jun. Esq.	H. Meriton					J. Henson	R. Watson			
Dorsetshire	1200	R. Williams, Esq.	J. Ramsden							China		
Coutts	1200	Sir R. Preston, Bt.	R. Torin			J. Pilgrim		J. Livingstone				
Earl Spencer	645	J. Duncan, Esq.	C. Raitt	W. H. Hardyman	W. Balcombe				J. Davison	Bengal		
Preston	671	M. Callender, Esq.	T. G. Murray									
	1200	M. Boaham, Esq.	I. Boulderson	J. J. Erskine	R. Michod	C. Tucker		C. Richardson	W. Milburn	Bombay		
Hope	1200	Sir A. Hume, Bart.	J. Hurncastle	G. Hooper	I. Pendergrass		J. H. Blackburn	E. Whitcombe	C. Francis		21 do.	19 Apr.
Warley	1200	H. Boulton, Esq.	H. Wilson							China		
E. of Abergavenny	1200	W. Dent, Esq.	J. Wordsworth	S. Baggot					C. H. Stewart			
Woodford	1150	Sir R. Preston, Bt.	I. Martin									
Carmarthen	550	J. Williams, Esq.	I. Dobree	J. B. Seager			T. Evans			St. Helena and Bengal		
	550	R. Taylor, Esq.	J. Carnegie							Bombay		
Harriet	550	J. Woolmore, Esq.	W. Lynch		I. Saltwell	J. Dunkins				Coast and Bay		
	550	(Ditto)	T. G. Bayliff	T. Duncan		J. M. Thornhill				St. Helena and Bombay		
	550	H. Callender, Esq.		W. C. Hutton			T. James	S. Carruthers		Madras		
Earl Howe	676	J. Woolmore, Esq.	R. Burrowes							Coast and Bay		

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JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS.

KING'S BENCH.—BEFORE LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

Parry v. *Morris.*

June 5.—The plaintiff and defendant are potters, and manufacturers of sugar moulds. This action was brought to recover damages sustained by the plaintiff, by reason of the defendant's having enticed a person of the name of Deal out of the service of the plaintiff, after he had commenced, and before he had finished a piece of work for him, and harbouring that person, by employing him in his, the defendant's service, after notice that he had quitted the plaintiff's service, and left his work unfinished. The law of this case is clearly laid down in 6 Term Rep. 221, by which it is stated, "that an action will lie for receiving, or continuing in employment, the servant of another, after notice that he is that servant: that a person who contracts with another to do any piece of work for him, is the servant of that other, until that work is finished, and therefore no one else has a right to employ him until such work is finished." The circumstances of this case were these: Deal, the labourer, had worked for the plaintiff several years. In July last he had a piece of work on hand, and left his master, when there were about eight days labour remaining to finish it. He went to the defendant, who hired him. The plaintiff sent to the defendant a letter, saying, "I beg leave to acquaint you, that W. Deal, whom you have in your employment as a potter, is engaged at my manufactory to work, which work he has left unfinished; and I trust, after this notice, that you, as a tradesman, will not detain or harbour him; if you do, I shall be under the necessity of commencing an action against you. *Isaac Parry.*"—The defendant told the bearer of the letter, that he, the defendant, had had nothing to do in the law a great while; that he should like to have a touch at it; that if Deal owed Mr. Parry any money, he would pay it." The messenger said, "it was not the money that the plaintiff wanted, but the labour of the man who had left his service." The defendant replied, "You may tell Mr. Parry that I have as many bricks to give to the lawyers as he has moulds." He kept Deal in his employment; the work of Deal at the plaintiff's factory was left unfinished. Lord Ellenborough observed there was not evidence of the defendant's enticing the workman from his master, but there was enough of the harbouring after notice, and that was sufficient to support this action. Verdict for plaintiff 5l. 5s. being the value of the labour required to finish the work.

LIBEL.

M'Lealan v. *Field.*

June 10.—Mr. Garrow stated the parties to be inhabitants of Plymouth; the plaintiff a surgeon in the hospital, and the defendant a gent. who had retired with a large fortune from the naval service. The action was brought to recover a compensation for the most severe injury of which a subject could complain. Mr. M'Lealan had been denounced as a traitor. He accused the defendant of being the author of this malignant libel; the defendant had denied the charge, but by the evidence to be produced it would be clearly brought home to him. The following anonymous letter had been sent to the late chancellor of the exchequer in the beginning of the last year:

"Hon. Sir, The purport of this letter is to warn you that there is in this place a very disaffected person to his king and country. He is very industrious in sowing the seeds of sedition. He is a surgeon in the hospital at Plymouth. He takes every means of becoming acquainted with the character and conduct of the officers, and exerts himself to the utmost to defame them. He tells the men that they have as good a right to command as their superiors, and to be all equal, like their neighbours the French. He often hopes that Bonaparte will land. He is very cunning. His name is M'Lealan. Many people know that what I say is true, but they are afraid to come forward. I myself find it necessary to conceal my name for the present. I look upon you as a person faithful to your king and country, and having imparted this intelligence to you, I feel easy in the consciousness of having done my duty.

The Rt Hon. W. Pitt,
Walmer Castle. } *Plymouth Dock.*"

Mr. Mawl proved that Mr. M'Lealan was a surgeon in the royal navy. Mr. Reynolds produced the original letter, which had been delivered to him by the lords of the admiralty. Mr. Langstaff stated, that he had often seen the defendant write, and he said he had no doubt whatever that it was his writing. He observed that several of the words were mis-spelt, and particularly that warn was wrote worn; but he knew that Mr. F. spelt very ill, and that he often wrote an *o* for an *a*. Mr. Ellis, a tailor, Mr. W. Kitto, a tenant of Mr. Field's, and Mrs. Kitto, his wife, all deposed that they had often seen the defendant write, and firmly believed the letter to be his hand-writing. Mrs. K. said, that on Friday was eight days Mr. Field came to the house, and asked if her husband was going up to London to give evidence for M'Lealan. He assured her that she had better prevent him, as M'Lealan's witnesses would not get back. He himself was innocent, and he would have all of them convicted of perjury. He earnestly requested her not to let out of her hands any of the receipts he had given her husband for rent.—Mr. Pitt should here have been called, but the following indorsement on the letter was admitted as sufficient evidence of his having received it:

"I perfectly remember a short time after my quitting office, of having received, among my post letters at Park Place, a letter to the purport of the above. I thought it of consequence that it should be immediately communicated to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and I sent that day, or the day after, to Mr. Nepean.

"W. PITT."

Mr. Erskine allowed the malignity of the libel, but contended that Mr. Field had never wrote it.—He undertook to produce witnesses to contradict those that had been called in the most positive manner, and if a doubt could possibly remain, he was sure the jury would incline to the defendant, when he could have had no possible motive for so base an action.

James Wall said he was a lieut. in the navy. He was sure that the letter was not the defendant's writing. He had not seen him, however, since 1782, till Friday last. Mary Sharpe (wife of the patent razor-maker, Ludgate-hill) declared that it

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had not the slightest resemblance to the defendant's hand. She had received orders from him, and would not have acted upon this. W. Field, the defendant's son, said he was a lieut. in the navy: he allowed that the letter was like his father's hand; still it did not follow that it was his, as one day lately, at his agent's, he had seen a letter with the superscription so like his, that he was going to open it as coming from his father, though it had a different signature. From what he knew of his father, and had heard him say, he did not believe the letter had been wrote by him. The inside was very like his, and, if he had seen it lying on the table, he should have taken it for his. There had been some differences between M'Lealan and his father about the management of the poor-house.—Lord Ellenborough observed, that if the plaintiff had been guilty of the practices imputed to him, no man could be more heinously criminal. He was charged with having abused the trust confided in him to poison the minds of the seamen, and, at a time of great anxiety and danger, of having leagued with the enemies of his country. The letter was a libel of enormous malignity, and the grand question for the jury to try was, whether the defendant was the writer of it? The jury certainly ought to be more than usually scrupulous in considering evidence of this kind. In general, witnesses were produced who swore that they had seen the act committed, and the proof here rested solely on the similarity of handwriting. However, there was no doubt that this might be sufficient both in law and in reason. The jury would therefore say, whether, upon the whole evidence, the charge had been established. His ldp observed, that, if the jury were of that opinion, the only remaining question was the amount of the damages. The property of the plaintiff had been proved to be great, and, whether it was or not, they were chiefly to consider the magnitude of the injury the plaintiff had sustained. He was at any rate entitled to an adequate compensation. He enjoyed a respectable situation as surgeon to the hospital, from which he would have been ignominiously dismissed, had the libel produced the desired effect. The object of the writer evidently was to consign him to poverty and infamy. If a man had actually betrayed his country at its utmost peril, what fate could have been too severe for him? Had this communication been well-founded, though anonymous, it would have been laudable; but the writer should have been so sure of the truth of what he asserted as to be able, when called upon, to establish it to the satisfaction of a jury. He might have reasons to justify him for withdrawing from public notice for a time; but he should at all times have been ready to shew that he had proceeded with caution; that his motives were pure, and that his only object was the public good. Verdict for plaintiff—damages £.500.

Carey v. *Kearsley.*

June 11.—This was an action for copying and pirating the book of the plaintiff called "Carey's Itinerary," by a publication of the defendant called "The Traveller's Companion," &c. It appeared in the course of examination of the two publications, that the defendant's book contained much of the matter which before was to be found in no other publication than the plaintiff's book, and therefore was taken from it, but that not a page of it was selected in which the copy was not accompanied by substantive matter that was original, and the whole arrangement of the defendant's book was different from that of the plaintiff; indeed, they were both taken from the book of Patterson's roads. Lord Ellenborough was of opinion, that upon this issue the plaintiff had not made out his case, for that there was no evidence that the defendant's book was a piratical publication, or copy of the plaintiff's book; and this, his ldp said, he was prepared to submit as his opinion to the jury. The plaintiff's counsel observed, that the main object of the action was, to protect Mr. Carey in his exclusive right of publication of his own book; and as this was deemed not to be a copy of it, that right remained entire, the plaintiff's anxiety was at an end. Lord E. said, that, certainly this cause did not touch the plaintiff's right to the publication of his book; that right remained in the same situation as it stood in before this action was brought. Plaintiff non-suited.

Waterhouse v. *King.*

July 2.—This was a special case, reserved for the opinion of the court. The plaintiff was 2nd capt. of the ship Reliance, appointed on the service for Botany Bay. The first officer of the ship was capt. Hunter. The plaintiff was 2nd in command, and he was appointed to this office of 2nd capt. or 2nd in command, by the lords of the admiralty. While this ship was at Plymouth, the Dutch fleet there was detained by order of govt. and was afterwards condemned as prize, upon the breaking out of hostilities between this country and Holland; and this ship, being part of admiral King's fleet which was at Plymouth when the Dutch fleet was detained, the ship's officers, &c. became entitled to their share of prize-money in the proportion stated by his majesty's proclamation; but it was contended that this plaintiff, capt. Waterhouse, being 2nd in command to another officer, who was the capt. he could not be held to be a capt. of that ship, inasmuch as that the lords of the admiralty had no power to make this appointment of 2nd capt. without submitting it expressly to the approbation of his majesty in council; and that for want of that submission and approbation, this appointment was void. Capt. Waterhouse brought his action for the recovery of this prize-money, which was tried at Westminster, when a verdict was found for the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court upon this case, upon the construction of all the orders in council, proclamations, &c. made in this behalf from the year 1755 down to that of 1786, when the Botany Bay settlement had transports sent to it, and on account of which service this appointment, by the lords of the admiralty, took place. This case was argued very ably, by Mr. Barton, for the plaintiff, and Mr. Gazely, for the defendant. Mr. B. contended that the plaintiff was appointed by the lords of the admiralty as capt. who were duly empowered by the king for that purpose: that he was capt. therefore in rank, in station, in duty, liable to all the provisions of a court-martial, punished under the authority of martial law, for misconduct, in the character of capt.: that he was so mustered upon the books: that he was, and must be, taken to be capt. *de facto*, if not *de jure*: that he was both, but it would be enough for him to be either, in order to become entitled to his share of prize-money in this case, under his majesty's proclamation, and that therefore he was entitled to the judgment of the court.—Mr. G. contended, that although the plaintiff was on board in the rank of a 2nd capt.

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appointed by the lords commissioners of the admiralty, yet, that as this appointment was never submitted to his majesty in council, nor had received the royal approbation, it was null and void; and this was contended under the authority of capt. Lumley's case, when the contest was between him and capt. Sutton: that even by the plaintiff's own confession, in this case, it appeared, that whatever rights he might have, as commander, in the absence of capt. Hunter, he had no authority, as capt. while capt. Hunter was on board; that then, he was a mere assistant of Mr. Hunter. That whatever his station was, he was not a capt. of the ship in question. That, in short, on the ground that the lords of the admiralty had no power to make this increase to the estab. of the navy, without the authority of the crown; that, even if he was to be considered as capt. in some sense of that title, he did not come within the description of capt. that was entitled to a share as such of the prize-money, in this case, under the royal proclamation, &c.

Mr. Justice Lawrence said, that, upon this occasion, two questions arose: the first was, whether or not the plaintiff's appointment was sufficient to the office of 2nd capt. of this ship, the Reliance? The next was, supposing him to be so regularly appointed, whether, under the king's proclamation, he was entitled to a share of the prize-money in this case? Upon the first of these questions, as to the power of the lords of the admiralty to make this appointment, the learned judge observed, that the letters patent, under the great seal, specifying the powers of the lords of the admiralty, were not before the court: but he understood their power in general to be that of providing for the navy of this kingdom, for which purpose it was necessary to equip ships, appoint officers to command crews in action, &c. subject to the general direction of the crown: that their power was directive, and that of the crown directory: that, in consequence of this power, the lords of the admiralty had appointed the plaintiff second capt. or second in command, of this ship, as they might do for that or any other ship in the navy, as might appear to them necessary for the exigency of the public service. The next question would be, whether he would be entitled under the proclamation, to come in for his share of the prize-money? It was argued, that the plaintiff had no command, but in the absence of capt. Hunter; now, on looking at his commission, it would appear this argument was not founded. It gave the plaintiff the rank of 2nd capt. or 2nd commander, and then it went on to state, "That, in the absence of the principal commander, the plaintiff was to act as the sole commander. That, in the presence of the first commander, he was to be subject to his direction," so that, in his absence, he was to become the absolute commander of it himself: it appeared by his commission, that capt. W. had powers without reference to those of capt. Hunter, for the commissioners, in the language of the commission, said, "We appoint you 2nd commander of the Reliance, desire you to go on board and take the 2nd comm. of her accordingly;" and then, without saying any thing of the presence or the absence of the first commander, the commission went on to describe the duty of the 2nd commander, as known to those who should be required to obey him. Capt. W. had also his number of servants to obey him in the stile of a captain, with the other distinctions that were incident to such station, and these he was to have, whether capt. Hunter was on board or absent. Then, taking the plaintiff to be rightly appointed, and in a manner sufficient to determine that he was capt. *de facto*, the next question was, whether he came in under the proclamation for the distribution of prize-money? He was in the station of capt. and as to his being 2nd capt. of a single ship, he did not see that the lords of the admiralty should not have power to make that appointment, if necessary, for the navy, as well as any other regulation. Mr. Justice le Blanc thought the plaintiff entitled to a share of prize in this case, as a capt. in the situation in which he was, being appointed to that situation, by virtue of a commission granted to him by the lords of the admiralty, and that he must always be entitled to all the privileges attached to that station, unless it could be shewn that the lords of the admiralty had exceeded their power in granting him that commission. This was a different case from that of capt. Lumley, and the appointment must, upon the whole, be held to be valid. The next question was, whether the plaintiff came under the rules laid down in his Majesty's proclamation? Now he was a capt. on board at the time of the capture, as the exigency of the service required, and therefore there was no reason why he should not have all the benefit of that situation. Judgment for plaintiff.

COMMON PLEAS.—*Furtado* v. *Rogers*.

July 2.—This was an action upon a policy of insurance, dated the 19th of Oct. 1792, on a ship called the Patronelle, from Bayonne to Martinique, and at and from thence to Bayonne, to recover a loss by capture. The cause was tried before the lord Alvanley, chief justice of the Common Pleas, at the sittings in Trinity term, 1801, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court, upon the following case: that the plaintiff was owner of the ship, which sailed upon the voyage, insured, in Oct. 1792, and arrived at Martinique in Nov. following; remained there until March 1794, but her so remaining was justified by necessity, and war having broken out between this country and France---she was then, upon the capture of the island of Martinique, by the Brit. forces, taken by them as prize, with 40 other French vessels. The plaintiff, at the time the policy was effected, and from thence until the action was commenced, was a French subject, resident at Bayonne, in France, which country was in amity with G. Brit. when the policy was effected, and until the month of Feb. 1793, at which time hostilities commenced between England and France. Mr. serj. Bayley observed, that the question in this cause for the decision of the court, was, whether the subject of the insurance, belonging to a person who was in amity with this kingdom, at the time the insurance was effected, and being afterwards, in consequence of a breach of that amity, taken by one of the vessels of this country, whether such a plaintiff, had or had not a right to recover? He should first consider this case on the authorities, because it seemed to him those authorities were so strong, that it was not necessary to recur to the principle on which these authorities were founded. He observed, that in these cases, the very same objection might have been taken, that was meant to be taken in this case by his brother Best, but it had not, in fact, been

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taken. But though the question was never raised, yet as it might have been raised in these cases, and as the parties never did raise it, an inference arose, which he thought could not be got over, that the plaintiff was entitled to recover. He had made use of those authorities for the purpose of shewing that they constituted a series of decisions, for a great length of time, by which he conceived that this country was, as it were, pledged, to foreigners, to perform such a contract as that which was contained in this policy. His learned brother would probably argue, that if the court were to decide, that on such a policy the plaintiff was entitled to recover, the consequence would be, that of taking out of the pockets of the Brit. underwriters, the amount of this loss, which it was meant the enemy should sustain, and that, in fact, the only loss sustained would be by one part of the king's subjects, instead of the enemy. He observed that an alien enemy could bring no action during war, and it would be for the king, when he made peace, to declare on what terms that peace should be made, and whether that an alien enemy should ever have a right of action vested in him, and whether the underwriters should pay this money. The king, if he chose, had a right to insist upon the payment of that money. The king, upon inquisition found, would be entitled to the payment of that money. The king might either exert the right which his prerogative gave him, to insist on the payment of that money to him, or he might dispense with that right in favour of some of his subjects; and it was only by the licence of the crown, or the negligence of the crown, that the alien enemy could afterwards insist on his right of action. No loss, therefore, was thrown on any subject of this country during the war, except it was by the intervention of the king. The ground, therefore, on which he humbly submitted he was entitled to the judgment of the court, was this, that there had been a long series of authorities during which this question had repeatedly occurred, but had never been raised in any one of these cases; and this furnished a strong argument in his favour, unless his learned brother could produce some actual decision, which excluded the plaintiff from recovering. No case had been decided saying that a policy of insurance on enemy's property during the war was illegal. Mr. serjeant Best, on behalf of the underwriters, said, he was to address the court in support of the objection, which he had the honour to take before his ldp at the trial. His learned brother had thought it necessary to cite a vast number of cases: but one observation, he thought, would dispose of all those cases. In no one of them was this point ever taken. It was impossible, therefore, that these cases could be considered as any authorities on this point, when the point did not come under discussion before the court. It was also material to observe, that at the time these cases came under discussion, it was understood that the property of enemies could be insured *flagrante bello*. The question was, whether an insurance effected antecedent to the commencement of war, could be legal, when that property was afterwards taken by the force of this country? He conceived the case must depend entirely upon principle; for, after looking into all the books, he had not been able to find one case in which the point in question had been decided. But he conceived that on principle, as old as the law itself, it was impossible the plaintiff could recover in this action. He trusted that what he was about to state was not only applicable to the law of insurance, but to be considered as a general principle of law—it was this—"that whatever was against the general interests of any state, was against the law of that state." It was a general principle of the law of England, that whenever it was shewn that the enforcing of a contract would be against the general interests of the community, there the court was vested with a general power to declare that that contract should not be carried into execution. Suppose a contract to be entered into, the enforcing of which would be contrary to the morals of the country? There was no particular law which said, that contract should not be carried into execution; but their lordships were declared by the law of the country, to be the guardians of the morals of the country; and therefore, on that principle, the court would not allow any contract to be enforced which was against the principles of morality. In the same manner the court would not allow any contract to be carried into effect which had a tendency to injure the revenue of the country. So, in various instances of betts or wagers, which had a tendency to bring into discussion things that were unfit to be discussed in public courts of justice; so the court would not enforce any contract which militated against any civil estab. as against marriage—or that affected the trade of the country, or that would tend to the breach of any law of the country. There was no law that said these contracts should not be enforced; but the same general principle which required that the court, in all these cases, in which they should be satisfied that the carrying the contract into execution would be injurious to the interests of the public—would induce them to say, that this contract should not be carried into effect. He would submit that the law had gone further on the subject—it had not only said, that no contract should be enforced which was detrimental to the public interests, but the law would not allow a man to place himself in any situation in which his interest, as a subject, should be at variance with the interests of the country. That appeared to be the strongest reason in support of the doctrine he was contending for. He admitted that the contract was good as to all the risks that fell within it, but that this was not one of those risks—it was good for every purpose consistent with the law, but it could not be extended beyond the law. He could shew, on the authority of those cases he had cited, that this contract had a tendency to place a man's interest in direct opposition to the interests of the state, and to make him a bad subject; on the same principle on which these cases had been decided, the court would hold that the plaintiff could not recover. He observed, that the great object of insurance was to enable the subjects of this country to carry on commerce to a greater extent than it was possible they could if the risks of it were cast wholly on themselves, instead of being divided among the underwriters. The object of insurance was to encourage commerce; the object of war was to destroy the commerce of another country, and, therefore, the effect of insuring enemies' property must be to encourage them to engage in speculations and enterprizes to bring property into their country, to increase their strength, to aid, to assist them, and to enable them to resist the al-

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though the object of war was to destroy them. When it was to be considered, that war in modern times was carried on chiefly by the finances of a state, and that money was the sinew of war, it was impossible for any man not to see, that this policy of assurance was in direct opposition to the best and most important interests of the country. Mr. serj. Bayley replied;—after which, such was thought the importance of the case, that it was agreed to turn it into *a special verdict*, in order that it may receive the most solemn decision possible.

KING'S BENCH.

Clanfield Assignee of Michael Fisher, a Bankrupt, v. Edwards.

July 19.—This was an action brought by the assignees of a bankrupt, to recover a bill of exchange, and several articles of goods, the value of which was 122*l*.—Mr. Garrow stated that this was an extraordinary case, even in these extraordinary times. Fisher, the bankrupt, whose assignee the plaintiff was, had the misfortune to be concerned with the defendant, Mr. Edwards, who is a jeweller in London, and discounted bills for Fisher, the terms of which were, half in money, and half in jewelry goods, and then Mr. E. bought them back again of him, at a slight loss, that was to say, at the loss, in some cases, of two shillings per ounce, and in others, six shillings per ounce. This ended, as all these things must end, in the bankruptcy and absolute ruin of the party borrowing the money: the time at which that ruin should take place, and be made public, depended, in a great measure, on the usurer. Mr. E. knew the manner in which Mr. Fisher was going on; knew he must soon be declared a bankrupt; and, in contemplation of that bankruptcy, Mr. E. went to the house of Fisher, and took away these goods, in order to help himself to what was due to him. He possessed himself also of the bill of exchange in question, and upon application to him, on behalf of the creditor, to deliver these things up, he refused, and this action was brought upon that refusal, for the purpose of bringing this property to the use of the creditors.—It appeared, that the defendant had taken possession of these goods in question, knowing that Fisher had committed acts of bankruptcy, he having frequently concealed himself from his creditors, delaying their debts, &c. and as to the bill of exchange, it appeared by the evidence of the bankrupt, Fisher, himself, that part of the consideration of the bill of exchange, was a discount partly in cash, and partly in jewelry, which he charged at 11s per ounce, which was the credit price of that article in the market, the ready money price being only 9s. That Fisher had been long in the habit of discounting bills with Edwards, and generally took part in money and part in jewelry, about half of the one and half of the other. Sometimes he worked up the jewelry articles in the way of his trade, but frequently was obliged to sell the gold, and that mostly to the defendant, E. himself, and upon which Fisher lost 6s. per ounce, &c.—Lord Ellenborough said, that if there was any usury in any part of this case, it tainted the whole of the transaction to which it referred. Such was the case here, as it applied to this bill of exchange, for if in discounting this bill, E. gave part in goods, and charged for such goods the credit, instead of the ready money price, that was usury in discounting; for discount, in its nature, was ready money, lent at the rate or price of five per cent. but here was discount; and, instead of goods of the same value as ready money, goods were given of only the proportion of nine to eleven of ready money, and that was clearly usury. As to the goods taken by the defendant in contemplation of bankruptcy, they must likewise be brought to the use of the creditors. The consequence of which must be, that the bill of exchange must be delivered up; and as to the goods, a verdict should be given for their value, since the assignee could not take them to be used in trade.—Verdict for plaintiff; damages 122*l*. the defendant undertaking to deliver up the bill of exchange.

Blake v. the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

July 21.—This was an action against the bank of England, on one of their promissory notes for 1000*l*. which they refused to pay, on the ground that it was a note which had been lost, and the value of which they had already paid, being indemnified by the assignees of the bankrupt, who either lost the note, or with a fraudulent intent pretended to have lost it.—Mr. Park observed, that this was a cause of the utmost importance to the public, as it would determine the degree of credit and confidence they should give to a note, which they knew to be a bank of England note. His client was a silversmith, in very respectable and extensive business, who resided in Castle-street, Leicester-fields. He had taken the note in the course of his trade, for full and valuable consideration, and was not bound to enquire into the history of the note, or through what hands it had passed. Nothing, he contended, could be more ruinous to the commerce of the country, or to the true interests of the bank itself, than that so formidable an obstacle should be thrown in the way of the free circulation of bank-notes, as to require that every trader, who received a bank-note in the course of his business, should examine, through what hands a note, which is offered to him as cash, has passed, before it was presented to him as a payment. The learned counsel then cited several cases which had been determined before lord Mansfield and lord Kenyon, confirming the principle he then laid down. Upon these grounds, which he considered the settled law of the land, he had to sustain the character as well as the claim of the plaintiff. The circumstances of the transactions were as follows:—On the 5th of April last, the plaintiff received a letter by the post, having the Bath post mark on it, which letter was signed "R. Dallow," in which the writer described himself as a person who expected a large sum of money from an uncle in order to set him up in the business of silversmith at Bath; he therefore desired the plaintiff to send him an account of the prices he would charge for an assortment of goods, specified in the letter, at the same time mentioning, that as he should pay ready money, he would expect to be charged at the lowest price. In consequence of this letter, the plaintiff sent down a list of prices he charged for the articles therein specified. Another letter came by return of the post, giving a positive order for the goods to the amount of 800*l*. and desiring that they might be got ready as soon as possible. On the 21st of April, the person who styled himself "Dallow" called upon the plaintiff, and

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asked for so much of the goods as were ready for delivery pursuant to his order; the plaintiff accordingly delivered him goods to the amount of 545*l.* 10*s.*; he also delivered in cash, bank-notes and checks upon bankers, the difference between the value of the goods so furnished, and the amount of the bank-note for £1000. Dallow went off the night he had so received the goods and cash, and has not since been heard of. The plaintiff considered himself entitled to recover against the bank for the amount of their note, which he had so received in the course of his business for a full consideration.—The note was admitted to be a note of the bank of England.—E. Medlicott, clerk to the plaintiff, proved the receipt of those letters by the post; the execution of the order in consequence of them; and the delivery of the goods, and of the difference between their value and the note of £1000. He added, that Dallow was an utter stranger to them; that the payment was made, and the goods delivered, about nine o'clock on the night of the 22d of April last; that neither he nor Mr. Blake had any suspicions of the note not having been honestly obtained by Dallow: and that the only observation they made to him upon it was, that it was a very *old note*; to which he answered "If *my uncle* had lived, it would not have seen the light for a considerable time longer." The next day he took the note to the bank, in order to have it changed for smaller notes; but they refused paying it on the grounds before mentioned.—J. Blake, the son of the plaintiff, C. Pepper, his apprentice, and W. Figg, his shopman, confirmed the testimony of Medlicott, as to the delivery of the goods and consideration for this note. One of his workmen also proved the execution of the order; and the clerk of the refiner from whom he bought his silver proved that at that time he had bought an unusual quantity of silver.—A clerk of Mr. Drummond's proved the payment of one of the checks which had been given to this person of the name of "Dallow."—The letters of Dallow, and the entries made by the plaintiff's clerk, were also read in evidence for the plaintiff.—Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendants, observed, that it was not the bank, but those gents. to whom the bank had already paid the full amount of this note (as a lost note), that were the real defendants in this action; that this action must be judged by the peculiar circumstances attending it. Was it not suspicious that so large an order should have been at once executed for an utter stranger? That an old note to the amount of £1000 should be taken without the least inquiry from a total stranger? If the jury could not conceive a tradesman of common prudence and discretion to act in this manner in the ordinary course of his business, they must suppose that he had not taken this bill *bona fide* in the course of business, and must have known, or at least strongly suspected, that the person who offered it in payment, had not come fairly by it. In such case they must find their verdict for the defendant.—Mr. Kay, solicitor to the bank, proved that in a conversation he had with the plaintiff a few days after the bill had been presented and refused payment at the bank, the plaintiff positively refused to take any trouble in tracing out this person calling himself "Dallow," unless the bank would pay his expences.——Mr. A. Newland proved, that it was a very uncommon circumstance to have a note of £1000. which was nine years old, presented to the bank for payment; he said that notes which were more than a year old always underwent a particular examination at the bank before they were paid. An old gazette was also produced, which contained an advertisement of this note as being lost.—Lord Ellenborough summed up the evidence, and pointed out every minute circumstance that could direct the jury to form a right judgment on the fact, whether the plaintiff had conducted himself with such common prudence and discretion, as to deserve to be considered a *bona fide* holder of the note in question. If he either knew or suspected that the bill was not fairly obtained, or if such strong grounds of suspicion presented themselves as that any man of common caution could not avoid suspecting it, in such case, this strong suspicion would have an effect like a formal notice to prevent his being considered a *bona fide* holder of the note, even though he might have given consideration for it. Whether this transaction was or was not, under such circumstances of suspicion, was the province of the jury to decide.—The jury found for the plaintiff—Damages £1000.

Antonio v. *Critico.* *(July 23.)* Mr. Erskine stated, that this was an action by the plaintiff, a Dalmatian, and subject of the emperor of Germany, against Theodore Critico, the defendant, who was a subject of the Sublime Porte, and the jury would find by the evidence, as complete a Turk as ever existed; for he had got his client's money to a large amount, and now had gone to goal, and held his creditor at arm's length. The circumstances which gave rise to this cause were as follows:—The plaintiff had lent the defendant money, with which he had bought a ship. The plaintiff also freighted that ship from Trieste to Guadaloupe, and had provided also a freight at Guadaloupe back again to Trieste. Critico performed the voyage, and took in the lading, and was on his return home, when he was intercepted by the Brit. ship, the Lapwing, and carried into St. Kitt's, where the ship and cargo were condemned as enemy's property. From that sentence he appealed, and the appeal was heard before the lords of the council, in this country, and the sentence of the admiralty court was reversed. In consequence of this reversal, the captors were obliged to make restitution; but, as the goods were sold, they could not be restored, except in value. He accordingly had received from the agents here, the sum of £4163. which sum he was bound to account for to the owner of the cargo, the present plaintiff; he however dishonestly refused to pay it over, but rather chose to waste it in a jail. The action had been before the court on a former occasion, when the defence set up was, that he was entitled to retain a part of it as a part of the cargo his own private adventure, and that the ship was totally his own. As they could not then give distinct evidence how the gross sum ought to be proportioned, his lordship was of opinion that the form of action could not be sustained, but that the plaintiff must be non-suited. They now, however, could distinctly ascertain, by his own affidavit, how much was his share of the cargo; and having proved that, the residue must of course be the property of the plaintiff.—The affidavit alluded to of Critico, was accordingly put in and read, in which he claimed a part, as his private adventure; but, on reference to the bill of sales, from the admiralty court,

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St. Kitt's, it appeared, that it was the cargo only, which that accounted for, and that the private adventure and value of the ship were not accounted for there, consequently that the whole received under that, was the proceeds of the cargo of the plaintiff. The agent of the house of Benucci and Co. at Trieste, proved that Critico had also received £372. from them, on account of the plaintiff, while he remained here prosecuting his claim before the privy council.—The agent of the prize agent also proved, that he had paid Critico £3593. 17s. 3d. pursuant to the sentence of the lords reversing the judgment of the court of admiralty; these two sums made an amount of £4165. 17s. 3d. with which the defendant stood charged. —Mr. Parke, for the defendant, made a very able speech, in which he represented him as an Asiatic, totally unacquainted with our manners; that he felt he had a claim to a part of this property, and not knowing how here to prosecute his claim, he refused to give up what he had received until it was adjusted. With respect to his going to prison, the plaintiff had arrested him for £4000. and, as a total stranger here, he knew not where to find bail, and therefore of necessity was obliged to go to prison. Mr. Parke then commented on several parts of Mr. Erskine's speech, and observed that there was no proof that his ship was purchased with the money of the plaintiff; on the contrary, it appeared on the face of the admiralty proceedings, that he was sole owner. He then claimed freight, agency for three years in recovering the ship and cargo, and law expences, to be deducted by his client from the gross sum which he had received.—As Critico made the claim on behalf of himself, as well as his owner, his allowances for agency, law expences, &c. were calculated upon a deduction according to the amount of his interest. —Verdict for plaintiff for £3200.

York Assizes.—*Breach of Promise of Marriage.* —*Storey* v. *Eagle.*—Mr. Serjeant Heywood stated the case of the plaintiff; he observed, that of all the wounds which can be given to the feelings of an individual, the one which is perhaps the most severely felt, is that injury for which his client now sought for compensation. She was, it was true, in a very humble situation in life, a maid-servant to Mr. Stockdale of Knaresborough; but the feelings of the humblest individual are not wantonly and barbarously to be outraged, nor solemn promises to be broken, without giving that individual a right to appeal to a jury for a compensation adequate to the injury sustained. It was not merely to recover damages that his client brought the present action, but also to vindicate her character, which she found might suffer from so sudden and unaccountable a desertion as she has experienced from the man who had publicly professed himself her lover, and courted her for two years, and yet quitted her the day before that which was appointed for their marriage. The defendant in this action was also himself in an humble situation in life; he had been an hostler in the town of Knaresborough when first he began his courtship, but is now an innkeeper in that town, and worth 600*l.* by his own confession. Among the letters she had received from him lately, was the following:—"*Dear Mary*,—This is to you whom I love more than life. I am as sincere in this as if I was at the hour of my death, confessing to my Creator. But what nonsense is it to talk at present of either death or my Creator, when I am addressing myself to you, who are the centre of all my wishes? All that I have is yours, and all that I ask heaven to grant is, that I may see the happy day when I may call you mine. I am your humble servant, and most sincere lover, *Robert Eagle.*"

The plaintiff, who was at first averse to his suit, certainly had consented to it at last; the day of marriage had been fixed, and preparations made for it, when the defendant suddenly, and without reason, changed his mind, married a girl then resident at Harrowgate, and has now set up an inn at Knaresborough.—Ellen Sly was the principal witness for the plaintiff. She had known her for the last two years. The witness washed for Mr. Stockdale during the whole of that time; and almost every washing-day she had seen the defendant by the side of the plaintiff's tub, paying his addresses to her. He appeared to be sincerely in love with her, and often talked of marriage, but at length told her of his taking the house, and consulted her about the furniture and provisions he was to lay in, and whether it was best to get corn or flour. At that time the marriage seemed very near, when he told the witness that he was in a very distressing situation: there was a d—d girl at Harrowgate to whom he had promised marriage before two witnesses, and who vowed she would prosecute him if he did not keep his promise. He accordingly went to Harrowgate, and on his return told the witness he had settled with that girl, and asked if Mary (the plaintiff) would marry him the next day. The witness bid him ask Mary;—he accordingly did so; and the plaintiff that day gave her mistress warning, and gave the witness a gown, petticoat, and pair of stockings, to be washed against the next day, and made some other little preparations for her approaching nuptials. Before the next day came, the defendant disappeared, and in a day or two after married the Harrowgate girl. About a fortnight after he paid a visit to the witness, with whom the plaintiff was then sitting; the plaintiff told him, "She would be glad to wish him joy, but his bad behaviour would not allow her." The defendant said, "he was very sorry, and would make her any compensation in his power." Mrs. Sly said, he ought to give her thirty guineas: he replied, "She will never take that." Mary then burst out a crying, and left the house; the defendant followed and overtook her, and the next day told the witness she had cried a great deal, and he was extremely sorry for her.—One *Pierry*, a servant of Mr. Stockdale's, proved that the defendant had applied to him to procure a licence, and that the plaintiff had made preparations for the marriage; and, in particular, had borrowed linen and other things from him.—On his cross-examination, he was asked why those things were borrowed only? he answered, because the marriage bore a very *rumplush* kind of appearance. Being requested to explain the meaning of the word *rumplush*, he said the defendant did not know his own mind, and therefore it was a doubt whether the marriage would take place or not.—Mr. Park said, that although this little ale-house which the defendant had taken at Knaresborough, was, for the purposes of this cause, swelled into a *great inn*, and it was attempted to insinuate, that the defendant was a man of property; yet, in truth and in fact, he was a poor man now, and

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had been an humble hostler when first he paid his devotions at the shrine of his adoration, the *wash-tub* of the plaintiff in this action: his client was a most unfortunate poor devil, and he trusted the jury would not, by giving heavy damages in this silly case, immure him in a jail for the rest of his days. For two long years his client had paid his addresses, and offered his sincere love, at the plaintiff's *wash-tub;* all that while the scornful *lady of the suds* refused his suit, and treated him with ineffable contempt; at length, wearied of her scorn, in a moment of despair and vexation, he talked of love and marriage to the Harrowgate girl, and, unfortunately for him, before two witnesses: in the mean time, the scornful beauty who brought the present action, hearing that he was going to take a house, and had some money, she immediately relaxed from her wonted cruelty, and consented to be his bride.—What was his poor client to do in such a dilemma? On the one hand, there was a most unexpected consent from the scornful *nymph of the suds*, who exclusively possessed his heart, and on the other, that *d—d Harrowgate girl*, as he had called her, with her two witnesses, threatening him with prosecution and a jail if he did not marry her. Was ever man (to use the expression of the witness) in such a *numplush?* Indeed, if the jury were to give much encouragement to these actions, every maid-servant in England would be bringing her action; for all of them have had, no doubt, in their turn, nonsense talked to them by idle fellows about love and marriage, and in the presence of some or *Sly*.—Lord Ellenborough said, that it had been clearly proved that the defendant had, both by his conduct, and by his express promise, raised expectations which he had defrauded, and hopes which he had deceived: the jury were, therefore, bound to give compensation in damages for the injury so received from the defendant by the plaintiff.—The jury, after a few minutes consideration, found for the plaintiff —50*l.* damages.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

Before Lord Alvanley and a Special Jury. (Breach of Promise of Marriage.) *Hand* v. *Kisten*.—Mr. serj. Cockel stated, that his client was a young lady who sought redress for one of the most cruel injuries that could be offered to her sex. She resided at Harbro' with her brother, a respectable tradesman in that town. The defendant was put apprentice to Mr. Hand, and in the course of some years a mutual affection sprung up between him and Miss Hand. An *eclaircissement* at last took place, and the lovers vowed eternal constancy. The term of the defendant's apprenticeship was now nearly expired, and he resolved to try his fortune in London. After a tender parting he accordingly set out. Miss Hand was much depressed, and her fears of the dissipation of the metropolis proved to have been prophetic. For some time, however, he remained true to his promises. He wrote her affectionate letters, and having seen her once in town, he testified all the fondness for her which had formerly marked his passion when at its height. But when he ought to have led her to the altar he forgot his plighted troth, and drew back from his sacred engagements. She was thus disappointed in her views of future happiness, and held up to the ridicule of all her acquaintance. The learned serjeant added many other particulars, and described in the most glowing terms the ill usage which Miss Hand had received. The evidence consisted chiefly of the letters which the defendant had wrote from London to his mistress at Harbro'. These occasioned infinite merriment. In the first place, they disclosed the fact that Mr. Kisten was a *journeyman tallow-chandler*. In painting the ardour of his attachment, he likewise borrowed many terms from his art. Although it appeared that he was not always in a *melting mood*, he talks of his soul being *dissolved*, of being *dipped* in wretchedness; of his heart being *cast in a delicate mould*, of the *store* of happiness which he conceived was awaiting him; of his love *burning clear;* of his liver being consumed like the *wick of a candle;* of his fears lest her passion died away like the *flame in the socket of a candlestick*, &c. &c. There was one passage which afforded peculiar amusement, as it reminded every one of the stile of a noble marquis, who, after painting the ardour of his passion, stops suddenly short to descant upon the price of wheat in Reading market. "My love (says Mr. Kisten), my angel, my HAND, when shall we be joined together, and mix *like wax and spermaceti?* By the bye, I have bad news for your brother. Tallow is as high as ever, and at present there is a prospect of its rising higher still. As such, he cannot do better than buy any that comes in his way?" From an able cross-examination, it came out that this disconsolate virgin a 37 years of age, and the fickle swain might almost be her son.—Mr. serj. Best addressed the jury in behalf of the defendant with his usual acumen and pathos. He allowed that the young man had acted very indiscreetly, but strenuously contended that the plaintiff had no reason to complain. He thought it unnecessary to call any witnesses, as it already appeared that the match was quite disproportionate, and that if it had taken place, it could have produced nothing but misery.—Lord Alvanley observed to the jury, that though cases of this kind were often very serious, yet that the present could scarcely be considered of such a complexion. From the rupture that took place, Miss Hand could scarcely be supposed to have been deprived of much happiness. Where the ages of the parties were so unequal, and where there had been no consent of parents, little could be expected but discord and misery. However, the lady had met with a disappointment, and was certainly entitled to some compensation. Verdict for the plaintiff—damages £.100,

HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY, DOCTORS' COMMONS.

Captors of the Carolina Planter v. *Bell, of Guernsey, and others. (Aug. 7.)*—Yesterday a court of admiralty was held in Doctors' Commons, when the above long pending cause came on again to be argued. It appeared that, at the commencement of the late war, the ship Carolina Planter, of about 400 tons burthen, laden with a very valuable cargo of claret wines, brandies, &c. ostensibly bound to Hamburgh, but really for Guernsey, was taken in the English Channel by the Cheerful Molly, cutter privateer, the property of Mr. James Sheriff, mercht, and carried in there. It also appeared that the cargo was consigned to Mr. Bell, who resided at Guernsey, some of the casks being marked with his name: that Mr. Bell had claimed the ship and cargo at Guernsey, imprisoned the capt. and prize-master, and dispossessed them of the ship's papers: that the capt. had in

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signed his consent to a release of the ship and cargo, and bound himself in a heavy penalty not to proceed to adjudication. The owner, at this time being in England, as soon as he was enabled, protested against the illegal proceedings of all the parties; in defence of which Mr. Bell has contended these 9 years. He, however, being called on to the amount for the value of this cargo, by order of the court, exhibited his, and 16 or 17 other affidavits of principal wine-merchants in London, to whom Mr. Bell had re-shipped the greater part of these wines. Drs. Lawrence and Arnold appeared on behalf of Mr. Bell and the merchants; and contended, that as these gents. had sworn they had no knowledge of any proceedings being had in the court on these wines, and having received them into their general stock, and disposed of them indiscriminately, and also declaring, on their oaths, they could not ascertain their value at this distant period of time, and render an account of their proceeds, they ought to be dismissed the court, especially Mr. Bell, who had already paid his share in on oath. Sir J. Nicholl and Dr. Swabey appeared on behalf of the captors, and conjured the court to pronounce its solemn judgment; and allowing the capt. of the privateer's conduct to have been highly reprehensible in surrendering the ship and cargo to Mr. Bell, after being sent into Guernsey as prize, the owners of the privateer were entitled to the protection of the court from the effects of such a proceeding; in short, the captors had experienced sufficient punishment from the capt.'s misconduct, by a combination of oppressive circumstances that had borne severely hard on them, on account of this long and expensive litigation. The court could not but perceive, from the very nature of the affidavits, that the parties were still trifling with it, and that they were framed in a very cautious, but questionable shape. The court, most certainly, had long ago recommended the parties to an amicable adjustment of the business, by arbitration of counsel and merchants; to this recommendation the captors had bowed implicit obedience in every honourable way, but to no effect: the court was therefore called on in justice to decide on this very extraordinary case, on the face of which it plainly appeared a trade was carrying on with the enemy from Bourdeaux to Guernsey, under neutral colours, and must of course render the cargo in question liable to confiscation. After urging these, and many other arguments, in a clear point of view, the learned judge, Sir W. Scott, with his usual ability, commented on the different evidence before the court, and prefaced it by severely censuring the conduct of the capt. of the privateer, after taking possession of this ship and cargo as prize, by consenting to a release, a power he could not exercise when within the jurisdiction of the admiralty. As to the affidavits before the court, he was totally at a loss to imagine on what grounds the parties had not been able to render an account of the proceeds equally with Mr. Bell, who re-shipped these wines to them; he, no doubt, could have materially assisted them, had they applied to him; if not, the court cannot but suppose that all merchants keep an account of such shipments, to which, by reference, memory may at all times be strengthened. The learned judge concluded by strongly commenting on the tenor and similarity of the affidavits; and no neutral claimant appearing, condemned the whole cargo, subject to a valuation of the registry of merchants, and ordered monitions to be issued against those in Guernsey, who had acted in contempt of a former order of court.

OLD BAILEY, ADMIRALTY SESSIONS.

Tuesday, Oct. 26.—Brig Adventure.—Wm. Codling, John Read, John Easterby, and Wm. M'Farlane, were indicted for wilfully and feloniously destroying the brig Adventure, bound from London to the Mediterranean, off Brighthelmstone, on the coast of Sussex, on the 8th day of August last. There were a variety of counts, charging this offence on Codling, as the captain of the vessel, Read, as supercargo, and M'Farlane and Easterby, as owners of the vessel, with intention to defraud certain underwriters, named in the indictment, of £.700, for which the cargo had been insured by them.—Mr. Marryatt opened the proceedings, and Mr. Garrow addressed the jury. He observed, that the indictment charged Codling and Read with being the acting principals in the destruction of the vessel, and M'Farlane and Easterby with procuring them to do so. This was an offence made capital in law, and when the jury reflected that in it was involved the life or death of four of their fellow creatures, they must consider it, in that point of view, as a case of very great importance. It was also of infinite importance to the community at large, inasmuch as it involved the vital interest of this great commercial country. The policy of our laws not only allowed, but protected the insurance of property, by which these risks and losses, which might be too heavy for individuals, were distributed amongst many, and thus came with less pressure in cases of mishap. In England alone, where commerce had arrived at so astonishing a degree of eminence, was it, that a certain, though a comparatively small, number of persons carried on the business of insuring from risk, not only our commerce, but also that of foreign countries; but there would be an end of those beneficial institutions, if frauds and crimes, of the nature they would now have to decide upon, were not fully guarded against, and very severely punished. All that was further required of him was to explain the nature of the case, and make it intelligible; to describe the sort of evidence he was instructed to bring forward; and, lastly, to conclude with some few general observations. The guilt of destroying the ship, though personally performed by Codling and Read, was equally imputed to them, as would appear by the statement he had to lay before them. It had been purchased at a public sale in May or June last, at which time it should seem that the owners, Easterby and M'Farlane, had this fraud in contemplation, from a variety of circumstances. It sailed from London for Yarmouth, in July, under the prisoner Codling; and though the owners had insured it with different underwriters, it was short of freight, and had 15 tons of ballast. A person of the name of Storrow was then supercargo, but quitting the ship at Yarmouth on account of a rheumatic complaint, was succeeded in his employment by Read, one of the prisoners. By the departure of this man, the vessel was also without a mate, and the capt. instead of looking out for a person duly qualified, offered that birth to Cooper, then a common sailor before the mast. Cooper feeling himself inadequate to the task, from his being ignorant of navigation, told him so; but the capt. said, it would be sufficient if he behaved to

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his satisfaction; upon which Cooper was appointed. Upon sailing from the Downs, the master told his mate that the ship was in no condition to go through the Bay of Biscay, and would soon be destroyed. He added, that he was himself a clumsy fellow, unable to go down the ship's side to bore a hole in the bottom, and commissioned his mate to perform that service for him, telling him he would find an auger in the cabin for that purpose. He then took the helm himself, and employed the rest of the crew aloft in handing the sails, that they might not hear what was going forward. Cooper went down and bored three holes, when the rushing in of the water being heard by some of the crew, the capt. said it was no more than the beating of the water against the ship's side. Read, he must confess, had taken no active part in this transaction, though, as he must have heard it, being in bed near the locker, it was evident that this office of supercargo was meant to superintend the destruction of the ship. In order to give a more free admission to the water, the mate was ordered down again to make a larger hole, and to take out the auger which remained in one of the holes already made, which he accordingly did, and they all got into the boat, where, by the positive injunctions of the capt. nothing was admitted but four oars, and plenty of tholes, between which, in rowing, the oars are always inserted. It may be asked of him, how he could prove all this? Cooper, who should be called before them, undoubtedly stood in the light of an accomplice; he did not mean to represent him as an innocent man, and if the case was left to his evidence alone, it would be going too far for any jury to convict the prisoners. If, on the other hand, his evidence should be strongly confirmed, he would then stand before them as a competent and credible witness, and the jury would have only to ask themselves the question, whether they believed the evidence or not? He was well assured he would be enabled to build Cooper up, and surround him with a rampart and a tower of confirmation, so that his credibility could not be effectually assailed. This tower of confirmation would be built upon the conduct of Codling, who, before the crew took to the boat, made the signal of a ship in distress, upon which some of the look-out boats, which always surround the different coasts of England, immediately came up. This, however, was somewhat too soon to answer the capt.'s purpose; because the skill and intrepedity of these assistant mariners would, no doubt, at that time, have effectually saved the ship. He and the mate got into the vessel again, broad trimmed the sails, and put the helm about, as if endeavouring to steer it into port. When the Brighton boats came along side, Codling desired them to keep off, saying, the ship was his, that he would stick to it to the last, and that they must not come on board before he left it; that it was in vain to do any thing, for the vessel must go to the bottom. He would leave it to the intelligent jury he was addressing, whether this was the conduct of a man who thought himself in danger, and who wished to preserve either the vessel or the cargo? A govt cutter then came up, which assuming more authority, endeavoured to get the ship, then on her broadside, to rights, by throwing a hawser on her; but their efforts were in vain, and she went to the bottom. After the vessel was cast away, or destroyed in the manner just described, the crew repaired to Brighton, and put up at the Old Ship Tavern. The news soon reached London, and suspicion of foul play arising, Mr. Douglas, an intelligent gent. was dispatched by the underwriters to Brighton, where Easterby and M'Farlane had arrived before him. It was evident, he said, that if Cooper had thus scuttled the vessel without the knowledge and the direction of the capt. the latter would have remained at Brighton to have superintended things upon the spot. Instead of this, however, Read took a place for him in the stage, under the feigned name of Postardo; and on his arrival in London, he wrote back to Read, that, pursuant to his orders, he was going to Colchester to seek for the packet, or bye-boat, or even a collier, in which he might leave the kingdom, and proceed to Hamburgh. By the activity and vigilance of Mr. Levie, this letter was intercepted, and Mr. Douglas, in order to trace Codling, proceeded to Harwich, but could hear no account of any such name. He then took a boat and went in pursuit of the packet, but on overtaking it, could learn of no such man as Codling on board. He, however, heard of a Mr. Postgate, no longer Postardo, who, on being produced, turned out to be the very identical man he was in quest of. If all these facts were made out, and it should also be proved that the rest of the crew were not suffered by the capt. to go down while Cooper was busy in making the holes, he knew not what sort of charity even could make the jury hesitate about the guilt of Codling. They would next have to consider the circumstances which regarded Easterby and M'Farlane, the two owners. The offence charged against them was, their having procured Codling to destroy the ship to the prejudice of the underwriters. Here he conceived abundant proofs would be found in the facts of the cargo itself. This was employed for a particular purpose. The object of the two owners manifestly was to procure such a cargo of goods as would give a colour to their transactions, and enable them to recover. Upon this cargo they had actually insured to the amount of £.9000, and attempted, in various places, insurances as high as £.13,000. In order to recover from the underwriters, it was necessary that the invoices should be produced, and the liberal conduct prevailing between the gentlemen at Lloyd's and the merchant of London, made the production of these invoices generally sufficient; but where suspicion was excited, the bills of lading must necessarily be brought forward. In this instance, the two proprietors procured fabricated invoices, charging the goods at 30 or 40 per cent. above their real value. Codling was involved in these bills of lading, which he signed, though he must have known perfectly well that the goods were never on board. He also passed his cockets at the custom-house, and got a manifest on the inventory of goods, which to his knowledge were taken out by Easterby: but, supposing Codling to be entirely out of the case, the two owners were to account for their false certificates. On this subject Mr. Storrow's evidence would be very material. If he were asked why, in order to render their fraud more profitable, they had not filled their vessel with merely all lumber, instead of goods, he could assign two reasons for it: 1st, because all the crew could not be entrusted with the secret: and, 2dly, because they expected the vessel might go to Gibraltar, and the capt. from thence furnish two

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accounts, the one for themselves, and the other, a false one, for the underwriters, which would enable them to sue for a partial loss. It is ever the fate of knavery to have a due proportion of folly mingled with it. Such was the case here; for Brighton, so surrounded by fishing and other boats, was one of the worst places in the world for practising, with success, any villainy of this kind. This was soon felt by Easterby, and impressed by him in a conversation which he thought was not overheard by any other parties but those who were interested, wherein he said to Codling, "You made a d—n'd bungling job of this; why not sink her on the coast of France, from which the boat may go to either shore?" The remark was very just, for had the capt. been cunning enough to have done that on the coast of France which he did at Brighton, no further inquiry could well have taken place, and the underwriters would have of course been defrauded, while the offenders must have escaped with impunity. Easterby then inquired of Cooper whether the hole was of the size of the handle of a carpenter's chisel which lay on the floor in the room? and being answered in the affirmative, he desired to sharpen the end of the handle, that he may plug it so as not to be perceived, should the ship come to land, which there was every appearance of its doing. The next circumstance would shew, beyond contradiction, that Lloyd's coffee-house was the port and market for which the ship was destined; as, no sooner could they get pen and ink, than M'Farlane and Easterby set about making an abandonment. If this had been a fair transaction, none of the crew were entitled to any wages, notwithstanding which they were all paid; and Easterby directed Cooper to come to London, and keep himself close, because, should he be taken, sentence of death would pass upon him. Notwithstanding their cockets, bills of lading, and manifest, yet the goods described in them were not on board, but in M'Farlane's dwelling-house, from which they were conveyed to the lodgings of the sister of a lady who was then connected with him, M'Farlane observing that it would be odd and dangerous if they were found in his house. Easterby staid for some time longer in Brighton, and was, together with Read, examined before a magistrate in the country, by whom they were discharged. After the intercepted letter from Codling, it was thought right that he should be apprehended, and the means he took to avoid it were not those of a man relying on his innocence; for though it would be proved that he remained at the time at home, he was inquired for in vain on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, when he found himself under the necessity of surrendering. He contrasted this behaviour with the conduct of the mate, Cooper, who freely surrendered at his mother's house at Saxmundham, as soon as he had been inquired after. There was an additional circumstance of something more than suspicion in the goods of considerable value found in the dwelling-houses of two of the prisoners. One of the witnesses to this point was certainly a very unwilling one, being a woman connected with M'Farlane, whose evidence they could not have, only she happened not to be his wife. A great part of these goods consisted of silver and plated articles, which Easterby took out and unpacked himself, saying there were other goods to mix with them, after which one debenture was taken for the whole. They were first contained in one large packet, but afterwards divided into five small ones, for the purpose, as Easterby said, of being more conveniently stowed in the lockers. These packages, however, were not found when the wrecked vessel came on shore, and it would be proved to them that Easterby was seen at the ship's side at night conveying them home, and that they were afterwards shipped on board the William, one of his own vessels, for the East Indies. Upon the whole, it would be found that the cargo shipped on board the Adventure was not worth more than £.3000 ar £.4000 at the utmost, though the insurance actually made upon it was £.9000, and would have been £.13,000, only for some suspicions which arose in the mind of the broker. After having said thus much, when he considered who were the gents. he had the honour to address, he would not attempt to impress upon them how much it was their duty, if after hearing the evidence, any rational doubt should press upon their minds, to let the prisoners have the full benefit of it.

T. Cooper deposed that he entered as a private before the mast on board the Adventure. J. Douglas was at that time mate, and the crew consisted of himself, the capt. the mate, and two boys. Mr. Storrow used to come backward and forward, and sailed with them to Yarmouth. They took in 22 hogsheads of tobacco, some linen, and 12 or 13 tons of ballast, previously to their first sailing to Deal, where they arrived in safety. Douglas quitted the ship there in consequence of being afflicted, as he said, with the rheumatism. Storrow also left it, and was succeeded by Mr. Read, as supercargo. At Deal they took in some cases. Codling offered witness the place of mate, vacant by the absence of Douglas. Witness said, he was not qualified for it, but the capt. replied, that as long as he pleased him that would be enough. They sailed in 5 or 6 days, and had a boat, into which the capt. gave strict orders that nothing should be admitted but 4 oars and plenty of tholes. On the Friday before the vessel was sunk, the capt. said they should not be in the ship 48 hours. On Saturday he further said, that was the last night they should be in her; that he did not think her fit to carry through the bay, adding, "I do not think her life-trusty of my life or yours, and why should she be so of any other man's?" Witness was then on the quarter-deck, and the master at the helm, whom he relieved, and the latter went below. On his return, in about a quarter of an hour, he said to the witness, "Go down, you'll find an auger lying on the cabin floor, which you will carry with you, and after taking up the hatches and scuttle, to get at it more conveniently, you will bore a hole as close as possible to the run." He went accordingly, and found a new auger. With this, he thinks, he bored three holes, and left it behind him, sticking in one of them. The capt. in his opinion, might have got into the place himself, but not so conveniently as he could. When he came on deck, he told what he had done to the capt. who replied, "Very well, let them stand till daylight." On Sunday morning, by order of the capt. the cabin-boy was not allowed to come down and breakfast in the cabin as usual, and he pulled the auger out of the hole in which he left it. The capt. then wanted to find a mawl, to make the holes larger, as they did not seem to let in the water fast enough; when the witness reminding him of the crow-bar, he said, "Aye, that

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is the very thing." They then went down together, and the capt. lent a hand to fasten down the lockers, that the hole might be enlarged. The witness struck the bar through the bottom, and the water rushed in rapidly. Read was in his bed very near the place where the holes were made, and witness heard him turn himself several times. He might not, however, have heard the boring, as it made little or no noise. Witness called him, and he got up, but returned to bed again before the hole was enlarged with the crow-bar, and though he might not see the hole, he might easily hear the water running in. The smallest hole was kept open, that the ship might seem leaky, and the pumps be kept going. Read was on deck at the precise time the hole was enlarged by means of the crow-bar, and the boys were not permitted to go to bed. The signal of distress was made, and the boat put out before the water came up to the deck. He had packed up his things, and put them into a bread-bag, on Friday, when the capt. said they should not remain on board 48 hours, and at the same time bid him not say any thing about the matter. While the hole was making with the crow-bar the crew were kept close taking in sail, so that they could neither see nor hear what was going forward. Read was up at 8 o'clock in the morning, and several boats surrounded the ship on the appearance of the distress signal. They asked us if we wanted any assistance, saying they were ready to tow us into harbour. The capt. said, the ship belonged to him as long as she could swim, and they had no business with her. He had no doubt but the vessel went down in consequence of the holes that were made in her bottom. Read's trunk was taken on board at Deal, and taken away the next day, together with his bed, the witness helping to remove them into the boat, and they were not brought on board any more. While it was on board, it appeared to be full of linen. When the crew went on shore at Brighton, they repaired to the Old Ship tavern. Easterby and M'Farlane came down there, as he thinks, on Tuesday, and the former asked him where he had bored the hole, and what was the size of it? The prisoner replied he could not exactly tell. He then asked again, whether it was as large as the handle of a carpenter's chisel which lay in the room? And the prisoner answering in the affirmative, or thereabout, he bid him take out the handle and sharpen it, to plug the hole in case the ship should come on shore, which it was then likely to do, as it was driving hard that way. Easterby then said, "Codling is a d—d fool, and has made a bungling job of it; he should have sunk the ship on the coast of France, and as the weather is fine, the boat might have been taken to either shore." Read and Codling were by when these words were spoken, loud enough to be heard by every person present. The two owners then ordered the capt. and witness to go to London together and take private lodgings, telling me that if I did not keep close I should be under sentence of death. Read then gave the witness a note with directions where to find M'Farlane's house in London, after which he received 9 shillings wages, and a guinea to bear his expences. He came to London in the coach with one of the boys. Read had bespoken places for him and the capt. but the latter being called back by a gent. the boy was sent in his place. The pump had been worked when the water was let in. One of the boys made an observation, on which the capt. bid him go along—that it was only beating against the run; he, however, at the same time told the witness to go down and see what was the matter, but first jogged and whispered him to say nothing. After being some time at the Dark-house, he walked to his mother's at Saxmundham, in Suffolk, as he began to want money, and failed in his endeavours to get a ship. The next day after his going down, having heard that he was inquired for about sinking a ship, he sent for Mr. Archkettle, the headborough, surrendered to him, and told the whole truth of the story. Cross-examined by Mr. Fielding—he said, he made no doubt of the vessel having sunk in consequence of the holes made in her bottom. He heard in the country that there was 100 guineas offered for his apprehension, but he did not know it while in London, or he would have surrendered himself, and so far from having any notion that the reward would come to him, he gave himself up sooner than any one should have it. He knew that he had done wrong, and repented of his crime. When he was brought to London in a post-chaise, he was examined before the lord mayor, and told the same story he did now. He has been in the compter ever since, and Mr. Levie there. He professed himself very willing to suffer for his offence, if the court thought he deserved it; but, at all events, he was determined to speak nothing but the truth. The ship, he said, was six or seven miles from Brighton at the time the signal of distress was made. He never got any thing by way of reward from capt. Codling, except a new coat; but received no money, or any promise of any.

John Morris sworn.—I was an apprentice to Mr. Storrow, who went as supercargo on board the Adventure. I went on board her when she was in the river. I have seen Mr. Easterby come to the ship, sometimes in the morning, before and after breakfast, and sometimes in the evening. When the packages came, I saw some of them opened, for there were stores for the ship's use, packed up in blue and brown paper; they might be about 14 or 15 lbs. weight. I saw Mr. Easterby again, but I did not see him take any thing away after that time. Then we went to Yarmouth, where some bread, flour, and peasc, were taken from the Adventure, to the ship William, which belongs to Mr. Easterby and Mr. M'Farlane, but this was while she was in the river. I know Mr. Blagden, the lighterman, he came to the ship; we went to Yarmouth, and returned to the Downs. Mr. Storrow went as supercargo in the Adventure, but he went out of her in the Downs. G. Kennedy was another apprentice to Mr. Storrow, as well as me; Mr. Read came in the place of Mr. Storrow in the Downs: Mr. Read brought with him a bag, a trunk, and a small bale of goods; when we sailed from the Downs, it was 3 or 4 days afterwards before we came to Brighton: I recollect the night before the ship sunk. I was cabin-boy, and generally prepared breakfast. The chief part of my duty was in the cabin. On Sunday, when the ship sunk, Mr. Codling, my master, sent me for his great coat: it was about 10 o'clock, to the best of my knowledge; the coat was in one of the cabin-lockers, which were then all safe and entire. The ceiling was also, to the best of my knowledge, entire. I got the great coat,

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took it up the hatches of the scuttle, and I eard the water rushing in; then I told Mr. Cod-ng, that I thought there was a leak there; Mr. odling said there was no such thing, and sent me orward to the fore part of the ship: we had one f the pumps going then: there were two pumps n board the ship: about 4 or 5 o'clock I went o the other pump, for I knew where the geers f the pumps were. G. Kennedy, my fellow-apprentice, was told by one of the crew to fetch he geer of the pump, and he was going for it, ut Mr. Codling hauled him up, as he had got a ep down the companion ladder. The water was en gaining very fast upon us. I generally breakasted in the cabin, after my master had done, but at morning I had my breakfast upon the deck. I id not attend my master that morning; he said the ate would do all that was wanting. The mate anded me my breakfast that morning upon the eck. We had a crow-bar on the aft-deck: it was aken from that place to the cabin: I did not go own to the cabin after the crow-bar was taken here: I did offer to go down for the breakfast, ut Mr. Codling prevented me; he said the mate would do all that was necessary. We kept pumpng at last with the two pumps. After we had all ot into the boat, except the mate and the capt. the apt. hoisted the flag of distress while we were long-side. We had been pumping I dare say 3 or hours. The water was gaining upon us very fast efore the signal was hoisted. Boats came from righton to our assistance—when they came they aid "they would take care of the ship," and the apt. said, they had no business with the ship until e had given her up: that they had no business to ake her, for he had not done with her. They aid they would take her in tow, and engage to ow her in. The custom-house cutter came afterards; the capt. would not let them take her, until he custom-house cutter came: when she came, he vessel righted, and then went down, only her op-gallant-mast being above water. When the utter came, Mr. Read said, he wished she might ink, for that otherwise the thieves would plunder er—he meant by thieves, the people in the boat: e all got on shore together in the cutter—was 2 r 3 days on shore at the Ship inn. Mr. M'Farlane aid, that one of us must go up to London, and he other was to stay. He said this about 7 o'clock; did not know that Kennedy was to go in the morning. Mr. M'Farlane came, and said that Kenedy was to go away. Mr. Codling came first to ur room, and then Mr. M'Farlane came and said hat one of us was to go to London. I did not go with Kennedy to the coach; I went about 9 o'clock n the morning that Mr. Codling ordered the coach for me.

John Lacey sworn.—I shipped myself at Deal n board the Adventure, two days after she left the Downs. A 8 o'clock in the morning of the Sunday, we came to Brighton; T. Cooper was her mate; he slept at the forecastle. On the Saturday night, Cooper, instead of being at his birth in the forecastle, was backwards and forwards in the cabin with capt. Codling. I was of the captain's watch; I went aft to take the helm, as I usually did; the capt. said, that he would keep it, and employed me in taking in the top-gallant sails, and hauling in the gib. I remember the pump being tried, for we made more water than usual. I saw the new chisel which the capt. brought from Deal. When I had sounded the well, I found an auger there. When we hoisted our flag, several vessels came and asked the capt. if they should take her in tow? They said it was a shocking thing, and asked the captain if they should take her n tow? The capt. said, "keep off, I have not done with her yet." This was after we had all quitted the vessel. She was then upon her beam ends. The Swallow packet came, and then the capt. gave her up.

E. Storrow examined.—I have been acquainted with Mr. Easterby 17 or 18 years, when I became apprentice to him; I have sailed in his employment as master of a vessel; he made application to me to sail in the ship Adventure, in May last. I had undertaken to become supercargo in the ship Adventure; I had, occasionally, conversations with Mr. Easterby, and Mr. M'Farlane, who was present at a conversation which took place a few days before the ship sailed. To the best of my recollection, it was about 3 weeks before the ship sailed; it was in the parlour, at Mr. Easterby's house, in Canada-wharf. He said that he had no doubt many ships had been sunk, and might be, and the underwriters taken in for the money. The conversation then was on the possibility of such things being done. This was after they had applied to me to attend on board the ship. I had a conversation, 3 or 4 days before the ship sailed, with Mr. Easterby: I did not dine with him, but went after dinner; I found Codling, Easterby, and M'Farlane together. In general, Mr. Easterby spoke: he said, he wished the ship to proceed from London to Yarmouth, and from Yarmouth to Gibraltar, there to sell the whole cargo, either by private contract or public sale; after this was done, he thought the opportunity might be taken, in the Mediterranean, to sink the ship, and the people might take to the boats and get ashore, and one half of the bills of the proceeds of the cargo might be stated in private letters, and the other half in public letters, in order that those which were called public letters, should be shewn to the underwriters as the proceeds of the whole, when in fact it was only half, in order to obtain the amount of the insurance for the whole, and the supercargo was to do this, when I was understood to be the supercargo: this was all in the presence of the capt. Codling and Mr. M'Farlane. M'Farlane said, occasionally, that such a thing might do. Codling was then the master engaged for the voyage, he mixt occasionally in the conversation, and supposed it might do: the cargo, or a great part of it, I understood at that time, to have been shipped in the Adventure. I never meant to proceed in the ship from the first engagement: my reason for appearing to comply, was to endeavour to have some former accounts between Mr. Easterby and me settled. I went in the ship from Gravesend as supercargo: I had the invoices from Mr. Easterby, and I delivered them back to Mr. Easterby at Deal. I wrote to Easterby from Yarmouth, and told him I did not mean to sail from thence in the ship. I afterwards went to the Downs, and saw Easterby at the inn, there I finally quitted the ship, and delivered up the invoices to Easterby, at Deal.

Capt. Douglas examined.—I got to Brighton on the 10th of Aug. I saw the ship Adventure there; only a part of her mast was above water. I went to her; I went again on shore, and saw Mr. M'Farlane, Mr. Easterby, and Mr. Read. I shewed them the authority I had from the underwriters to inquire how the ship sunk, and said, it was ne-

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cessary to detain the capt. and the crew for the purpose of assisting me to get her on shore to save the cargo: but I mentioned no other reason at the time. Mr. Read took his watch out of his pocket, said it was part of the cargo, and offered to resign it to me, saying, he had no right to it, for it was part of the property of the underwriters. I then went with Mr. Smith, when it was endeavoured to get the ship up by the boatmen, and others who lived at Brighton; they worked at it the whole day, and I came on shore, and remained at Brighton the rest of the day, taking notice of what they were about with the vessel, but took no active part myself. On the Wednesday morning I went to the place where the stage-coaches go off, and I saw M'Farlane and Read walking together: they informed me that capt. Codling was going to London in the stage: I expressed my astonishment at their permitting him to go, after what had passed the day before: Easterby then said that he would detain him, which he did, and sent one of the boys in his place. Easterby, myself, and Read, then walked together to the other ship. Mr. Read said, he had some watches and some time-pieces, and a small bale, which he wished to give up to me. I met capt. Codling, at the inn, and told him, it was very wrong to attempt to leave Brighton, until the fate of the vessel was known. He said he had no place for sleeping—and was obliged to lie on the floor. Mr. Easterby said it would be a great expence to him to continue there. I said I would bear the expence on behalf of the underwriters; and, with respect to his not getting a bed, I would endeavour to get him one at the White Horse. Mr. Codling said "Very well." The ship was, at that time, on her way, getting to shore; but she was not got to the shore, until the Thursday morning, about ten o'clock. I went on board the ship; I saw the holes that were made in the scuttle, from the outside; I was the first who went into the cabin after she was brought to shore. On going in, I found the lower part of the larboard side of the cabin knocked down, and part of the ceiling torn up. There was a hole, which appeared to be done with a rude instrument; it was about 9 inches long, and 4 broad. I did not then perceive other holes in the ship: on the following day, I perceived two auger holes also on the larboard side. The hole made with the rude instrument was quite sufficient to sink the vessel, and I have no doubt she was sunk by it. I saw Easterby and Read after I had seen the condition of the ship; I went with them to Lewes, where they were examined before a magistrate. I said to Mr. Easterby that he had acted very imprudently in leaving Codling to quit the place. I do not recollect that Read was present then; Mr. Easterby said he thought there was no harm in it; he was only gone to London, and meant to return the following day. On Friday Mr. Levie came down to Brighton, and then Easterby was gone; it was after we had been before the magistrate, by whom Easterby was discharged, and Read admitted to bail. It was on Friday night that Easterby left Brighton. I then went to Easterby's lodgings, and there I found some letters. I told Read, and believe Easterby was present at the time, that I thought the ship had been sunk; he said, he had not the least doubt of it: but he did not say by whom he thought it had been sunk. I afterwards went to Harwich, and applied to the postmaster there, to see the names of the persons in the packets, but I did not see the name of Codling. The packet was under weigh, going to the Continent. I got a warrant to search the packets, and pursued them. I got on board the first packet and searched: I found he was not there. I then went on board the other packet, and found Codling in a bed with his coat off, and the rest of his cloaths on. He was searched. I took him into custody and brought him home.

R. Brewer, examined.—"I am a shipwright at Shoreham; I assisted in bringing the vessel into Shoreham harbour, after she had sunk off Brighton. On getting her to the beach, I observed the water to run out of her in three places below the water-mark:"—Here the augers found in the ship were produced, as was also the part of the plank of the ship cut out for the purpose, exhibiting the large hole which had been staved in and described by the witness.—The witness proceeded.—"Any one may see that this hole was made from the inside of the ship, for it is torn, and it is larger on the outside than it is on the inside.—The ship received no injury in towing in, for we plugged her; neither was she pillaged, for we guarded her: she was brought into Shoreham harbour.—Lord Ellenborough—Q. "Was she destroyed as a vessel for the purposes of navigation, until she had those holes plugged up?" A. "Yes, my lord, she was certainly."—In the course of the cross-examination of those witnesses who spoke to facts affecting Read, some circumstances rather favourable to that prisoner transpired. A body of evidence was adduced with respect to the contents of the cargo, its nature, quantity, and value. Some evidence was also adduced, respecting the facts of taking away a part of the cargo from the vessel; from which it appeared 12 cases were taken away by direction of Mr. Easterby; this was while the vessel lay in the river. The principal witness, with whom this part of the case rested, described that a whole heap of things, chiefly inclosed in cases, were taken out; there were 2 boat loads. He described the part which Easterby took in this transact on. Perry, the officer, described a number of articles which he found at M'Farlane's house, and also in the house of a Mrs. Smith, who was the sister of a Mrs. Patterson, a woman connected with M'Farlane, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Patterson were also brought forward; they spoke to the removal of the articles in question from the house of Mr. M'Farlane to the lodgings of Mrs. Patterson, &c. The latter alledged that the causes of her removing the goods were her apprehensions from a servant maid who was in the house, and also in consequence of the bankruptcy; and she also spoke as to the identity of the goods removed by her from M'Farlane's, and those taken to the police-office.

On the prisoners being called on for their defence, a short discussion arose, in consequence of some objections offered by Mr. Fielding in behalf of Read. He contended that there was no satisfactory evidence that any act performed by him was done to prejudice the underwriters, and without such an intention being established, the charge of felony could not attach. He had no concept on of any equivalent proof that could be substituted in failure of the above. He also referred to the case as affecting Codling, in which, he conceived, there was not an atom of sufficient evidence.—The ld chief just. expressed his opinion, that that consideration was matter for the jury and himself, and seemed to say, in the case of Codling, that if

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ere was no intent to prejudice the underwriters, ere were no pretensions to sustain the indict-ent.—In behalf of Read, it was contended that had no concern with the navigation of the ves-, nor had he any controul over the capt. or the icers of the ship; and that a person, situated as was, was not in the contemplation of the act of liament; his letter of attorney differed from the erality of those which went to appoint super-rgoes; and the favourable points in his case were strongly adverted to.—M'Farlane and Easterby ng called upon, the former, in addition to his ring it to his counsel, said, he had a number gentlemen in court, ready to depose to his aracter; and observed, that he had been in his esty's service 28 years. Easterby confided his nce to his counsel.—Mr. Erskine then ad-ssed the court, in a speech of considerable gth. He professed his agreement with much what had fallen from the learned counsel, o had previously offered objections to the servations of the noble and learned judge reon; but he directed his arguments in fa-r of his client chiefly, if not solely, upon an portant consideration of law; he contended by r construction of the practice of the law hither-, and the relevant acts of parliament, the court admiralty had no jurisdiction over such a case as sterby's appeared in the evidence for the prose-tion. He observed much on the strictness with ich the law of England requires local jurisdic-n, to be observed. He described the leading ovisions of the statute of Hen. VIII. which was med for the better regulation of these; those re, however, in some points of view so strict, at a felony partly committed in one county and rly in another, could not be punished. Under interpretation of the law, the heinous crime of rder would also go unpunished: so would a se where an accessary after the fact, committed e offence in another county, as the charge could be venued, as in such case a jury of county A. uld not take cognizance of what happened in unty B. Such were the effects of strict locality of isdiction. He referred to the statue of W. III. affecting that of H. VIII. in such a case as the vent; and these objections, he contended most phatically, applied to Easterby's case. The par-lar act in question, however, was that of the th G. I. c. 29, which especially provided, that any owner, capt. or officer, &c. of a ship, shall lfully cast away, burn, or destroy the same, &c. commented upon the bearing of the evidence on ch a charge, but principally contended that as the rt which the evidence went to attach to Easterby, ch as the directing, procuring, &c. must have been mmitted on the land, or without the jurisdiction the admiralty, his case could not be cognizable by e court which he addressed. The act of H. VIII. quired such an offence to be tried by the court of lmiralty, which could only be done when the of-nce was committed at sea: but there was no evi-nce of Easterby's having been on the sea at all, even that he was on board the ship: pressing is line of argument for some time, the learned unsel contended his client could not be touched an accessary until this important question of the risdiction was decided. Mr. Garrow replied with eat ability to the arguments of the counsel on e other side. He seemed to refer to the opinion the court; and in concluding expressed his opi-on, that if this court had no jurisdiction of such an offence, no other had. The jett of the lord chief justice's observations upon the arguments of counsel was, that he thought the cases may be properly referred for a special consideration. After a few observations between Messrs. Erskine and Garrow, and the Bench, it seemed to be his lordship's determination that the point should be referred for the opinion of the twelve judges.

Lord Ellenborough then entered upon his charge to the jury, which took up more than two hours in delivery. The jury then brought in the following verdict: Codling, *guilty*; M'Farlane, *guilty*; Easterby, *guilty*; Read, *not guilty*. Codling immediately received sentence of death. Judgment upon M'Farlane and Easterby was respited, their cases being reserved for the opinion of the judges.

KING'S BENCH.—*Knightly and others* v. *Rogers.*

Oct. 30.—This was upon a policy of insurance upon the ship Wentworth, at and from Jamaica to London, and the question and issue was, whether the ship was sea-worthy at the time when she began her voyage? It appeared by the evidence of the captain, and from the log-book, that the 2nd day after she was at sea, she made a great deal of water, although she sustained nothing more than the usual breezes upon that coast. But the capt. said there was a large rat-hole, which might occasion her to ship a great deal of water. This hole appeared to him to have been just eaten through, and as the ship healed with the wind, it was below the water-mark. He thought that the hole might be nearly eaten through, and perhaps not quite, until they got to sea. They put back in consequence of the water in the ship, and upon unloading her she was surveyed. He admitted that she wanted some repairs, but he did not agree in the judgment of the other surveyors, who thought she could not safely proceed without a degree of repairs that would have been more expensive than the ship was worth. Had he known the state of the ship to be such as it appeared upon the survey, he certainly would not have ventured to sea with her without some repairs. The mate gave the same account of her. Mr Erskine, for the underwriters, stated, that he should shew this ship to be in a most deplorable state, and totally unseaworthy at the time of her sailing. He accordingly called capts. Domat, Levit, and Wilson, and they agreed in stating, that in many of her most material timbers, she was so rotten that they could gripe out handsful like clay or mud: that her seams were all open; and that between the planks and the stern, they could have inserted 2½ inch rope. They also concurred in opinion that these defects could not have arisen during her stay in the W. Indies. Lord Ellenborough thought the evidence of these gents. was conclusive. Mr. Gibbs submitted, as a point of law, that if she was sea-worthy when the policy attached, and that, unknown to the assured, she became otherwise in the course of her stay, it was a risque insured against. One of the jury said, they were of opinion that she was rotten before she left England, which Mr. Gibbs admitted put an end to his case. Verdict for defendants.

The King v. *Shutland.*

Nov. 15.—Mr. Serj. Cockell moved the judgment of the court on the defendant, J. Shutland. Lord Ellenborough read the report of the trial which took place before his lordship at the last assizes for the county of York. It was an indictment for a libel contained in a letter written by the defendant to J. Ratcliff, esq. one of the justice of

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the peace for the county of York, reflecting on the character of Rich. H. Beaumont, esq. of Whitby-hall, and a justice of the peace in the said county, imputing to him that he had repeatedly given in fraudulent returns to the commissioners under the income bill, of the state of his income, by which, in one year, the revenue had been defrauded of upwards of £100, he having stated his income more than £1000 per annum less than the reality, which was 5500 a-year at least. In another year, that he had defrauded the rev. of upwards of £76, by another false return, for which he made an excuse that he had made up his account in a hurry, at a distance from home, but which was not true. That the defendant was an engineer, employed, among others, by Mr. Beaumont, and assisted in making up his account of his income, and became well acquainted with his income; and being called upon by the commissioners to state what he knew, he sent this letter to Mr. Ratcliff, one of the commissioners, and a particular friend of Mr. Beaumont, in consequence of which investigations took place; Mr. Beaumont was surcharged by the commissioners, in some of which surcharges Mr. Beaumont acquiesced. The letter, in which this libel was contained, was written with a good deal of severity against Mr. Beaumont, and marked by many intemperate expressions. Upon which the prosecutor, Mr. Beaumont, preferred his bill of indictment against the defendant, and removed it out of the court of quarter-sessions to the court of king's bench, and the case was tried before my lord Ellenborough, at the last assizes for the county of York, when the proof consisted of the letter being delivered to Mr. Ratcliff, and of its being of the hand-writing of the defendant who was therefore found guilty. Mr. Park now produced affidavits on behalf of the defendant, by which it appeared that Mr. Beaumont had actually given in false accounts of his income to the commissioners; and that once, after Mr. Beaumont and the defendant had been making up an account of Mr. B.'s income, and laid it before the commissioners, for the trouble in assisting at which Mr. B. gave the defendant two guineas, Mr. B. said to the defendant, it was well the commissioners did not know of the £3000 he had received for the last three years for timber he had sold, for if they did, they would play the devil with him. Another affidavit, of a gentleman of the name of Ingham, stated, that Mr. Beaumont had expressed a great deal of malice against the defendant, saying if he could find a hole in his coat, he would take care to tear it, if it was to cost him £1000, or even £10,000; that he was a scoundrel, &c. Mr. Park accused the prosecutor with having shewn more malice than that of which he complained in the conduct of the defendant. He had not come forward to the court for its interference, by way of criminal information, which he would have been entitled to, if his complaint was just, because he was a magistrate for the county of York—Why did he not? because he knew that what the defendant had said of him, in that letter, was true, and he could not deny it; and he knew also, that the court would not grant him leave to file a criminal information, unless he denied, upon his oath, the truth of that which was imputed to him. He did not bring his action, which was the best way of vindicating his character: Why? because, in that case, the defendant would have been entitled, and he would have been able, to justify what he had said, by proving the truth of it. He did not appear as a witness upon the trial of this indictment, although by law he was competent: Why? because he knew that upon his cross-examination, it would appear, that the substance of the defendant's letter was true. So that the judgment of the court would have been merely nominal. He therefore contented himself with merely proving the hand-writing of the defendant; and he knew very well, that in an indictment, the truth of the allegations made against him could not be offered in evidence. He did not even now come forward with any affidavit upon this subject. Why? he knew he could not make any affidavit that could be of any use to his case, without denying the truth of the charge made against him by the defendant; and because he knew that, if he had denied it, he would have been indicted for perjury. He did not come forward in this business, because he dared not. The prosecutor had disgraced himself by this prosecution. As to the defendant, he was, to be sure, chargeable with some little intemperance in the manner in which he had written this letter, but he had suffered more than enough for that by the harrassing course, as well as the expence of this prosecution. The defendant was so far from being culpable, that the public were much indebted to him for bringing forward a gross fraud upon the public revenue; so that when the whole matter was considered, he had no doubt that their lordships would consider the justice of this case satisfied, after pronouncing on the defendant a nominal judgment.

Mr. Justice Grose proceeded to pronounce the judgment of the court, and said to the defendant, that he had been convicted of having published a libel, for which he was now to receive the sentence of this court; which libel was a reflection on the character of R. H. Beaumont, esq. a magistrate of the county of York. In administering the penal justice of this court, they were not only to look to the probable consequences to the public, from the publication of a libel, but likewise to consider the private motives of the individual who brought the matter before the public—The court could not but feel concern that such scenes had been laid before it as appeared upon the affidavits in this case, in which a gent. of fortune called on the court to inflict punishment on an individual who he said had injured his character. It was impossible for the court not to see, that the motive for instituting this prosecution was not a love of public justice, but founded on one of those passions which degraded the human character; when the court said that this prosecution originated in private malice, it was impossible for the court to do more or less than to pronounce upon the defendant the following sentence: that he, the said John Shutland, for the offence he had committed, do pay to the king a fine of six shillings and eight-pence, and that he be committed to the custody of the marshal of the court until such fine be paid. Defendant then paid the fine and withdrew. *Collett* v. *Lord Keith.*

Before Sir Simon Le Blanc and a special jury, Nov. 20.—This was an action brought by the plaintiff against lord Keith, for detaining his ship the Argonaut, at the Cape of Good-Hope, at the time the French squadrons were expected to attack that place, in consequence of which detention the ship and her cargo were entirely lost. The defence of lord Keith was, that as commander in chief of the Brit. squadron, he thought it his duty to seize and detain the Argonaut, although she was

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an American neutral ship, in consequence of his suspecting her to be carrying on a secret communication with the enemy. The cause has been tried several times before. It again occupied the whole day, and the jury gave their verdict for the plaintiff, subject to a reference to a Mr. Inglis, a merchant of London.

The King v. *Philip Hamlin.*

Nov. 22.—The attorney-general moved the judgment of the court on the defendant, who had suffered judgment to pass by default, to an information filed against him, stating, that one Andrew Hill, late of the town and burgh of Plymouth, on the 30th of Oct. held a certain office of trust and confidence under our said lord the king, that of landing surveyor of the customs of the port of Plymouth, and that the said Andrew Hill died, whereby the said office became vacant, and was in the disposal of the lords commissioners of the treasury; that the rt hon. H. Addington was the first in the letters patent in such commission, and in a place of high trust and confidence, and likewise a privy councillor of our said lord the king. That the defendant, with intent to seduce the said H. Addington from the duties attached to such high station and office, to cause the said Hamlin to be appointed to the office of landing surveyor of the customs of the port of Plymouth, so vacant, for the corrupt lucre of gain, did write, and cause to be sent to the said H. Addington, a certain letter, offering a pecuniary reward to be paid to the said H. Addington, as follows:

"Sir—This day a place became vacant by the "death of Mr. A. Hill, landing surveyor of the "customs here: if you can procure that place "for me, for my own use and benefit, I will give "you 2000*l.* and also give a bond to keep the "business a secret. Your answer will oblige, "your's, &c. PHILIP HAMLIN.

"20th Oct. 1801."

The affidavit of the defendant stated, that he sincerely repented of having sent this letter, for which he was unfeignedly sorry, and threw himself on the mercy of the court: that he is 40 years of age, and carries on the trade and business of a tinman, by which alone he supports himself and family, and then expressing an apprehension that a severe judgment may be the ruin of himself and family; that had he been appointed to the office, it was his intention to have performed the duties of it faithfully, and then the affidavit refers to his general good character with his neighbours. The two rev. ministers of the two parishes in Plymouth, and several merchants and others of the town of Plymouth, made affidavits, that, excepting this instance, they knew of no blot in the character of the defendant, but that, on the contrary, it was a very respectable and good one. The attorney-general—"Your lordships are fully possessed of the nature of this case, from the information that has been read, and on which I have but a very few words to say. The defendant by suffering judgment to pass against him by default, has confessed the guilt of having attempted to bribe an officer of high council, by the transmission of a letter to Mr. Addington, offering to him £2000, provided he could procure him an office then vacant in the customs. That a compliance with this proposal would have been a scandalous and disgraceful act in the individual to whom it was made, and a serious and aggravated breach of trust and official duty, and as such a great misdemeanour, cannot be doubted; as little can it be doubted, that the insult, thus offered to a person of such high station, is a very grave and serious misdemeanour. My lords, I think it is due to the age and country in which we live, to state, what indeed is universally believed, that there never was a period in the history of this country, or of any other, in which the characters of persons in an exalted station of public life, were so *free from all suspicion* of this species of offence, as the present moment, and that there is no character who stands in the public eye, more free from the chance of even the worst, or the most malignant enemy, insinuating such an offence against him, or whose known integrity of character proves him incapable of such a meanness more than that of the rt hon. gent. who was thus insulted by the defendant, nor any one that stands higher in public estimation at the present moment. I think I may say that the person thus addressed by the defendant, has, in every sense, too fair a fame, and too exalted a reputation in the world, to render it necessary for him to take notice of this matter on his own account, and therefore he might, with perfect security, as far as his own character was interested, have treated this letter with contempt and flung it into the fire. But a man of his exalted station must shew, that it is not *private feeling*, but *public justice* must be the guide of his conduct. He feels, therefore, my lords, that for the sake of public example, this case should come before you for your consideration. My lords, I have had communicated to me the affidavits which have been read to the court in mitigation of punishment; and in which the character of the defendant appears to stand well among his neighbours. The circumstances which he discloses respecting his own situation in life and of his family, are all of them topics very well adapted to affecting the private feelings of individuals, and as far as that consideration goes, nothing further need be said; but there would have been no prosecution in this case at all, on the ground of personal feeling; it was set on foot on grounds of a public nature, and the spirit in which the prosecution originated, still remains; it is, therefore, submitted to your lordships, not on a point of individual feeling, but of public justice, in which case your lordships will consider how far the affidavits ought to operate in mitigation of punishment. Mr. Erskine, on behalf of the defendant, subscribed to every word that was uttered by the attorney-general in his address to the court. He said, that the defendant must feel gratitude for that address. He subscribed to the observation, that the rt hon. gent. to whom this letter was addressed, might very well, as far as his own personal reputation was concerned, have put this letter into the fire. It was written with great ignorance. It was an absurd, insolent, and he must add a criminal letter. But the moment that this most unfortunate, and very ignorant person, became aware of the impropriety of what he had done, he wrote to Mr. Addington another letter, full of contrition for what he had done; but Mr. A. could not pass the matter by—it was necessary for public purposes to institute this prosecution; and Mr. E. presented his client to the court, as a man acting under a cloud of ignorance. He was a tinman, at Plymouth, so long accustomed to the noise of his own hammer, that he thought every thing in this world was to be brought to and knocked down by the hammer. He observed that the defendant's character was attested by the two rev. gents. of the

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parishes in Plymouth, as well as by other reputable men there, and they came forward, in his behalf, on an accusation which would naturally have induced them to hold back, if they had not been thoroughly convinced of the real worth of the defendant's general character. Lord Ellenborough—Let him be committed, and brought up on the last day of the term. Mr. Erskine—My lords, to shew the simplicity and ignorance of this unhappy man, I would state, that when the information came down, and the process was shewn to him, commanding him to appear and answer, he thought, on seeing the red seal of the process, that he had got his place. Defendant committed.

The King v. *Hamlin.* (*Nov.* 29.)—The attorney-general moved the judgment of the court on the defendant. Mr. Justice Grose spoke nearly as follows:—"Philip Hamlin, you stand to receive the judgment of this court, charged by an information, in which you are accused of having attempted to corrupt the rt hon. H. Addington, offering a bribe to the said H. Addington, to nominate and appoint you to the office of landing surveyor of the customs of the port of Plymouth, being an office of great public trust and confidence then vacant, and that, to induce him so to appoint you to such office, you wrote and caused to be written, to the said H. Addington, a letter, offering to him £2000 for so doing. You suffered judgment to pass against you by default. Such a practice, if permitted, would lead to mischief incalculable, for it might extend to every office in the appointment of the great ministers of the state, civil, military and ecclesiastical, and would supersede men of ability and integrity, and place in their stead the ignorant and corrupt. If the punishment we are about to inflict on you will not entirely check this practice, punishment still more severe must be resorted to. This court, for this your offence doth order and adjudge, that you pay to the king a fine of 100*l.*; that you be imprisoned in the custody of the marshal of the marshalsea of this court, for three calendar months, and that you be further imprisoned until such fine be paid."

COMMON PLEAS. *Earl St. Vincent* v. *Lord Nelson.* (*Nov.* 25.)—The important and long-depending cause between earl St. Vincent and lord Nelson, respecting prize money was decided this day. Lord St. Vincent was appointed to the command of the fleet stationed off the coast of Spain; but his health requiring a short absence from the squadron, he obtained permission to return to England, on leaving his command to the next flag officer. His lordship, previous to his departure, gave orders to capt. Digby, of the Alcmene, to cruize within the limits of the station; then deputing his command to lord Keith, sailed for England in the Argo. From lord Keith, the command devolved upon lord Nelson, who became and continued senior admiral on that station until the return of lord Keith; in the interval, capt. Digby captured two Spanish ships of war; and lord Nelson, as commander in chief, claimed his share of the prize-money. The proclamation of 1797, on which the question of his lordship's right greatly depended, directs that a certain proportion of prize-money should be divided among the flag officers, and that one-eighth should belong to the commander in chief: but the 4th art. of the said proclamation ordered, that if the chief flag officer returned home, he should not be entitled to any share of the prize-money obtained by the ship under other command. The proclamation also provided, that when a flag-officer was appointed to the command of a fleet, he should not be entitled to any share of the prize-money, till he actually arrived within the limits of the station. On this ground, therefore, lord Nelson laid claim to one eighth of the prizes captured by the Alcmene. As two of the learned judges were on the opposite side, the judgment of the court had nearly been withheld, but as judgment was prayed, on the part of lord Nelson, Mr. Justice Heath withdrew; consequently the decision of the court was in favour of earl St. Vincent.

KING'S BENCH.—*Moore* v. *Durnford.*—*Crim. Con.* *Dec.* 10.—This was an action against the defendant for crim. con. with the plaintiff's wife. The damages were laid at £10,000. Mr. Erskine was counsel for the plaintiff. After a few general remarks upon the clearness of the case and the impossibility of setting up any defence to the action, he proceeded to state that Mr. Moore was a gent. of large fortune and high character. Some years ago he had paid addresses to his present wife. This lady was of one of the first families of the kingdom, being niece to the earl of Meath. Her beauty and accomplishments were equal to her birth, and a virtuous education had adorned her with innocence and modesty. Mr. M. succeeded in his addresses, and his fondest hopes of domestic happiness were realized. She was the mother of three children, the eldest 14, the second 11, and the youngest 4 or 5 years of age. It was fit he should say, that during the long course of the plaintiff and his wife living together, to the date of this criminal connection, the plaintiff had no reason to doubt her chastity or honour; on the contrary it was impossible for him to establish the fact of any adultery having been committed under his roof. For some months before her elopement her husband observed a difference in her behaviour, an unusual degree of coolness, but without being able to discover the cause. Previous to this time the defendant frequently visited at the plaintiff's house, but there appeared no particular intimacy between him and plaintiff's wife, that could justify the least suspicion. Mrs. M. had first become acquainted with the defendant at a public breakfast given by the latter. The defendant was considered as a man of character, and therefore the plaintiff had not the slightest idea of his attempting any thing dishonourable, but the incense he offered at the shrine of his wife's beauty and accomplishments, won her to his love, and she became too affectionately attached to him for her future happiness. Her fatal passion was the cause of her deserting her house, and abandoning her husband, her friends, family, and children. The plaintiff was for some time unable to discover the place of her retreat; but at last he found her living with the defendant, and was enabled to procure that proof which would now be laid before the jury. The marriage being proved, three gentlemen were called, who fully confirmed the learned counsel in what he said of Mrs. M. before she was married, and of the happy state in which she and her husband afterwards lived. The next witness was a maid servant, who had seen Mrs. M. with the defendant after her elopement; she said that she had made up one bed for them in the defendant's house at Brockhill, and that she had no doubt they slept there together.

Mr. Garrow, leading counsel for the defendant, confined himself to saying a few words in mitigation of damages. Capt. Durnford, though called capt. was only a subaltern in the guards, and d-

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pended entirely upon his pay. Heavy damages would ruin him for life. He was a very young man, and had been betrayed into this indiscretion only by his youth. Lord Ellenborough—It has been properly suggested that cases of criminal conversation are of various complexions, and capable of various degrees of aggravation. In the present there does not appear to me to have been any plan of seduction laid by the plaintiff. The lady, from some reason or other, went away from her husband, and lived in lodgings at Acton before any act of adultery was alledged. There was no evidence to prove, that he had seduced her to leave her husband's house, although he had visited her there three times. At Brockhill they certainly lived under circumstances which rendered it fair to conclude that a criminal intercourse had taken place. In the absence of all evidence I do not see that you ought to fix her seduction upon the defendant. As he met her after she had quitted her husband, it is possible that compassion for her situation, on hearing that for his sake she had fled from her family, might in some degree influence his conduct. That he is liable for damages there can be no doubt, as he has set his seal on the husband's dishonour, and for ever rendered it impossible for him to receive his wife again. Verdict for the plaintiff, damages £1000.

COMMON PLEAS.—*Corder* v. *Emerton.*

Dec. 10.—Serj. Best opened this case on the part of the plaintiff. He said the security of commerce in a great measure depended on the good faith and integrity of those, by whose recommendation we were introduced to new connections. In a country like this, where three fourths of the inhabitants were enaged in trade, and its existence almost depended on mutual confidence; no tendency could be more fatal than the false representations made of one tradesman to another: and if the evidence he was going to submit was believed, a more infamous or fraudulent scheme could never be concerted. The plaintiff, Mr. Corder, was an eminent corn-factor, in the city of London; and the defendant a country dealer in the neighbourhood of Oxford. About the latter end of Dec. 1801, the defendant, with a person of the name of Hall, came to the plaintiff's stand in the corn market, and purchased some malt and beans by sample. Mr. Corder being unacquainted with Hall, made some besitation; wherein the defendant introduced himself by saying, that he had formerly recommended a customer of the name of Thompson; "True," said Mr. Corder, "and I had a great difficulty in getting my money of him. I hope you have brought me a better chap now." The defendant replied, that Hall was a good man, and would pay for what he bought; though at the same time he knew Hall was insolvent, and the sole intent of this bargain was to recover the sum of £50 which he owed to the defendant. It was agreed, that on the Friday following, a bill for £139, the amount of the corn, should be sent to Mr. Molyneux, of Foster-street, Bishopgate, who would accept it. In the mean time the corn was got out of the plaintiff's hands, and carried on board a barge at Brookes's wharf, to be conveyed to Oxford. When the bill was presented to Mr. Molyneux for acceptance, he denied any knowledge of the transaction, or of the parties. The plaintiff, suspecting a fraud, sent an order to the wharf, to detain the corn, but it was too late. The barge was arrested in its course, near Abingdon, by the ice; Emerton soon after came up, and obtained the corn. The facts above stated were proved by the evidence of Hall, who was brought up by a writ of habeas corpus from the King's Bench. He also stated, that he was prevailed on by the defendant to come to London for the purpose of obtaining this property, and that Emerton had threatened to arrest him for his debt. The jury, without hesitation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, for £139, and interest from the date of the transaction.

Gill v. *Hogg.*

Dec. 22.—This action was brought against the defendant for enticing away the plaintiff's wife and children from their home, against the will and without the knowledge of the plaintiff. Serjeant Cockell said, the plaintiff was clerk to Messrs. Willis and Co. and the defendant to Messrs. Maitland and Co. both bankers in this city. They were also related. Mr. and Mrs. Gill were married in 1795, and lived together in harmony for a considerable time. A short period before Mrs. G.'s elopement, the same cordiality did not exist; but what must have been the sensations of the husband on returning home to find his wife and children fled? Three months elapsed before he learnt any tidings of them, and in that period he was almost driven to madness. After considerable enquiries without effect, two of the plaintiff's friends passing accidentally through Hoxton, saw the name of Hogg on a door, and concluded, that Mrs. Gill might have taken refuge there; when they knocked at the door their suspicions were confirmed by seeing the servant who had formerly lived with the plaintiff; but she denied Mrs. G. being there. The friends went to the next house, and there saw Mrs. G. from a window. On this information the plaintiff commenced an action for *crim. con.*; and at the time of serving the writ, demanded his wife and children. The defendant was reproached with his treachery; but, being conscious of his innocence in this respect, insisted on calling down his sister, who had been the constant companion of Mrs. G.'s bed. The plaintiff felt some degree of satisfaction at this, having at first suspected his wife's fidelity, and the action assumed its present form. Mrs. G. was intreated to return to her home, but refused; the children, however, were delivered up, and conveyed to the house of a friend. A short time after, a reconciliation was effected, and they now lived on terms of amity and concord. The learned serjeant said, that a man who harboured the wife of another, without the knowledge or consent of her husband, whatever might be his motives, could not be justified. Mrs. Wardell, mother-in-law of the plaintiff, alleged, that some difference had existed between them about two years ago; that Mrs. G. signified an intention of leaving her husband in consequence of his ill-treatment, which the mother endeavoured to prevent, by stating what might ensue. This conversation took place in the presence of the defendant, who said, if Mrs. G. could help herself, she was to blame if she stopped—that he was going to housekeeping, and she should live with him. On the 6th of March last, Mrs. G. called on her mother, and said she was going to her friends in the country, but did not then disclose the place of her retreat. Mr. Stevenson, a friend of the plaintiff's deposed, that five or six weeks previous to the elopement, Mrs. G. applied to him, to request he would intercede with her husband to procure a separate maintenance, to which the witness objected. Serj. Shepherd said, it was

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important that it should be understood, that men have no right to alienate the wives and children of others; it should also be understood, how far relations or friends, when they perceive that matrimonial intercourse is nothing but misery and discord, are justified in opening their doors to the unfortunate; or whether they were to be deaf to pity and distress, and thrust a wretched woman with her helpless children into the street. The foundation of this action was, that the defendant had seduced the plaintiff's wife from her home; but by some means it was possible to judge from the record, what was the intention of the parties. This case rested on the testimony of Mrs. Wardell; and if her story was believed, it must be inferred that G. and his wife lived in harmony, till the latter was seduced by the defendant: but could it be supposed that a man should seduce a woman for no other purpose than the satisfaction of supporting her? For, from the first hour of her elopement to the present time, his conduct had borne the strictest scrutiny; and could be attributed to no other motive than a benevolent wish to afford shelter to an unfortunate woman, whom he knew to have just cause to be dissatisfied with the treatment of her husband. The defendant certainly had placed himself in a situation of great danger---a situation in which the slander of the world would say, his charity and benevolence had been extended to the enjoyment of her person. There were other circumstances in this case which proved that the defendant's conduct was purely charitable. He had declared his intention to support his cousin as long as he possessed the means; an assertion that did honour to his heart; and it was to be hoped the determination of the jury would not tell him that he should have barred his door against her; that unless she returned to her husband, she must starve, or get her bread in a way which shocked the feelings of humanity.

Lord Alvanley said he was extremely desirous, from the nature of this cause, that the jury should determine some line by which a man might regulate his conduct in receiving the wife of another. In his opinion, the defendant certainly did not merit the aspersions which had been cast upon him, though it would have been more prudent, if he had acted with greater caution. The jury were to consider, whether the defendant had seduced the plaintiff's wife, with any sinister motives, in which case the damages could not be too heavy; but if, on the other hand, they conceived that she had just cause to leave her husband, and the defendant merely afforded her protection, the damages could not be too small, if any.

Verdict for the defendant.

KING'S BENCH.—*Tennant* v. *Slater*.

Dec. 23.—This was an action brought by Mr. Tennant against the defendants Messrs. Slater and Co. for having infringed his patent, obtained for the exercise of his invention of a method of using calcareous earths, the earths of strontites and barytes, all of them either in their carbonated or calcined states, but more properly in the latter state, instead of alkaline substances for neutralizing the oxygenated muriatic acid used in bleaching, instead of pot and pearl-ashes, kelp, barilla, or other alkaline substances. In one word, the plaintiff claimed, in support of his patent, the merit of having first discovered the use of lime and lime-water, with oxygenated marine gas, united in a fluid for the purposes of bleaching; and the single question was, whether the plaintiff was or was not the inventor of this compound, and the first who applied it to use? It appeared that the practice of using this fluid for the purposes of bleaching, was a very great advantage to trade; so much, indeed, as that one house in the north of England had saved £2600 a-year by its use, and that it bleached better than the former mode, and did not discharge the colour, which the old mode often did. The patent was dated on the 30th Jan. 1798, and therefore, if this practice had been in use before that time, the plaintiff could not sustain his patent. It appeared on the evidence of Mr. Hall, that his firm, consisting of himself and two partners, whose business was carried on by the help of two servants, used this very compound for the purposes of bleaching, precisely as the plaintiff claimed the exclusive right of doing; and that they had continually done so ever since the year 1791. P. Pilkinton, the foreman of Mr. Greatrix of Dishley, in Cheshire, a calico-printer, proved that he had constantly used the very same compound, in the very same manner as the plaintiff claimed the exclusive right of doing, and that they had done so in the firm ever since the year 1796. Hugh Foy proved, that he was the instructor of the plaintiff, and that the very hint of uniting lime-water with gas, in the manner here done, was given to the plaintiff by him, and that on that instruction the plaintiff made the experiment, and it answered all expectation, to which the teacher said to the plaintiff, jocularly, he would have a patent for this: the plaintiff said, "No, the improvement is yours, the invention is yours, and you should have the merit of it." Some time afterwards the patent was taken out. The jury informed the chief justice, that they were satisfied, and wished to hear no more of this, unless his lordship thought it necessary. Lord Ellenborough—I am indeed satisfied; I have been fully and painfully satisfied upon this subject for some hours, and the reason why I waited so long to say so, was to give you time to say what you had made up your minds upon the case. I might indeed have non-suited the plaintiff hours ago, because the patent itself is much too large, for it claims by its terms, a monopoly of almost all bleaching. It is a scandalous patent, as a substitute of ment upon the facts as it is unfounded upon law. I never heard evidence more satisfactory than that of Pilkinton. When I was attorney-general, I had occasion to see men come for patents, who had actually stolen the invention from the author, who came afterwards to apply for it. Plaintiff nonsuited.

Lingham v. *Hunt*.—*Crim. Con.*

Dec. 24.—This was an action for crim. con. of the defendant with the plaintiff's wife.

M. Garrow opened the case. The plaintiff complained of the defendant, that he had debauched his wife. The present case he stated as the most aggravated that ever came into a court of justice, and would call on the justice of the jury to go the full length they were warranted to go. The sum was £5000. This defendant was the friend, and confident companion of the plaintiff, and while he was thus professing that friendship debauched the plaintiff's wife. When he had succeeded in debauching, or perhaps when he had not completed his object, but had reason to hope he soon should, he looked about him how he was to fence against justice, and generally he pitched on the victim of his lust to be instrumental in shewing something against the character of the plaintiff.

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mething known only to herself and some do-
sties, and this was to be made up into negli-
pce in the husband, so that he was not to be
itled to damages in a court of justice. The
intiff's wife was now under what the defendant
led his protection, but the truth was, that she
ed with him in the most degraded state that a
man can be in, having lost her virtue, and
th it, of course, her character; and, therefore,
e was driven by dire necessity to embark in the
gnity of the defendant, and enter on one com-
on cause with him. He should now proceed to
ow how these parties came together. The plain-
was a very young man, and in partnership with
gentleman of the name of Hopley, in the trade
a wine merchant. He was married on the
th of Aug. 1800, to the lady whose misconduct
th the defendant formed the subject of inquiry
-day. She was only 18 years of age when mar-
d, but extremely handsome and well accom-
ished. They lived near to the defendant, who
engaged in the same line of trade, who was also
that time married to a very amiable and most
serving lady. Accordingly, as Mr. L. and Mr. H.
ere intimate, Mrs. H. and Mrs. L. became
iendly also, and visited each other frequently.
on afterwards Mrs. H. died in child-bed, the
fant surviving. On this occasion Mr. H. con-
icted himself as a man should, with great ten-
rness to the infant, and apparent sorrow for the
ss of its mother. Left thus, without the pro-
ction of the mother, it became necessary to find
t somebody to take care that all servants, and
ose who had the charge of nursing the infant,
ould not neglect their duty, and Mrs. L. took
pon herself this kind office. It was in this state
at the defendant meditated the diabolical plan
f seducing the plaintiff's wife, of which the
laintiff had not the least reason to be jealous, for
e two families had been in the constant habit of
isiting each other, nor was there the least dimi-
ution in the affection of Mrs. L. to her husband;
at, to his astonishment, on the 8th of July last,
hen Mr. L. who had been attending the con-
erns of the day, in his business, came home, he
ound his wife was not there. The evening hav-
g advanced, he hoped she might be at her fa-
her's. He sent; she was not there. He sent to
ome other of her relations, but no tidings could
e had of her; at last he concluded that she had
one to the house of some friend. As the night
dvanced, he thought a thousand things that
night have befallen his wife, but had no idea that
is own confidential friend had induced her to
lope with him, to the dishonour of all the family,
nd ruin of herself. The jury should guess his
stonishment when he received a letter from the
efendant, by which guilt would appear in its true
ight. The letter was as follows: "Sir,—With
"sorrow, great, how can I announce to you, you
"have most miserably misplaced in me your con-
"fidence; your wife cannot return but with your
"forgiveness, which is impossible. I think, I see,
"however, the situation of my poor brother, who,
"as well as Eliza, yourself, and myself, must go
"distracted. Still your's, Jos. HUNT."

Mr. Garrow proceeded to detail the rest of the case. That about ten o'clock at night on the 8th of July last, the defendant prevailed on the plaintiff's wife to go with him in an hackney-coach to Windmill-street, where he took a post-chaise, and having delivered two letters to the proprietor of the chaise, directing him to send them immediately to the city, went off to Barnet, arrived at the Green Man Inn that night, and there he and Mrs. L. slept in one bed, and had lived in adultery ever since.

Miss F. Merchant.—"I am perfectly well acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. L.; they appeared to me to be living very happily together."

B. Waters.—"I know the plaintiff perfectly well. Mr. Lingham behaved towards his wife in every respect as an exemplary husband. I remember Mrs. L. saying something about their separation in the night of illumination, but nothing about a tavern; but that she and a gent. had supped together, and had fared better than the rest of the company, who were obliged to put up with what they could get at a pastry-cook's."

Mr. Dixon, brother to the plaintiff's wife.—"I was one of the party who went to see the illumination: there were twenty of us nearly. We missed part of our company when we came to M. Otto's. Mrs. L. was under the care of Mr. H. and one of my sisters and Mrs. Lingham's sister were under the care of Mr. Lingham. We separated before we came to M. Otto's, at Mr. Hope's house, from whence we went to M. Otto's, and afterwards we went to a pastry-cook's, and then came home.

Mr. Newman, the stable-keeper in Windmill-street, and his two boys, proved that Mr. H. and Mrs. L. came to his house, in a hackney-coach, on the 8th of July, about half after ten, and took a post-chaise to go to Barnet. That Mr. H. gave to Mr. Baily two letters, directed to persons in the city, and which were delivered the following morning at six o'clock, the one of them to the plaintiff's father by mistake, who delivered it immediately afterwards to the plaintiff; the other to the defendant's brother.

Sarah Limel, chamber-maid at the Green Man at Barnet, proved that the defendant and the plaintiff's wife arrived at the inn about half after one o'clock, where they supped, and then went to bed, and slept in one bed all night. That a gent. came and asked for Mr. H. the next morning, and the chamber-maid went up, when she saw the lady in bed.

It then appeared, that Mr. H. and Mrs. L. called at the house of Mrs. L.'s, laundress at Holloway, and there took change of clothes.

Mr. Erskine made a long and very eloquent speech. Admitted that his client could not be justified in what he did; yet he maintained that there were shades innumerable in this offence. Where a man had violated all the rules of hospitality, and had been a deliberate seducer, he deserved every scourge that could be inflicted on him in a court of justice; but where he had been exposed to a blaze of beauty, without that sort of caution from the husband, who was the natural guardian of the honour of the wife, and where the husband had been remiss and negligent as to the safety of the wife, and had permitted her, young, beautiful, gay, and lively, to be too often unheeded and alone in the company of the defendant; and where a man, under such circumstances, had not been proof against so much temptation, he was the object of the compassion of men of feeling, nor should he be rigorously treated in a court of justice. The parties were all of them objects of great compassion. He did not justify the defendant, for most assuredly his conduct was criminal; but he submitted that it was not the conduct of an hardened offender, but of one

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whose sorrow and repentance accompanied his transgression. This was to be inferred from the letter he wrote to the plaintiff: but it would appear that the plaintiff had repeatedly been admonished of the impropriety of allowing his wife and the defendant to be so much together; but that he had been careless notwithstanding; had suffered them to go out riding together, and instead of accompanying them, had gone a fishing, &c. and had, under pretence of taking care of his wife, sent an infant with her and the plaintiff on their excursions. When they came home, he had only complained that they were late, and said, his wife should not stay out so late. That he lived opposite to the house of the defendant; and that after the defendant and the plaintiff's wife had come into the defendant's house, after they had been out all day together, he had sent for the keys to get what he wanted for himself, and left his wife with the defendant at supper, where they were together until 11 at night. That on the night of the illumination for the peace, a large party went out together from Tower street. The plaintiff, instead of taking care of his wife, allowed that charge to be taken by the defendant, he taking another lady under his arm. That when they came to the house of M. Otto, they separated, when the plaintiff shewed no anxiety about his wife, while some of the company went to seek for them. That the defendant and the plaintiff's wife supped together, and that at a tavern. That above all, the plaintiff's wife told him that she had supped at a tavern with the defendant, who treated the matter with raillery, or badinage, as one of the witnesses described it. He concluded with observing, that where the plaintiff had been so negligent, and claimed damages in a civil action, for the loss of that, to preserve which it was his duty to be careful, he should not take advantage of his own negligence, and obtain large damages against the man who, next to himself, had been most unfortunate.

Mr. C. Hunt, examined by Mr. Gibbs.—"I am the brother of the defendant: was not very much in the habits of intercourse with him; I had had a difference with him, that difference took place on account of this transaction: I was one of the party who went to see the illuminations: I went with the party from Tower-street: Mr. and Mrs. L. were of the party, which was about 20 in number, my brother was one of them; he had the care of Mrs. L. and she took his arm; Mr. Lingham was walking alone, and flinging crackers about the ladies. Mr. L. did not express any apprehension, but seemed very careless. When we got home inquiry was made for Mrs. L. but she was not returned. We got home between two and three. I do not know when Mrs. L. came home. Afterwards, and on the first of May, I saw Mr. L. and a party was proposed for Mrs. L. that day. I was at tea with Mrs. L. and some ladies. Mr. L. came to the room: Mrs. L. said to Mr. L. that Mr. H. had desired her to take a ride the next day with him in his chaise. I observed to Mr. L. he had better borrow my brother's other horse to go with them; Mr. L. declined, saying that he was going a fishing. Mrs. L. did go out with my brother the next day; Mr. L. did not accompany them, but went a fishing. I remember Mr. H. and Mrs. L. returning that evening; they came to my brother's about eight in the evening; while they were there Mr. L. sent for a certain key,"——Chief justice.—Q. To Mrs. L.? A. To Mrs. L.; she sent it: she staid to supper, and after supper till eleven at night. Mr. L. was invited, but did not come over. At another time, when Mr. Lingham was present, there was some conversation concerning what passed on the night of the illumination. Mrs. L. observed, that she had been at a tavern with my brother, and had some beef and a cool tankard. Mr. L. observed, that they had fared better than we had, for that we had been obliged to put up with a pastry cook's shop. All he said as he went along was, "Do you know where Mrs. L. is?" I said "No, I do not, I have not been home this afternoon." Mr. L. observed, going along, he did not like Mrs. L. being so much at our house. I inquired of the servant, at my brother's house, where Mrs. L. was? I learnt that she had been there that afternoon, but had gone with Mr. H. a-riding in his chaise. I asked Mr. L. to walk up stairs, and take a game of cribbage with me till they should return. Some time after dark, between nine and ten o'clock, they returned; the chaise came to Mr. L.'s door; Mr. L. helped Mrs. L. out of the chaise, and observed to my brother, that he should not suffer him again to keep Mrs. L. out so late, or after dark. When we were at cribbage, I told him I thought it was very improper for my brother to keep Mrs. L. out so late, and that I should not suffer it if I were him.—Anne Atwood had lived servant with Mr. and Mrs. L. four months. Q. Did you ever in your life see a more affectionate husband than your master? A. Never in my life.

Mr. Garrow replied with great rage at the conduct of the defendant in this most infamous transaction. He felt not the least scruple in saying, that the defendant's brother had endeavoured to support his cause by direct and absolute perjury. He protested that he never saw so iniquitous a case as that attempted to be set up by the defendant in the whole course of his life.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that this case deserved their most serious attention. The plaintiff by this action complained that the defendant, by the seduction of the plaintiff's wife, had deprived him of all the happiness and all the honour which marriage brought to him in social life. It appeared that the defendant had the implicit confidence of the plaintiff—he had betrayed it—nor could any one use stronger language against the defendant than he had used himself; for he said, "you have most miserably reposed in me your confidence." Had the defendant felt that contrition he expected the court to believe, he might either have suffered judgment to have past against him by default, or come into court by counsel, with humble instructions to watch the proof on the part of the plaintiff, and trusted to the discreet observations which his counsel would have made, and in which he would not have been disappointed. His lordship then reprobated the idea of supposing that a man gives up the virtue of his wife, so as to lose his right to claim damages for adultery, merely because he had suffered his wife to lay hold of the arm of another in a crowd at an illumination. This was too profligate even for this immoral age, so prone to seek excuses for adultery. His lordship concluded with observing, that upon the evidence nothing appeared against the plaintiff, for his case was satisfactorily made out, and that nothing occurred to his mind that could shield the defendant from making as full and ample a compensation to the plaintiff as the jury in their opinion of justice, should be disposed to make.

The jury, in less than one minute, gave a verdict for the plaintiff. Damages, £5000.

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LIST *of the* MEMBERS *returned to serve in the second* PARLIAMENT, *of the* UNITED KINGDOM.

(*** Those marked thus (*) were not in the last Parliament. Those marked thus (†) are new *for the respective places.* All the rest are re-elected. The figure after the name shews in how many Parliaments the Member has served. Those marked thus (¶) are returned for more than one place.)

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Abingdon—Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, 1
Agmondesham—T. D. T. Drake, 2, C. D. Gerrard, 1
Alban's, St.—*Hon. J. W. Grimstone, W. S. Poyntz, 1
Aldborough, Suffolk—Sir J. Aubry, Bart. 7, *J. M'Mahon
Aldborough, Yorkshire—Charles Duncombe, jun. 1, *John Sullivan
Andover—T. Ashton Smith, 1, *Hon. N. Fellowes
Anglesea—Hon. Arthur Paget, 2
Appleby—John Courtenay, 5, *P. Francis
Arundel—*Lord Andover, *John Atkins
Ashburton—*Sir Hugh Inglis, Walter Palk, 1
Aylesbury—†James Dupre, 1, *Robert Bent
Banbury, Dudley North, 6
Barnstaple—†W. Devaynes, 1, *Sir Edw. Pellew
Bath—Lord John Thynne, 1, J. Palmer, 1
Beaumaris—Lord Newborough, 1
Bedfordshire—Hon. H. A. St. John, 5, J. Osborne, 2
Bedford Town—Samuel Whitbread, 2, *W. Lee Antoine
Bedwin—Sir R. Buxton, 1, *N. Holland
Beeralston—Ld. Louvaine, 1, Col. W. Mitford, 1
Berkshire—Geo. Vansittart, 4, Chas Dundas, 2
Berwick—*Thomas Hall, †John Fordyce, 1
Beverley—*John Wharton, N. C. Burton, 1
Bewdley—Miles Peter Andrews, 1
Bishop's Castle—Wm. Clive, 6, *John Robinson
Blechingly—*James Milnes, *J. B. Walsh
Bodwyn—†C. S. Lefevre, 1, ¶*J. Dupre Porcher
Boroughbridge—Hon. J. Scott, 1, *E. B. Portman
Bossiney—†J. H. Addington, 2, J. A. S. Wortley, 1
Boston—*W. A. Maddock, Tho. Fydell, 2
Brackley—John W. Egerton, 6, Samuel Haynes, 4
Bramber—†G. Sutton, 2, H. Joddrel, 1.
Brecon County—Sir C. G. Morgan, 6
Brecon Town—Sir R. Salisbury, 1
Bridgnorth—J. Whitmore, 2, I. Hawkins Browne, 6
Bridgwater—G. Pocock, 1, J. Allen, 1
Bridport—† Sir E. Nepean, 1, G. Barclay, 2
Bristol—Rt. Hon. C. Bragge, 2, *Evan Baillie
Buckinghamshire—Marquis Titchfield, 2, Earl Temple, 1
Buckingham Town—Rt. Hon. T. Grenville, 2, *Ld. W. A. Proby
Callington—J. Inglet Fortescue, 1, Paul Orchard, 4
Calne—*Lord Henry Petty, J. Jekyll, 4
Cambridgeshire—*Lord C. Manners, Rt. Hon. C. York, 2
Cambridge University—Rt. Hon. W. Pitt, 5, Earl Euston, 3
Cambridge Town—Hon. E. Finch, 4, Robert Manners, 4
Camelford—†R. Adair, 1, *J. Fonblanque
Canterbury—Hon. G. Watson, 1, *J. Baker
Cardiff—*Lord W. Stewart
Cardiganshire—T. Johnes, 2
Cardigan Town—Hon. J. Vaughan, 1
Carlisle—J. C. Curwen, 2, †W. S. Stanhope, 1
Carmarthenshire—*Hamlyn Williams
Carmarthen Town—J. G. Phillips, 1.
Carnarvonshire—Sir R. Williams, 1
Carnarvon Town—Hon. E. Paget, 1
Castle Rising—†P. I. Thellusson, 2, C. Chester, 2
Cheshire—T. Cholmondeley, 1, †W. Egerton, 2
Chester—Lord Belgrave, 4, T. Grosvenor, 2
Chichester—Rt. Hon. T. Steele, 5, G. W. Thomas, 4
Chippenham—*C. Brooke, J. Dawkins, 4
Christchurch—Rt. Hon. G. Rose, 3, †W. Sturges, 1
Cirencester—Sir R. Preston, 2, M. H. Beach, 2
Clitheroe—*Hon. J. Cust, Hon. R. Curzon, 1
Cockermouth—*Robert Ward, *James Graham
Colchester—†J. Dennison, 1, R. Thornton, 4
Corfe Castle—H. Banks, 5, N. Bond, 5
Cornwall County—Sir W. Lemon, 7, Francis Gregor, 2
Coventry—N. Jefferys, 1, *W. F. Barlow
Cricklade—T. Estcourt, 2, Lord Porchester, 2
Cumberland—Sir H. Fletcher, 7, J. Lowther, 1
Dartmouth—E. Bastard, 5, *A. Howe Holdsworth
Denbighshire—Sir W. W. Wynne, 2
Derby Town—*Hon. F. West
Derbyshire—Lord G. Cavendish, 6, E. M. Mundy, 4
Derby Town—Hon. G. Walpole, 2, E. Coke, 5
Devizes—Rt. Hon. H. Addington, 4, J. Smith, 1
Devonshire—Sir Lawrence Palk, 4, J. P. Bastard, 5
Dorsetshire—W. M. Pitt, 5, F. J. Brown, 4
Dorchester—F. Fane, 2, C. Ashley, 2
Dover—J. Trevanion, 5, J. S. Smith
Downton—Hon E. Bouverie, 2, *Hon. J. Ward
Droitwich—Sir E. Winnington, 5, Hon. A. Foley, 6
Dunwich—Lord Huntingfield, 3, S. Barne, 1
Durham County—Sir R. Milbanke, 1, R. Burdon, 2
Durham City—R. J. Lambton, 1, *Richard Wharton
East Looe—J. Buller, 1, *E. Buller
Edmund's Bury, St.—Lord Hervey, 1, *Lord C. Fitzroy
Essex—J. Bullock, 6, *Eliab Harvey
Evesham—C. Thellusson, 1, *Cr. Bruce
Exeter—Sir C. Bamfylde, 1, *J. Buller
Eye—Hon. W. Cornwallis, 5, J. Cornwallis, 1
Flintshire—Sir T. Mostyn, 1
Flint Town—Watkin Williams, 6
Fowey—*R. P. Carew, E. Golding, 1
Gatton—†M. Wood, 2, *J. Dashwood
Germain's, St.—*Lord Binning, *J. Langham
Glamorganshire—T. Windham, 4
Gloucestershire—Hon. G. Berkeley, 5, Marquis of Worcester, 1
Gloucester City—J. Pitt, 4, H. Howard, 2
Grampound—Sir C. Hawkins, 1, †B. Hobhouse, 1
Grantham—*Sir W. E. Welby, *T. Thornton
Great Grimsby—A. Boucherett, 1, *J. H. Loft
Grinstead, East—†Sir H. Strachey, 2, *D. Giles
Guildford—Lord Cranley, 6, Hon. J. C. Norton, 1
Hampshire—Sir W. Heathcote, 2, W. Chute, 2
Harwich—J. Robinson, 5, *T. Myers
Haslemere—G. Wood, 1, †R. Penn, 1
Hastings—†Lord Glenbervie, 2, †G. W. Gunning, 1
Haverfordwest—Lord Kensington, 10
Helston—*Lord Fitzharris, *J. Penn
Herefordshire—*Sir G. Cornewall, *J. G. Cotterell
Hereford City—J. Scudamore, 1, T. P. Symonds, 1
Hertfordshire—W. Plumer, 8, *Hon. P. Lambe
Hertford Town—*Hon. G. S. Cowper, N. Calvert, 3
Heyden—C. A. Saville, 1, †G. Johnstone, 1
Heytesbury—*Lord Kirkwall, †Rt. Hon. C. Abbot, 2¶
Higham Ferrers—*P. F. Foljambe
Hindon—*T. Wallace, *J. Pedley
Honiton—G. Shum, 1, †Sir J. Honywood, 1

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Horsham—*P. Ross, *E. Hilliard
Huntingdonshire—Lord Hinchinbrooke, 2, Lord Montagu, 1
Huntingdon Town—J. Calvert, 2, W. H. Fellows, 4
Hythe—*M. White, *T. Godfrey
Ilchester—*W. Punter, *T. Plummer
Ipswich—C. A. Crickett, 4, Sir A. Hammond, 1
Ives, St.—W. Praed, 5, *J. Raine
Kent—*F. Honywood, Sir W. Geary, 1
King's Lynn—Sir M. B. Foulkes, 2, Hon. H. Walpole, 5
Kingston-upon-Hull—S. Thornton, 4, *J. Staniforth
Knaresborough—Lord J. Townshend, 4, J. Hare, 5
Lancashire—T. Stanley, 6, J. Blackburne, 4
Lancaster Town—*Marquis Douglas, John Dent, 2
Launceston—J. Brogden, 1, *R. H. A. Bennet
Leicestershire—Sir E. C. Hartopp, 1, G. A. L. Keck, 2
Leicester Town—S. Smith, 4, T. Babington, 1
Leominster—†J. Lubbock, 1, *Hon. C. Kinnaird
Liskeard—Hon. J. Eliot, 5, †Hon. W. Eliot, 2
Lestwithiel—H. Sloane, 2, †W. Dickenson, jun. 1
Lewes—†Lord F. Osborne, 1, *H. Shelly
Lincolnshire—Sir G. Heathcote, 1, *C. Chaplin
Lincoln City—R. Ellison, 1, H. Sibthorp, 1
Litchfield—Sir J. Wrottesley, 1, T. Anson, 4
Liverpool—Gen. Tarleton, 2, Gen. Gascoigne, 1
London—H. C. Combe, 1, *C. Price, W. Curtis, 2, Sir J. Anderson, 2
Ludlow—Hon. R. Clive, 2, R. Payne Knight. 5
Luggershall—Earl of Dalkeith, 2, T. Everett, 1
Lyme Regis—Hon. T. Fane, 4, Hon. H. Fane, 7
Lymington—W. Manning, 2, Gen. H. Burrard, 2
Maidstone—Sir M. Bloxham, 4, *J. H. Durand
Maiden—J. H. Street, 2, C. C. Western, 2
Malmsbury—*C. Scott, *S. Scott
Malton—B. Cooke, 1, Hon. C. L. Dundas
Marlborough—Lord Bruce, 1, *J. Leigh
Marlow—T. Williams, 2, O. Williams, 1
Maw's, St.—†Rt. Hon. W. Windham, 4, Sir W. Young, 4
Michael, St.—*R. Dallas, *R. S. Ainslie
Merionethshire—Sir R. W. Vaughan, 2
Midhurst—G. Smith, 1, *S. Smith
Middlesex—G. Byng, 2, †Sir F. Burdett, 1
Milburne Port—Lord Paget, 2, *H. Leycester
Minehead—J. F. Luttrell, 6, *J. Patteson
Monmouthshire—Gen. J. Rooke, 4, C. Morgan, 1
Monmouth Town—†Lord C. Somerset, 1
Montgomeryshire—C. W. W. Wynn, 1
Montgomery Town—W. Keene, 7
Morpeth—Lord Morpeth, 2, *W. Ord
Newark—*Admiral Sir C. M. Pole, †T. M. Sutton, 5
Newcastle-under-Lyne—E. W. Bootle, 2, *Sir R. Lawley
Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Sir M. Ridley, 7, C. Brandling, 4
Newport, Cornwall—J. Richardson, 1, W. Northey, 1
Newport, Hants—†J. Blackburn, 1, *R. G. Kerr
Newton, Lancashire—T. Brooke, 4, P. Patten, 1
Newton, Hants—*Sir R. Barclay, *C. Chapman
Norfolk—T. W. Coke, 4, Sir J. Astley, 1
Northallerton—H. Pierse, 6, Hon. E. Lascelles, 2
Northamptonshire—F. Dickins, 4, W. R. Cartwright, 1
Northampton Town—Hon. S. Percival, 2, Hon. E. Bouverie, 2
Northumberland—Hon. C. Grey, 4, Col. T. Beaumont, 2
Norwich—*R. Fellowes, †W. Smith, 4
Nottinghamshire—Lord W. Bentinck, 1, Hon. E. Pierrepoint, 1
Nottingham Town—Sir J. B. Warren, 2, *J. Birch
Oakhampton—J. Strange, 1, *H. Holland, jun.
Orford—Lord R. S. Conway, 2, *J. Trail
Oxfordshire—Lord F. A. Spencer, 1, J. Fane, 1
Oxford City—*A. Wright, F. Burton, 3
Oxford University—Sir W. Dolben, 6, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Scott, 2
Pembrokeshire—Lord Milford 4
Pembroke Town—Hugh Barlow, 6
Penrhyn—†Sir S. Lushington, 2, *Sir J. Nicholl
Peterborough—Dr. F. Lawrence, 1, †W. Elliot, 1
Petersfield—H. Jolliffe, 1, *Mr. Serj. W. Best
Plymouth—Sir W. Elford, 1, *P. Langmead
Plympton—†E. Goulding, 1, ¶ P. Metcalfe, 1
Pontefract—J. Smyth, 5, *R. Benyon
Poole—J. Jeffery, 1, G. Garland, 1
Portsmouth—Hon. T. Erskine, 2, Capt. J. Markham, 1
Preston—Lord Stanley, 1, *J. Horrocks
Queensborough—*J. Prinsep, *G. P. Moore
Radnor County—W. Wilkins, 1
Radnor Town—R. Price, 1
Reading—F. Annesley, 6, †C. S. Lefevre, 1, ¶
Retford (East)—*R. Cranford, *J. Jaffray
Richmond, Yorkshire—*Hon. G. H. L. Dundas, A. Shakespeare, 1
Rippon—Sir J. Graham, 1, J. Heathcote, 1
Rochester—*Sir W. S. Smith, *J. Hulks
Romney (New)—J. W. Willett, 1, *M. Lopez
Rutlandshire—*N. Noel, *Lord Carberry
Rye—Rt. Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, 2, *T. D. Lamb
Ryegate—Hon. J. S. Yorke, 2, Hon. J. S. Cocks, 5
Salop County—Sir R. Hill, 5, J. K. Powell, 4
Saltash—*M. Russell, *R. Deverell
Sandwich—Sir P. Stevens, 9, Sir H. Mann, 2
Sarum (New)—W. Hussey, 8, †Lord Folkstone, 1
Sarum (Old)—†N. Vansittart, 1, †H. Alexander
Scarborough—Hon. E. Phipps, 2, *Lord R. Manners
Seaford—C. Rose Ellis, 2, *R. J. Sullivan
Shaftesbury—*E. L. Loveden, *Rob. Hurst
Shoreham—Sir Cecil Bishopp, 1, *T. Shelley
Shrewsbury—Sir Wm. Pulteney, 7, Hon. W. Hill, 1
Somersetshire—W. G. Langston, 2, William Dickenson, 1
Southampton Town—G. H. Rose, 2, J. Amyatt, 2
Southwark—Henry Thornton, 5, Geo. Tierney, 1
Staffordshire—Lord G. L. Gower, 2, Sir E. Littleton, 4
Stafford Town—R. B. Sheridan, 5, Hon. E. Monckton, 5
Stamford—Gen. J. Leland, 1, Lieut. Gen. A. Bertie, 1
Steyning—J. Martin Lloyd, 1, *R. Hurst
Stockbridge—*J. F. Barham, Col. G. Porter, 1
Sudbury—*Sir J. C. Hippesley, *J. Pytches
Suffolk—Lord Brome, 1, Sir T. C. Bunbury, 7
Surry—Lord W. Russell, 4, Sir J. Frederick, 2
Sussex—Gen. C. Lennox, 2, John Fuller, 2
Tamworth—Sir Robert Peele, 2, †Gen. W. Loftus, 1
Tavistock—Lord R. Spencer, 1, Gen. Fitzpatrick, 7
Taunton—Wm. Moreland, 1, John Hammett, 5
Tewkesbury—James Martin, 6, Christ. Codrington, 1
Therford—John Harrison, 2, *Thos. Creevey
Thirske—Sir G. P. Turner, 4, *W. Frankland
Tiverton—Right Hon. D. Ryder, 4, Hon. R. Ryder, 2
Totness—†Wm. Adams, 1, *J. B. Burland
Tregony—*Marquis of Blandford, *Charles Cockerell
Truro—Leveson Gower, 1, J. Lemon, 1

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Wallingford—Sir Francis Sykes, 5, *W. Lewis Hughes
Wareham—J. Calcraft, 1, †A. Strahan, 1
Warwickshire—Sir G. A. W. S. Evelyn, 5, *D. S. Dugdale
Warwick Town—*C. Mills, *Lord Broke
Wells—C. Tudway, 2, C. W. Taylor, 1
Wendover—†Rt. Hon. C. Long, 4, *Hon. J. Smith
Wenlock—Cecil Forrester, 2, Hon. J. Simpson, 2
Weobly—Lord G. Thynne, 2, *J. F. Thomas
Westbury—*W. Baldwin, †C. Smith, 1
West Looe—*Js. Buller, *Tho. Smith
Westminster—Hon. C. J. Fox, 7, Lord Gardner, 1
Westmoreland—Sir M. Le Fleming, 6, J. Lowther, 6
Weymouth and Melcombe Regis—Sir J. Pulteney, 4, G. Steward, 2, W. Garthshore, 1, *C. Adams
Whitchurch—W. Townshend, 1, W. Broderick, 1
Wigan—*R. H. Leigh, *John Hodson
Wilton—V. Fitzwilliam, 4, Hon. J. Spencer, 1
Wiltshire—A. Goddard, 7, H. P. Wyndham, 2
Winchelsea—*Rob. Ladbrooke, *Wm. Moffat
Winchester—Sir R. Gamon, 4, †Sir H. Mildmay, 1
Windsor—*J. Williams, Hon. R. F. Greville, 1
Woodstock—Sir H. Dashwood, 4, †C. Abbot, 2
Worcestershire—E. Foley, 7, W. Lygon, 6
Worcester City—A. Robarts, 1, *J. Scott
Wootton Bassett—*Hon. H. St. John, *R. Williams, jun.
Wycombe (Chipping)—Sir J. Dashwood, 1, †Sir F. Baring, 2
Yarmouth, Norfolk—*Sir T. Trowbridge, *T. Jervis
Yarmouth, Hants—J. C. Jervoise, 6, *J. P. Murray
Yorkshire—W. Wilberforce, 5, H. Lascelles, 1
York City—Sir W. Milner, 2, †L. Dundas, 2

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeenshire—James Ferguson, 4
Aberdeen, Aberbrothick, Montrose, Brechin, and Inverbervie—*James Farquhar
Ayrshire—Col. Wm. Fullarton, 1
Argyleshire—Lord J. D. E. H. Campbell, 1
Banffshire—Right Hon. Sir W. Grant, 2
Berwickshire—George Baillie, 1
Buteshire and Caithness—†Sir John Sinclair, 2
Clackmananshire and Kinross—*W. Douglas, *M'Lean Clephane
Crail, Kilrenny, Anstruther-Easter, Pittenweem, and Anstruther-Wester—Gen. Alex. Campbell, 2
Culross Dunfermling, Innerkeithing, Queen-Ferry, and Stirling—*Sir John Henderson, *Alex. Cockran
Cupar, Perth, Dundee, St. Andrew, and Forfar—David Scott, 2
Dumbartonshire—James Colquhoun, jun. 1
Dumbarton, Rutherglen, Glasgow, and Renfrew—*Alexander Houston
Dumfries-shire—Sir Robert Lawrie, 6
Dumfries, Sanquhar, Kircudbright, Lochmaben, and Annan—Hon. Charles Hope, 2¶
Edinburghshire—Robert Dundas, 2
Edinburgh City—Right Hon. H. Dundas, 6
Elginshire—James Brodie, 1
Fifeshire—Sir Wm. Erskine, 1
Forfarshire—Sir David Carnegie, 1
Haddingtonshire—Hon. Col. C. Hope, 1¶
Inverness-shire—*Charles Grant
Inverness, Nairn, Forres, and Fortrose—*A. P. Cumming Gordon
Irvine, Air, Rothsay, Inverary, and Campbelltown—John Campbell, 2
Kincardineshire—Sir John Stuart, 1
Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Elgin, and Invercurie—*Col. Francis W. Grant
Kirkcudbright, and Stewartry—Patrick Heron, 2
Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, Brunt-Island, and Dysart—Sir J. St. Clair Erskine, 5
Lanarkshire—*Lord A. Hamilton
Lauder, Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, and Jedburgh—†Hon. Tho. Maitland, 2
Linlithgowshire—Hon. Chas. Alex. Hope, 1
Nairnshire, and Cromarty—*Gen. Alex. M'Kenzie
Orkney and Shetland—Capt. Rob. Honyman, 1
Peebleshire—James Montgomery, 1
Perthshire—Col. Thomas Graham, 2
Renfrewshire—†William M'Dowall, 2
Ross-shire—Sir Charles Ross, 4
Roxburghshire—Sir George Douglas, 4
Selkirkshire—*John Rutherford
Selkirk, Lanark, Peebles, and Linlithgow—*Col. Wm. Dickson
Stirlingshire—*Capt. Charles Elphinstone
Stranraer, Wigtown, Whitehorn, and New Galloway—*Spalding Gordon
Sutherlandshire—†Right Hon. W. Dundas, 2
Wigtownshire—*Andrew M'Dowall
Kirkwall, Tain, Dingwall, Dornoch, and Wick—*John Charles Villiers, 5

IRELAND.

Antrim County—*Hon. J. O'Neil, E. A. M'Naughton
Armagh County—Hon. A. Acheson, *Hon. H. Caulfield
Armagh Town—Patrick Duigenan
Athlone—William Handcock
Bandon Bridge—Sir Broderick Chinnery
Belfast—Edward May
Carrickfergus—*Lord Spencer Chichester
Cashel—Right Hon. W. Wickham
Carlow County—*D. Latouche, *G. O. Bagenal
Carlow Town—*C. Montague Ormsby
Cavan County—Nath. Sneyd, F. Saunderson
Clare County—*Sir E. O'Brien, Hon. F. N. Burton
Clonmell—William Bagwell
Cork County—Lord Boyle, R. H. Fitzgerald
Cork City—M. Longfield, Hon. C. H. Hutchinson
Coleraine—*Walter Jones
Donegall County—Lord Sudley, *Sir Jas. Stewart
Down County—Lord Castlereagh, F. Savage
Downpatrick—*Counsellor Haythorn
Drogheda—Edward Hardman
Dublin County—H. Hamilton, F. J. Faulkener
Dublin City—J. C. Beresford, †J. Latouche

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Dublin College—Hon. George Knox
Dundalk—*Richard Archdall
Dungannon—Hon. John Knox
Dungarvon—*William Green
Ennis—*James Fitzgerald
Enniskillen—Hon. A. Cole Hamilton
Fermanagh County—Lord Cole, Mervyn Archdall
Galway County—Hon. R. Trench, R. Martin
Galway Town—J. Brabazon Ponsonby
Kerry County—M. Fitzgerald, Jas. Crosbie
Kildare County—*Lord R. Fitzgerald, *Reb. Latouche
Kilkenny County—Right Hon. W. B. Ponsonby, Hon. J. Butler
Kilkenny City—*Hon. Charles Butler
King's County—Sir L. Parsons, *T. Bernard
Kinsale—†James C. Rowley
Leitrim County—Lord Clements, *P. Latouche, Junior.
Limerick County—*C. S. Oliver, W. Odell
Limerick City—Charles Vereker
Lisburne—†Earl of Yarmouth
Londonderry County—*Lord G. Beresford, Hon. C. T. Stewart
Londonderry City—Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill
Longford County—*Hon. T. Newcomen, Sir T. Featherstone
Louth County—Right Hon. J. Foster, W. G. Fortescue
Mallow—*Denham Jephson
Mayo County—Hon. H. A. Dillon, Hon. D. Browne
Meath County—Sir M. Somerville, *T. Bligh
Monaghan County—R. Dawson, C. P. Leslie
Newry—Right Hon. Isaac Corry
Portarlington—*Henry Parnell
Queen's County—Hon. W. W. Pole, *Sir E. Coote
Roscommon County—*Hon. E. King, Arthur French
Ross (New)—*Charles Tottenham, jun.
Sligo County—Charles O'Hara, J. B. Cowper
Sligo Town—Owen Wynne
Tipperary County—Lord F. Mathew, John Bagwell
Tralee—Right Hon. George Canning
Tyrone County—James Stewart, Right Hon. J. Stewart
Waterford County—Right Hon. J. Beresford, †Edward Lee
Waterford City—Wm. Congreve Alcock
Westmeath County—G. H. Rochfort, Wm. Smith
Wexford County—Lord Loftus, Abel Ram
Wexford Town—*R. N. Furness
Wicklow County—W. H. Hume, Geo. Ponsonby
Youghall—John Keane

Substance of Mr. Wilberforce's Address to the Freeholders of the County of York, on being proposed as one of the Members.

Gent.—In appearing before you upon the present occasion, I cannot but feel that I am placed in a serious, and I might almost say, an awful situation; for I am come before you to render up an account of the trust which six years ago your kindness committed to me; and when I consider the weight and importance of that trust, under any circumstances, and still more when I reflect on the very critical and portentous times during which I have possessed it, which have tended to multiply its difficulties and increase its responsibility, it is natural for me to feel that I am in a grave and solemn situation, now that I stand before you to answer to you for the discharge of its various and weighty duties. I will *fairly* own to you also, Gent., that there is another consideration which powerfully affects my mind; I mean the prodigious *size of our vast county*: its population, its wealth, and all those other circumstances by which it is distinguished. I know indeed that it is *constitutional* language to affirm, that a member of parliament for any place, be it what it may, is, when chosen, the representative, not of his own particular constituency, but of the people of England in general: that the member for *Old Sarum* is a member of parl. equally with the member for the very county in which *we* stand.—This is an opinion which, *in the main*, I myself hold: it is sound constitutional doctrine, which I maintain, and which on this day I publicly avow: *but yet, gentlemen, he must have a mind of greater power of practical abstraction than mine, or have firmer nerves than I possess, who, when the rights, the interests, the credit, the character, the honour of this great county, (itself a little* KINGDOM) *are committed to his care, does not feel himself loaded with a burthen far more weighty than that which he would have to bear, if he were the representative of some decayed town or some inconsiderable borough.*

Gent. I trust I may appear before you with boldness, because though conscious of many errors and imperfections, I can truly declare, that I have acted with *honest and pure intentions*, with a mind unbiassed by personal considerations or party motives; with a sincere desire of promoting the welfare of our common country.—I have *not* made the sacred trust which you confided to me, subservient to the purposes of my own *interest* or *aggrandizement*.

Gent. I trust I may also affirm, that I have not been inattentive to the local concerns and particular interests of my constituents.—Chiefly indeed owing to a weak constitution, which after the labours of a session of parliament requires to be restored by medical attention, and recruited by rest and quiet, partly from various other causes, I have been less personally present among you than it was my wish to be, but I have trusted that you would prefer the solid substance of diligent attention to your public and private concerns, before those petty personal assiduities in which they must needs abound, who by them would compensate for the scanty performance of more important duties.—Gent. it is natural for me, in meeting you in this place, and giving, as it were, an account of my stewardship, to cast my eye backward upon the leading events which have happened since we were last assembled here upon the same occasion. We have lived in times fruitful in events the most important and extraordinary, in times abounding also in difficulties which have often rendered the path of duty the object of serious, difficult, and painful inquiry. Allow me here to mention one consideration which often tends to mislead others on this head, and to make them think the difficulty of forming a right judgment in political questions to be less than it really is. Not seldom it happens, that honestly desirous of doing our duty, we meditate with seriousness, we inquire with diligence; we weigh with close attention; and after all, when we have long poised the balance, and watched it with a wary and impartial eye, we are scarcely able to make out to our own satisfaction which of the two scales preponderates; yet when at length we declare our opinion, though slowly and painfully formed, we are apt to speak with confidence and positiveness, as if there were no doubt to be entertained on the point in question. This

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difficulty of judging aright in the complicated cases which come before us, should teach those who think differently on political subjects, mutual moderation and candour. We cannot expect that even our constituents should approve of every particular of our conduct. They may indeed, and ought to require, that their representative should agree with them in the great principles of political conduct, and likewise in the general line to be pursued in any given conjuncture of affairs. But provided there be this general agreement, they ought not too scrupulously to look for an exact coincidence in every individual vote, and on every particular question.—Gent. I heartily rejoice to find that you approve of these principles, they are principles worthy of the rank you hold, and of the place you fill in our national representation. They send your member to parliament the free and liberal representative of a free people, and not your slave, fettered and shackled, a character which I should feel degrading, though it were to be the slave even of the county of York itself.—Gent. when last I met you in this place, we were in circumstances of great public danger. The prospect shortly after became more gloomy, and the danger more imminent; yet, even these dangers, great as they were, appear but small, compared with the number and magnitude of those to which we were exposed about the beginning of the very last year: then, added to a new and powerful confederacy, formed among the northern states, against the very sources of our maritime strength; added to the entire defection of our allies, and the union of almost all the powers of Europe against us, under the guidance of our inveterate enemy, France, which having forced the power of Austria to sue for peace in the posture of a suppliant, was enabled to direct against us the whole undivided strength of her vast empire, was superadded rebellion, but ill extinguished, in our sister kingdom, and an apparent spirit of disunion in our public councils. But through the wisdom, integrity, firmness, and dignified moderation of His Majesty's late and present administration, supported by the steady and liberal aid of parliament, under the blessing of a gracious Providence, the black cloud which lowered over us has been dissipated, and we are restored to a state far more prosperous and promising. True, indeed, there has been a dreadful expenditure of blood and treasure. The vessel of the state has suffered severely in the conflict, and has entered the harbour with her canvas torn; but in the war of elements which we have witnessed, how can it be but that she must have suffered? I trust, however, that we are still in a situation in which we may continue a great and a happy people.

Gent.—*I trust it will be our future policy to abstain, as far as possible, from those continental connexions, for which I had almost said the very integrity and good faith of the ministers and people of this country, render us unfit, inasmuch as we cannot keep or break our engagements accordingly as it suits the convenience of the present moment in the fluctuating state of human affairs,*

We shall, I trust, cultivate our own *internal resources*, and endeavour to render our people *secure, prosperous*, and *contented*. I am happy to declare to you, gent. that the character of His Majesty's present administration, and the tenor of their past conduct, firm and temperate, but yet *conciliating* and *unassuming*, is a pledge for their continuing to act with the same honest and faithful attention to the true interests of their country. These gent. are at least my principles, and it is fit that you should know them. Conscious of upright intentions, yet when I consider the serious, important, and complicated duties of the situation for which I presume to propose myself, I should feel afraid to venture on the task, where I not also supported by the assured persuasion, founded in long and uniform experience, of the candour, or rather kindness, with which you judge the conduct and construe the motives of your representative.

After having been unanimously elected, Mr. Wilberforce spoke in substance as follows:

Gent.—I will trespass on your patience for a very few moments, but I should be unfaithful to my own feelings, if I were not to express to you the grateful sense which I entertain of your great and continued kindness. I cannot but feel it deeply. I have not made the sacred trust, which you confided to me, subservient to the purposes of my own interest or aggrandizement. I see also in its true point of elevation the exalted station to which your favourable opinion has again raised me. Suffer me in truth to say, (a sentiment, the avowal of which, remarks that have been elsewhere made may render not improper) that I consider the honour of being your representative as one of the highest dignities I could enjoy. Great is my respect for hereditary honours. It is still greater for those which have been granted by the well-judging hand of our Sovereign, for brilliant exploits rendered to the Public by our great naval and military commanders, or for long and faithful services in public offices of high trust and laborious duty. But he must have a mind constituted very differently from mine; his estimate of things must be formed on very different principles; who could account as more honourable that nobility which should be granted from motives of political interest or personal favour, than the dignified and exalted station to which he is elevated, who, by the free and united voice of the freeholders of Yorkshire, is elected to be the depository of their interests, and the guardian of their rights.—The pleasure which I feel cannot but be heightened, as indeed the honour is increased, by beholding around me, so many of the same faces which I have been used to see on similar occasions, and by the testimony I thereby receive of their continued friendship and esteem.—Gent. the scene in which we are now present, is indeed a magnificent spectacle; to see the freeholders of this great county assembled together, and freely choosing their own representatives in parliament, is a sight in the highest degree gratifying and animating to those who know the real nature and the high value of true liberty: of that liberty, which, as was so well stated by my friend beside me, whom it is a pleasure to me to be again able to call my colleague, is founded in law, inseparably connected with public order.—Let those deluded men, whether of this or of any other country, who have so far mistaken the real spirit of liberty, as to confound it with anarchy, come hither and have their error corrected, and learn to know and admire that true image of constitutional freedom which is here exhibited. This is a lesson which it becomes this great county to give. Yes, gentlemen, it well becomes you, that as you constitute the county first in extent, in wealth, in population, in agricultural labours and commercial manufacturing industry, so that you should be first and foremost also in that which is still more excellent and elevated, in

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that political independence, which constitutes the very spirit and soul of all your constitutional and legal rights.—Suffer me, gentlemen, likewise to dwell upon another consideration, which is naturally suggested to my mind by the very appearance of the company that I see around me—I mean that harmony and perfect union between the landed and commercial interests, which has so long subsisted in this county, to their mutual honour.—Here again, gentlemen, it gratifies the mind, to see, that to all its other circumstances of honourable distinction, our county superadds the dignified exemption, from that low and degrading jealousy, which in other times and places has too much prevailed. You well know, that your real interests are the same, that you must stand or fall together.—Gentlemen, preserve and cherish this just and liberal sentiment; it is suitable to your character; it is the pledge of your independence. If ever any persons could presume upon being able to impose on you a member not the real object of your choice, it would be by sowing among you a principle of disunion, by endeavouring to make you mutually jealous of each other, thus bringing you both into subjection. These little jealousies may better accord with inconsiderable rights and petty interests; but they suit not the unquestionable reality and extended bulk of the agriculture and commerce of our great county.—Gent.—I have laid before you the sentiments with which I am impressed; I shall return to parliament with a heart devoted to your service, and desirous of demonstrating, by a faithful and assiduous discharge of the duties of my station, the warmth of my gratitude and the sincerity of my attachment.

The Addresses of Thos. Wm. Coke, Esq. M. P. to the Gent. Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Norfolk.

Gent.—My heart is glowing with the warmest and most unfeigned gratitude, while I thank you for the zeal which you have manifested in my favour, and congratulate you upon the success of a cause, which is equally dear to you and myself.—Professions, unaccompanied by actions, may sometimes amuse the credulous, and sometimes conciliate the unfriendly. But in every appeal which I make to *your* judgment, and upon every occasion upon which I solicit your support, I can, without any consciousness of presumption, challenge the strictest enquiry into the rectitude of my motives, and the consistency of my conduct.—It has, indeed, been my lot to be engaged in your service, at a very trying and perilous crisis; when the unusual state of public affairs required unusual circumspection and steadiness in public men; when the best and wisest of our fellow-subjects were exposed to unmerited and unexampled contumely; when independence was misconstrued into disloyalty, and patriotism was branded with the odious name of faction. But no reproaches, however poignant—no artifices, however subtle—no menaces, however clamorous, were sufficient to shake the firmness of my soul, or to deter me from discharging those duties which I owed to my constituents and to my countrymen, as the guardian of their ancient and sacred rights. Under the serious conviction that peace and freedom are surer preservatives of civilization and good order, and surer effects, too, of morality and religion, than war with all its triumphs, or oppression, under any of its disguises, I disdained to become the dupe of prejudice, or the tool of power.—Amidst the fears of many who were virtuous, and the apostacy of far *too* many who were venal, I reflected again and again upon the pure, the temperate, and salutary principles of the English constitution.—I continued to revere those principles—I have endeavoured to act up to them, and therefore I throw myself, without dismay, on the justice of every enlightened, impartial, and uncorrupt observer, who glories in the name of a free-born Englishman.—The protection which I have lately received from you, and by which you have rescued our common cause from the assaults of a sudden and most formidable opposition, is equally honourable to yourselves and to me. It shews, that amidst all the struggles of party, and all the stratagems of misrepresentation, your favourable opinion of my integrity is unchanged, and that the increased difficulties with which you were to contend, have only produced a proportionate increase of ardour and energy in behalf of a representative, who has never sacrificed your interests to promote his own—never deceived you by promises which he was unwilling to fulfil—nor stooped to the mean and mischievous practice of gratifying ambition at the expense of sincerity or consistency.—In the rank, the opulence, the well-known connexions, and long-tried honour of many respectable men, who have stood forth as my supporters in the present contest, my country has received a most unequivocal pledge of *their* conviction, that the measures I have uniformly and avowedly pursued, are not at variance with the *true* spirit of the constitution, nor injurious to public security and public prosperity.—It is with peculiar satisfaction, and even pride, that I acknowledge the active and disinterested assistance which has been given me by the yeomanry of this county,—a class of men, whose pursuits are eminently useful in every civilized community,—whose character has in many periods of our history been distinguished by a firm and heroic spirit of independence, and upon whose growing wealth, number, and strength, I am accustomed to reflect with the most heart-felt joy. Such, indeed, is my respect for the soundness of their understandings, and the manliness of their sentiments; and such, too, is my sense of their importance to the well-being of society itself, that in watching over their rights, and contributing to their happiness, I shall ever consider myself as performing one of the most pleasing and momentous duties, by which a member of parliament can either do credit to the choice of his constituents, or provide for the substantial and permanent advantage of his country. It is not unknown to you, that a large portion of my own time and attention has been employed upon subjects of agriculture; and therefore I gladly embrace the opportunity which is now afforded me, of declaring to you and to the Public, that the most splendid distinctions of title or station are, in my judgment, of little or no value, when compared with the esteem and attachment of an English yeomanry, neither enervated by luxury, nor seduced by corruption.—You will permit me, gentlemen, to express my earnest hope, that in adhering to the cause of Sir Jacob Astley, as my colleague, I was justified by the steadiness which I had observed in his parliamentary conduct, by the concern which I felt for his injured character, and by the respect which I owe, in common with yourselves, to the memory of his late father—the faithful and favourite representative of your county, and, you will give me leave to add, a most sincere and constant friend to myself and my family.—Gentlemen, I once more thank you for your generous and spirited exertions in my favour: I feel in them a solemn and imperious call upon my gratitude and my honour, to prove myself not unworthy of your support, and most anxiously do I hope, that by a diligent and conscientious discharge of the trust which you have reposed in me, I shall to the latest hour of

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my life, retain the confidence of this large, opulent, and independent county.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c. *T. W. Coke.*

To the Gent. Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Norfolk.

Gent.—Permit me to congratulate you upon the termination of the scrutiny which Col. Wodehouse professedly demanded in compliance with the wishes of his friends, and of which he has openly declared to you his "warmest approbation." How far the zeal of his advisers was accompanied by knowledge and discretion, must be left to the consideration of those, who may long have reason to remember, that a majority in favour of Sir Jacob Astley, which upon the poll amounted to ninety-five, has now reached one hundred and nine, after the strenuous efforts that were made to reduce it for the space of twenty days.—I am not rash, Gent. in stating, that if the time had allowed every objectionable vote upon every side to be fairly and fully examined, the superiority of Sir Jacob Astley would, in all probability, have been greater than it now is; and I confess, that the very unusual proceedings of the sheriff's court, have ultimately strengthened my confidence in the merits of a cause, which, after a construction of the statute possibly right, a construction possibly wrong, and doubtful assumptions, *without any construction* at all, has proved victorious.—I cannot, indeed, dissemble the painful regret which I felt, when, for purposes of defence only, my counsel found themselves obliged to adopt the mode of warfare which their adversaries had employed, and thus to dispute to votes of many worthy and respectable freeholders, on the ground of mere informality.—But for severities, which it was not in my power to prevent, the sole responsibility lies, not with the parties who reluctantly engaged in the scrutiny, but with the persons who originally and spontaneously called upon the sheriff to grant it.—Sincere is my sorrow for the loss of time, the vexation of spirit, and other unpleasant effects, which the scrutiny must have occasioned among persons, who are scattered at various distances from Norwich, and whose presence at home must, in this season of harvest, have been peculiarly necessary to the right management of their agricultural concerns. Your good sense, however, will suggest to you, that Sir Jacob Astley and myself are no otherwise answerable for these interruptions, than as men who were *compelled* to act upon the conditions which their opponents had prescribed to them, and who, by so doing, have eventually established your rights, together with their own.—Your patriotism, at the same time, will find ample compensation for every temporary inconvenience, when you view the result of the scrutiny as a most unequivocal proof of that wisdom and that equity which characterise the laws of England, and by which they are justly endeared to every English heart.—Among other favourable consequences of this event, an opportunity is again afforded me for returning my cordial and respectful thanks to all my constituents—to those who, with a candour and impartiality that will ever command my esteem, supported me jointly with Col. Wodehouse—to those who thought me worthy of the high distinction conferred by a single vote—and to those who, from motives which most deeply interest my best feelings, bestowed their suffrages on Sir Jacob Astley as well as myself.—Many and weighty are the obligations which you laid upon the successful candidates during the election, and which both of us, I trust, will always remember with unfeigned satisfaction, and endeavour at least to repay by unshaken fidelity.—But my particular and most grateful acknowledgments are now due to you, for your dignified generosity in sustaining the expenses of the scrutiny, and for your unwearied activity in facilitating the separation of legal from illegal votes.—The decision made by the sheriff, will, I hope, speedily put an end to all political animosities; and sure I am, that no exertions on my part will be wanting to restore that harmony and mutual good humour which lately prevailed among you, and which it is the glory of a free people to consider as suspended, but not destroyed, by difference of opinion, in the exercise of their common rights for the common good.—As Col. Wodehouse in his address to you, complains of practices, which he describes under the name of "*arts*," and such arts, too, "as he would have "blushed to see employed in his own behalf." I am under the necessity of confronting vague and invidious statement with direct and ingenuous explanation. In what, then, let me ask, consist the arts so confidently imputed, and so sharply censured? And what are the facts which tend to convict me of having the smallest share in them? Most certainly, I should have been ashamed to insinuate concerning my competitor, as some friends of that competitor have most *falsely* reported concerning me, that he thinks himself under little or no obligation to those who voted for him singly, or conjointly with myself.—As certainly, I have not wished to call down upon him, as others have wickedly endeavoured to bring it upon me, by ascribing to him indecorums which he *never* committed, absurdities which he never uttered, and sentiments of illiberality, combined with arrogance, which he is equally incapable with myself of harbouring, even for one moment, in his bosom.—I have not attempted to lull the vigilance of my opponents, or to cheer the hopes of my supporters, by ambiguous and indirect preparations for contest, to be avowed, or explained away, to be pursued or abandoned, to be employed in one quarter, or transferred to another, as experiments, and consultations upon the result of experiment, might require.—I am not indebted for any portion of my success to the apostacy of fickle companions and faithless friends, from the cause of my honourable and much respected rival—I have not let loose a fierce and inquisitorial spirit of detraction, upon the real or supposed faults of my neighbours in private life—I have not degraded a large and opulent county into the situation of a petty and venal borough, by eagerness in issuing peremptory orders for the bribery oath to be administered, without any apparent plea from necessity, and without the ordinary delicacies of discrimination.—I have enticed no man by bribes—I have intimidated no man by menaces; and as to the pretensions of voters who have been precipitately, and, I should think, unhandsomely stiled "impostors," the scrutiny shews most incontestably, that such pretensions, if such they were, have not been countenanced by me.—Doubtless, in the hurry of a contest so spirited in itself, and so unforeseen by my well-wishers, possible it is, that among those who supported, as well as those who opposed me, several persons have innocently fallen into mistakes about the nature of their property, and the extent of their qualifications.—But my sense of propriety would not have suffered me to charge imposture upon any man, or any bodies of men, unless I were in possession of the clearest proofs; and my long acquaintance with the frank and manly character of the freeholders of Norfolk, abundantly convinces me, that no one class of them deserves to be mentioned in opprobrious terms.—For my part, I am accustomed to honour their zeal, whether the direction it takes be favourable or unfavourable to myself; and I am determined to vindicate their rights, from whatsoever quarter they may be attacked.—Through every stage of the present contest, it has been my earnest desire to abstain from unpro-

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voked and unbecoming reproaches towards every man, who, from the honest conviction of his own mind, supported my competitor.—But, when my opponents stand forth as my accusers, they would do well to remember, that so far as my suffrages in parliament, or my influence out of it, could have extended, no husbandman or manufacturer would have been bereaved of the fruits of his honest industry, or dragged from the land of his fathers, to perish in foreign climes; no lovely charities of social life, by which friend is endeared to friend, or neighbour to neighbour, would have been interrupted; no burthensome taxes would have been imposed: no innovations would have been craftily introduced into government; no rigour would have been wantonly exercised without the sanction of law; no altar would have been profaned; no throne would have been endangered; no cottage would have been visited by the sorest scourges of heaven, pestilence, famine, and the sword.—Prepared alike against the snares of solicitation, and the din of threats, I disdained to desert in reality, or even appearance, the genuine doctrines of Whiggism.—I found in common sense and common honesty sufficient preservatives for myself, against the contagion of popular panic, and the seduction of high, but in some instances, I fear, corrupt example—I looked for national honour in national security, for national security in peace, and for peace in the triumphs of wisdom over prejudice, of justice over passion, and of magnanimity over real or pretended fears.—For the rule of my conduct, I have again and again referred you, not to romantic and novel theories, but to those practical and sound principles, which afforded to our ancestors the surest protection for their happiness as men, and their privileges as Englishmen—principles, which acquired, surely, additional authority and additional lustre under the auspices of William III. and which, in succeeding reigns, seem to have been deeply incorporated into the opinions, the habits, and the laws of an enlightened people, who were conscious of having been delivered, without bloodshed, from the perils of civil and religious bondage. By those principles was I enabled to discern the transcendental and characteristic excellence of a constitution, which, like our own, had placed not only the strongest, but the very clearest boundaries, between the use and abuse of power, on the one hand, and between liberty and licentiousnes on the other.—To those principles I adhered, not only during the smooth and prosperous flow of public affairs, but amidst those occasional agitations of the public mind, to which every form of government, contrived by human wisdom, but administered by human infirmity, must inevitably be exposed.—From those principles I swerved not, under the multiplied difficulties of two eventful wars.—Guided by those principles, I formerly strove to avert that necessity which severed our American colonies from the mother country, after a profuse expenditure of treasure and of blood. At a later period, I was taught by those principles, to lament and to oppose that system of administration, which, according to the sober and avowed judgment of almost every Englishman, in almost every party, finally left us no other alternative, than a continuance of hostilities, by which England might have been subjected to fresh and grinding taxation, in fresh and unprofitable efforts, or the cessation of them, upon terms, which have given to France increased security from all she has recovered, and increased aggrandisement from all she had acquired.—It is now become my indispensable and most pleasing duty, to employ those principles in diffusing and repetuating the blessings which Providence has graciously bestowed upon us by the return of peace; and if any deplorable change in the politics of Europe should again bring my country into a state of warfare, I shall again have recourse to the same principles, as the most efficacious means of alleviating its calamities, and shortening its duration.—Surely, he that recommends such principles by precept, or enforces them by example, ought not to be hunted down by rude and savage clamour, as the enemy of civilization—as the disturber of good order—as a *Jacobin*, who, in the detestable spirit of the crew, and according to the only justifiable use of the word, would plunder his superiors, tyrannise over his countrymen, murder his governors, and blaspheme his God. During the calm of peace there cannot be even the colour of a reason for the repetition of that hideous jargon, which beguiled and exasperated the minds of men in the gloomy and tempestuous season of war.—Far be it from me to condemn in other men that exercise of *free* and impartial judgment which I have ever asserted for myself. But if any persons there be, who, deaf to the warnings of recent experience, are yet determined to persist in undisguised, undistinguishing, unrelenting hostility to the principles for which I contend, it cannot be improper to remind them, that they may themselves unwarily realise the mischiefs which they loudly deprecate; and eventually become the destroyers, not the preservers, of national strength, consolidated by national union, and invigorated by constitutional liberty.—At such a juncture as the present, it were vain to expect that every freeholder should assent to every opinion, or approve of every measure for which I hold myself responsible to the county, and to the Public.—But I am resolved to deceive no man, be he friendly or adverse to me, though I am aware that by executing that resolution, I may chance to offend in some quarters, where it is impossible for me to please, without the baseness of duplicity or the meanness of cowardice.—Be then assured, gentlemen, that no man living feels more sincere reverence than I do, for loyalty, as a precious and sacred homage due to power, wheresoever power, under the guidance of law, is employed in fostering merit, in protecting innocence, and in dispensing equal justice to every subject of every class. But heaven forbid, that under the disguise, or I should rather say, by the prostitution of this or any other venerable name, I should surrender my independence, or violate my conscience.—That for selfish purposes of venality or ambition, I should be the betrayer, when I had pledged myself to be a guardian of the public weal.—That I should endeavour to decoy others, or suffer myself to be decoyed, into sottish credulity, or abject thraldom.—On the contrary, it is my wish to be esteemed a free and uncorrupt member of parliament, in a free and civilized society, every member of which must have a common interest and a common duty, in quelling the outrages of faction, and watching against the encroachments of oppression.—Reflecting on the magnitude of the trust which you have again reposed in me, I thought myself bounden thus unreservedly and thus seriously to lay before you the fixed sentiments of my soul. I love my country—I am thankful to you my constituents—and to the latest hour of my existence it will be my constant aim to promote your welfare, and my highest ambition to be honoured by your support. I am, Gent. &c. &c.

P. W. Coke.

Norwich, August 28, 1802.

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IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *Nov.* 16.—At three the session was opened by the lords named in His Majesty's commission for that purpose, viz. the Lord Chancellor, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Grace the Duke of Portland, who took their seats on the occasion, in the usual place under the throne. The concurrence of the House being obtained, the Lord Chancellor commanded the attendance of the Commons by a message by the Black Rod. In a few minutes after, the Commons, to the number of about 160, appeared at the bar, introduced by Sir F. Molyneux, Usher of the Black Rod, and preceded by their senior clerk, Mr. Lee.—The Lord Chancellor then informed both Houses, that His Majesty, finding it inconvenient to attend personally, had issued his commission to certain persons therein named to signify His Majesty's pleasure to them. The commission being read, the Lord Chancellor spoke from his seat nearly as follows:—"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty's commissioners are commanded to inform you, that as soon as the members of both Houses are sworn in, His Majesty will communicate to you the causes for which he has required your attendance in the present parliament.—Gent. of the House of Commons, Previous to this, it will be necessary that you should have chosen a Speaker. It is therefore His Majesty's pleasure that you should now retire to the place appointed for you to sit in, and make choice of a fit and proper person to be your Speaker, whom you are to present at the bar of this house at two o'clock to-morrow, to receive His Majesty's approbation."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—As early as the hour of eleven in the morning, the Lord Steward attended in the Privy Chamber, and the members came down to take the oaths.—Before two o'clock a very considerable number of members had entered the house. From that hour it filled very rapidly. At 35 minutes after two, a message was received from the House of Lords, requiring the attendance of the Commons at the bar of that House, to hear the commission read. Mr. Lee, the principal clerk, followed by a number of the members, left the house in obedience to that message. Upon their return, the clerk stated that they had been in the House of Peers, where they had heard His Majesty's commission read, directing them to proceed immediately to the election of a Speaker.

Sir WILLIAM SCOTT arose, and addressed the principal clerk. He said, That it was with all possible deference to the House, and with the most entire consciousness of the proper modesty of any pretension of his, that he seized the opportunity of addressing the chair for a few minutes on the subject recommended to their attention from the throne. That the election of a Speaker was the first function of the House in order of time, and amongst the first of its functions in point of importance; for that it was no less than to delegate the person who was to guide the deliberations, maintain the privileges, and enforce the duties of this general representative body of this great United Country.—That it was difficult to describe in adequate terms what the talents are which constituted the qualifications; they were such as might hardly be expected to exist in combination, if experience had not shewn them to have existed in the numerous instances, (some of very recent date,) of men who had successfully performed the task—the arduous task,—of communicating honour to a station itself most honourable.—That in adverting to the nature and species of the qualifications which the object of such a choice ought to possess, he need not premise, as the basis of honourable, a true spirit of old-english loyalty; in other words, an affectionate attachment to the person and family of our Sovereign, and to the antient and reverend constitution of our country.—That with an unconquerable hostility to the wild and desolating principles which had waged a rancorous war against the best and dearest interests of mankind, he must unite a love of rational improvement and temperate correction. To an enlargement of mind capable of containing the most extensive subjects, must be added the faculty of descending with precision to the most minute; to a tenacious regard for forms, a liberal regard for principles; to a jealous affection for the privileges of the House, an awful sense of its duties; to habits of laborious research, powers of prompt and instant decision; to a firmness that could resist solicitation, a suavity of nature that could receive it without impatience; and to a dignity of public demeanour, suited to the quality of great affairs, and commanding the respect that was requisite for conducting them, an urbanity of private manners that could soften the asperities of business, and adorn an office of severe labour, with the conciliatory elegance of a situation of ease. That in looking round the assembly, (enriched, as it had been by the accession of talents from a sister country) it was impossible not to feel a satisfaction in observing that there was no inconsiderable number of persons in it, whom the general voice of the House could pronounce equal to the demands of the station described, various and important as they might be, and that in this dignified number were to be found (and in fair proportion) as well many gentlemen not bred to the study and practice of the law, as those who had.—That, with all the partiality he might be supposed to entertain, he felt his full portion of national pride in acknowledging that splendid as the talents were which that profession has exhibited to this House, they had been fully equalled by those which other educations and other habits of life, in this favoured country, have been in the course of producing to its notice and admiration.—That amidst such copious materials for a happy selection, it might be difficult for the House, if it acted upon its mere sense of supposed merit, (however reasonably founded,) to name any individual, without feeling that it might possibly have occasion to suspect, (and suspecting, to lament,) that it had lost the benefit of other abilities, perhaps superior to those which had attracted its choice. But that it was the good fortune of the House at this time not to be left to act upon its mere sense of supposed merit; for it had the experience of *tried worth* to guide its determination.—That many of them, (a large proportion,) who had seats in the last parliament, must recollect, (with every feeling of gratitude for past, and sanguine expectation of future services,) that there is a person to whose nomination that experience had set its authentic and deciding seal;—he meant the Right Hon. person who filled that office in the two last sessions of that parliament; and filled it in a manner which is justly described in the highest terms of possible praise, when he said that he consoled that House for the loss of the eminent talents which in the same office had challenged so large a portion of its veneration and respect.—That to him who stands distinguished by the suf-

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frage of general applause, it was presumptuous to apply the suffrage of particular commendation; otherwise that he should be tempted to use his own language in expressing the sense which every individual of that House entertained, and in claiming on their behalf from new members some confidence for the propriety of that sense, respecting the manner in which, by a happy mixture of industry the most persevering, of attention the most minute, of knowledge the most exact, of private civility the most attractive, and of the observance of public decorum the most correct, that Right Hon. person had perfomed the duty and sustained the dignity of that honourable office.—That it might be proper to content himself with observing, that, in the judgment of all, he fully realised all the hopes, (for they then existed principally as hopes,) which were held out to that house in the eloquent panegyric which introduced him to its choice; and that he is now proposed in those additional advantages, that he possessed a confirmed experience in the duties of the office, and parliament possessed a no less confirmed experience of his entire ability to discharge them.

Mr. Lascelles said, that the wisdom of the House had already been shewn in the choice they had made of a person possessing such adequate talent and ability towards the conclusion of the last Parlt., when the difficulties became more numerous and complicated—its affairs more intricate and extensive, and which required his most minute attention, as well as his most unremitting diligence and exertion. The success that attended his endeavours, and the unanimous approbation, were the best testimonies of those talents and abilities of the Rt. Hon. Gent. to fill so important an office—an office which it was at this time the more essential should be filled with adequate ability, as the fate not only of this country, but perhaps of all Europe, may depend upon the deliberations of the present session. On this subject he could with pleasure descant, and he had wished to enlarge where he had such an ample field; but the able anticipation of the learned Gent. left him only to second the motion with the greatest pleasure.

Mr. Abbott said, he felt impressed with a considerable degree of difficulty in expressing the feelings that must arise from so distinguished an honour being conferred on him, when he considered the difficulties of the situation, its important and numerous duties and relations, he felt the more such distinguished approbation. The short experience he had during his situation in that chair, had only further convinced him of the difficulty and consequence of so high an office; that the duties of a Speaker of that House must require the most ardent zeal, as well as the most incessant attention, the minute and careful study of the rules and orders of the House, to defend the rights of Parlt. and maintain its importance and dignity, carefully to watch over those points which most materially concern it, and which in so eminent a degree, in its rigid observance, relate, through the representative, to the rights and liberties of the subject. All these considerations powerfully weighed in his mind, and involved his most anxious concern; but he must at the same time remark, that however enviable the honour, however high the situation, and dignified so important an office, his elevation to that dignity would become more painful than glorious, and would confound rather than flatter, unless he acquired the confidence of the House; unless he possessed that, the acceptance of it would be entitled to censure. To endeavour to obtain it, to discharge all the duties belonging to that chair, must be the unceasing object of his study, and evince the sincerity of his wishes to return the obligation he felt himself under, at their approbation.

Ld. Castlereagh said, that he could not refrain from expressing the gratification he felt in again congratulating the Speaker upon his re-election to that seat, which his talents had so long conspicuously marked him out for. The choice was as expressive of the judgment of the House, as it was honourable to him. At the period when the chair became vacant, after the transcendant talents and ability by which it had been sustained for such a length of time, it became a matter of considerable importance and difficulty to fix an adequate successor; and, numerous as are the duties and relations which tend to so important an office, and which had been so ably and eloquently pointed out by his Rt. Hon. and learned Friend; the unanimous approbation which had distinguished the present choice of the House, completely evinced that every distinguishing trait necessary for such a situation was manifestly acknowledged to be the feature of the character of the present possessor; such being evidently the general opinion; such being the cause of general satisfaction, he should not conclude without assuring him of his own private satisfaction at seeing him once more in a seat so well calculated for him, to which his abilities and talents, great as might be the necessity for their exertion, would add strength and dignity, and from which the House would derive so much assistance and support. His Ldp. expressed his conviction that the choice, when stamped with His Majesty's sanction, would give universal satisfaction; and concluded with moving the question of adjournment, which was carried.

House of Lords, *Nov.* 17.—At two o'clock their Lordships sent the Usher of the Black Rod to desire the immediate attendance of the Commons, to present their Speaker for His Majesty's approbation. The Commons immediately presented themselves at the bar, with Mr. Abbott at their head, attended by Sir W. Scott on one side, and Mr. Lascelles on the other, all three in full dress, Sir William in his robes.—Mr. Abbott addressed the Lords appointed to give His Majesty's approbation in a neat speech, as follows:—"I am to acquaint your Ldps, that His Majesty's faithful and loyal Commons, having, in obedience to His Majesty's command, and in virtue of their antient right, proceeded to the election of a Speaker, their choice has fallen on me. In compliance with their wish, and from a deep sense of the honour they have done me, I present myself at your Ldps' bar; but, sensible at the same time of my own inadequacy to the duties of this high and important office, I humbly pray that His Majesty may allow them to re-consider their choice, and to present a worthier person.

The Lord Chancellor.—"Mr. Abbott, the Lords appointed by His Majesty's commission have it in command from His Majesty, to signify that His Majesty, fully persuaded of the wisdom and loyalty of his faithful Commons, is perfectly satisfied with the choice they have made, which the experience he has already had of you renders

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still more agreeable. We therefore, by authority of His Majesty's commission, do allow and confirm you their Speaker."

Mr. ABBOTT.—"My Lords, I am deeply penetrated with gratitude for this new mark of His Majesty's favour and beneficence, which I receive with all due humility. Appointed by the choice of His Majesty's Commons to be their Speaker, and confirmed in the office by His Majesty's approbation, it now becomes my duty to solicit from his Majesty, for his loyal and faithful Commons, the usual freedoms and immunities, which, by the usage and constitution of parliament, they are entitled to claim; freedom of speech in their debates, freedom of their persons and servants from arrest, and freedom of their estates from process, and free access to His Majesty to communicate their counsels. I have further to intreat, that every thing addressed to His Majesty by his faithful Commons, may receive the most favourable construction; and that if I myself should inadvertently fall into any error in communicating their sentiments, His Majesty may impute the blame entirely to me, and not extend any part of it to his faithful Commons.

The LORD CHANCELLOR.—"Mr. Abbott, we have it in command from His Majesty to say, that His Majesty allows to his Commons assembled in this parliament, all those freedoms, privileges, and immunities, which the Commons of former parliaments have heretofore enjoyed from His Majesty and his predecessors. With respect to the apprehensions which you entertain, we are commanded to inform you, that His Majesty sees no ground to fear that you will say any thing that can incur his displeasure; but we have at the same time to assure you, that every thing coming from you, and from His Majesty's Commons, shall receive from His Majesty the most favourable interpretation."

HOUSE OF LORDS, *Nov.* 23.—At a quarter before three, His Majesty came to the House of Peers, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions. The Usher of the Black Rod summoned the attendance of the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, who immediately came below the bar, with the Speaker at their head. To the Lords and Commons assembled, His Majesty then addressed a most gracious speech from the throne. (See p. 690.)

His Majesty then left the House, and the Commons retired. The Lord Chancellor next read a copy of the King's Speech to the House. It was read a second time by Mr. Rose, the reading clerk.

LORD ARDEN then rising, addressed their Lordships.—"My Lords, the pleasure with which I have heard His Majesty's most gracious Speech, excites me to rise for the purpose of moving your Lordships to answer it in a suitable address. We know, my Lords, by personal feeling and observation, not less than from the universal voice of the country, that the prosperity of our manufactures, the extension of our commerce, the general abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, the heart-felt felicity of the whole people, the ardour of their loyalty to His Majesty's person, and their attachment to the Brit. constitution under the present administration of its active powers, are fully equal to that high and encouraging representation of them which has been given in the speech from the throne. We cannot but be pleased that such testimonies should exist of the merits of his Majesty's govt. and that it is for the future welfare of a country, thus far forth great and prosperous, that our deliberations are to provide. Of the present condition of Europe, it is difficult to think without deep anxiety. There is not a power on the continent between whose interests and ours certain relations do not subsist. *The order of dominion cannot be there indefinitely changed, without endangering the security* of all for which Britain is dear to us. However much then may have been conceded to imperious necessity of circumstances; whatever of the mere pride of arrogant pretension we may have been induced to wave, for the sake of peace; though we may have reluctantly abandoned allies, who had no longer the power, nor the will, to make a stand for their own political existence; ye there are limits, beyond which it is forbidden by just policy to extend this plan of conduct. We cannot, therefore, but approve His Majesty's resolution to keep the vigilance of his government awake to the changes in the arrangement of continental power. Such vigour of preparations as may be requisite to give due authority to that vigilance, will be neither disagreeable to the nation at large, nor inconsistent with the warmest wishes of the members of this House. We can cordially sympathize in the sense of the happy effects which have already ensued from an union that has concentrated the energies, and usefully simplified the administration of these kingdoms. The supplies which, in such a state of affairs, to a govt. so beneficent, from a country so flourishing, may be wanted, a people so loyal would not be easily persuaded to deny."—His Lordship here moved an address, of which the thanks, the congratulations, and the promises, nearly echoed the terms of the speech.

LORD NELSON.—"I will not deny myself the pleasure of seconding an address, with the purport of which my wishes zealously coincide. Nor, am I willing to omit this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction in the prosperity of these kingdoms, and my approbation of a plan of govt. which proposes to maintain the antient dignity of this country in the system of Europe, though without any hot-headed sacrifice of the benefits of peace. War did not exhaust our resources. Amid the uncertainties of negotiation, in the difficulties of a peace, which has not, perhaps, brought all the wonted content and safety of that condition, our national industry has not been slackened; nor has it been frustrated of its rewards. The condition of prosperity which the country enjoys, is such as would render us inexcusable if we should sacrifice its honour. Unsuccessful, so far as we were directly engaged, in the war of valour, of martial force, of mili-

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tary talents, France may, perhaps, hope to gain more by that of artifice, of circumvention, of equivocal faith. But Brit. strength of understanding, and rectitude of intention, ever have been, and I hope in God will ever be, more than an equal match for every less candid and ingenuous art. I, my Lords, have, in different countries, seen much of the miseries of war; I have seen horrors of human distress, which have made an indelible impression on my heart. I am, therefore, most sincerely, in my inmost soul, a man of peace. Yet would I not, for the sake of any peace, however otherwise fortunate, consent to sacrifice one jot of England's honour. Our honour is inseparably combined with our genuine interests. Hitherto there has been nothing greater known on the continent than the faith, the untarnished honour, the generous public sympathies, the high diplomatic influence, the commerce, the grandeur, the resistless power. the unconquerable valour of the Brit. nation. Wherever I have served in foreign countries, I have witnessed these to be the sentiments with which Britons were regarded. The advantages of such a reputation, my Lords, are not to be hastily relinquished, are not to be lightly brought into hazard: I, for one, must rejoice, that His Majesty has been pleased to signify his intention to pay due regard to the connexion between the interest of this country and the preservation of the liberties of Europe. It is satisfactory to know, that the preparations to maintain our dignity in peace are not to be neglected. Those supplies which His Majesty shall for such purposes demand, his people will most earnestly grant. The nation is satisfied that the government seeks in peace or war no interest separate from that of the people at large: and as the nation was pleased with that sincere spirit of peace with which the late treaty was negotiated, so, now that a restless and unjust ambition in those with whom we desired sincere amity has given a new alarm, the country will rather prompt the government to assert its honour, than need to be roused with difficulty to such measures of vigorous defence, as the exigency of the times may require.

The MARQ. of ABERCORN believed that every Noble Lord who heard him would agree, that the present was one of *the most critical and momentous periods* that ever occurred in the History of Britain. They had many bitter recollections as to the past, and many new and urgent considerations with respect to the future; the present novel and unhinged state of Europe was among the latter; and with respect to the country itself, the situation in which it once stood, now stands, and is likely to stand in future, were serious and questionable considerations for the first new Parliament of the United Kingdom. His Lordship censured, in strong terms, the line of policy adopted by the present administration; and seemed so compare the conduct of France and this country, in their political intercourses, as a system of insolence on the one hand, and of *degrading humiliation* on the other. Great changes were effected on the continent; this country should be prepared for the worst—it was still adequate to its own defence, and it was happy that it was so; the very fate of the country was at stake. The power we had to cope with was always our rival, and never our friend; but a rival that was always *more successful in peace than in war*; the present posture of this rival was formidable and menacing indeed—his neck upon every neighbouring and prostrate nation, and his hand for ever on his sword.—Such a situation as ministers had brought this country to was lamentable, after all the blood and treasure which had been sacrificed for her honour and security. The Noble Marquis delivered his sentiments upon the various points connected with this general subject, and commented at length upon the subject of the late pacification, and the conduct of ministers with respect to the preliminary, and the definitive treaty; of these he spoke in general terms of disapprobation; he considered the present as an experimental peace; but it was with satisfaction he felt himself disposed to argue with a Noble Viscount, who thought the people were now unanimous in a determination to support the honour of their country, and to resist the overweening ambition of our ancient rivals; and he stated some instances in which he considered the late enemies of the country as having acted in a fraudulent and perfidious manner. He thought a vigorous and spirited line of conduct could alone extricate this country from its perilous situation: they should boldly look the danger in the face. The consideration, even were it true, of our having no continental allies, should not dismay us; we should have the less to clog our operations, or to divert our resources.—France, he conceived, to be surrounded by inveterate enemies, who only waited for the moment in which they could effectually declare themselves: in that view, all the chances of war would be in our favour. Spirit, unanimity, and a due confidence in our internal resources, would effectually enable us to resist the unwarrantable ambition of France.

The EARL of CARLISLE.—"My Lords, what was foretold has come to pass. No deep politician would ever have imagined, that peace negotiated in the circumstances, and on the conditions of that which His Majesty's ministers were pleased to give us as a peace, could bring with it any thing better than the miseries, the losses, the suspicions of war, without the name. It was not merely its being negotiated under menaces of invasion, that moved my opposition to it. From the first, I could see in it nothing *but a concession of every subject of reasonable contention*, which the fortune of war had not before taken from us. *If the country be at present prosperous, it is a proof that the unlucky issue of the present ministers have not yet absolutely achieved upon it the worst they are capable of.* But let them entertain no uneasiness on this score: in their hands it will soon come to have little or no remains of prosperity to boast. A remedy for our present ills, my Lords, is not to be expected from any preparations, or any change

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f views; it is in the government, in the very xistence, in the primary *concoction* of the pre- ent administration, that all the mischief had its rigin. I had the misfortune to be solitary in leclaring my sentiments in this House against hem, when they came first into power. I could ake no merit to myself for the foresight of the ls which they were to create to their country. may say, in the words of a great man, Dr. amuel Johnson, "that many men, many wo- nen, many children, were easily capable of dis- erning as much in regard to a ministry so made p." They came into office without any just laim to their country's confidence; and in their mpatience to purchase some title to the nation's avour, they scrupled not to barter away the ation's honour for a peace, of which even them- elves at last confess the shame and the insecurity. oppose no supplies; I disapprove no prepara- ions; but well am I assured, my Lords, that *without an entire change of administration*, very other measure we may recommend, must e to no purpose."

The DUKE of NORFOLK.—Some noble Lords, who have spoken before me, have drawn n inference from certain phrases in His Ma- esty's speech, which those phrases were, surely, not meant to insinuate. There is no reason to uppose, that we are to rush to war, because we ee it prudent to strengthen our peace establish- nent. From that care let us rather hope more ertain permanency to the peace.

LORD GRENVILLE could not feel that he had done his duty if he should go home without having expressed the anxieties which filled his mind; and he must declare, that it was with the utmost astonishment that he saw the House call- d upon to agree to the address which was moved, without any other information than that which was contained in his Majesty's most gracious peech from the throne. It was a hacknied, and ften a misapplied phrase in parliament, to speak f the time present as of the most critical period hat ever was—but he might be permitted to say, hat if ever that phrase was applicable, it was at his moment The new parliament was assem- bled in a moment, certainly the most critical hat this country ever saw. It was critical and remendous; and it was rendered more so by the ilence of ministers. He never was more an- xious than to know from them what was the eal state of the world at this moment: and what were the precise circumstances which had nduced ministers to assume a firm and vigorous one now, instead of the tame, conceding, lan- guid temper which they had manifested up to his moment. It was certainly impossible for im, or for any man to unravel their conduct by ny thing that was visible. They had brought us down to the miserable alternative, either of a egrading retractation of the high language they had at length assumed, or of entering into war t a moment when we had deprived ourselves of the best means of making it effectual to its ob- ject. Why they had been so tame before, and why so vehement now, was what puzzled and confounded his mind. True, he saw a most powerful argument for their high tone and me- nacing attitude; but he had seen the same rea- sons all along; and he was astonished that mi- nisters had not thought it due to that House and the Country to explain why they had before ac- quiesced, and why they now resolved to acqui- esce no more.—His Majesty's speech contained three distinct propositions, in every one of which he most cordially acquiesced, In the first of these propositions he more peculiarly concurred, because it included in itself a direct and merited censure of the present administration. Nothing could be more true than that it was the incum- bent duty of ministers to have a watchful solici- tude over the interests of this country as con- nected with those of Europe. But it was equally certain that His Majesty's ministers had shewn no such watchfulness. He calld upon their Lord- ships, whether they could truly say that the King's ministers had shewn any just vigilance over these important interests of the state; and particularly in regard to that which constituted the second proposition in the speech.—That His Majesty could not view with indifference any material change in the relative condition and strength of the different powers on the conti- nent. Nothing was more just—nothing more certain than this proposition; but the observa- tion that must arise in every mind on the sub- ject was—did no material change take place in the relative condition and power of the nations on the continent; or had there, in a single in- stance, appeared the smallest trace of any atten- tion whatever on the part of government to these objects, which they now truly affirm to be so highly important? The answer must be ob- vious. Between the signature of the prelimi- naries of peace and the definitive treaty, Louisiana and Italy were added to the power of France. Surely ministers saw this with in- difference. It was not their language that he looked to, but their acts. They saw this im- portant change, and yet, with arms in their hands, they concluded the definitive treaty; and concluded it on terms still more disadvantageous than those even of the preliminaries. Here, however, perhaps, they had taken their stand.—The peace, once made, it might be supposed they had determined to resist all fresh encroach- ments. Precisely the reverse. The ink was still wet—the wax was not yet cold with which this treaty was concluded, when Piedmont, the bulwark of Italy, was annexed to the French empire. With a certain knowledge that Russia was averse to this encroachment, the French artfully concealed their intentions for fear of a joint remonstrance from Great Britain and Rus- sia. Nothing could be more obviously for our interest than to have entered into such a concert. From the mere apprehension of it France with- held her hand, until you had concluded and ra- tified that disgraceful treaty. Then, seeing the indifference of the government of G. Britain to every continental object, they struck the blow, by which the antient ally of the Brit. crown—

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the faithful friend, was driven from his seat. It was important to the true understanding of this atrocious proceeding that they should trace back the disastrous history for a few memorable years; and it was the more necessary, because ministers, not content with abandoning that ally to total destruction, not content with omitting all mention of his name, both in the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, had actually asserted in parliament, (a thing without example) that, "strictly speaking, we should have been "justified in making war upon him." He needed not to recall to their Lordship's memory that the father of the deposed sovereign, seeing the danger to which he was threatened by the French Revolution, and actually attacked by France, entered into an alliance with us to prosecute the war. In that alliance he acted faithfully to the best of his very limited means. He acted well, though unfortunately. He was first stripped of Savoy, then of Piedmont, and lastly was taken prisoner in his own capital. In this situation, whatever act he had done, could not, according to the law of nations, (to which, though he had once heard it styled *a heap of useless lumber*, he would still venture to appeal,) be construed even as releasing us from the obligations of our alliance, much less as a just ground for hostility against him. But the fact was, that even in the compulsory treaty which the King of Sardinia then made with France, when a prisoner in his capital, he actually insisted on inserting an article that he should not, in any case, be compelled to act in any manner inconsistent with his friendship with G. Britain; and this is the ally whom the present ministers have abandoned, of whom they omitted all mention in their treaty, and whom they mentioned in parliament only to villify, to traduce, and to insult him! This is a strong case; but it is not the whole case; the King, whose conduct has been stated, died not long after this transaction. His son succeeded him, and, by the most flagrant violation of the treaty which has just been mentioned, the French drove him away from his capital of Piedmont; but he still remained King of Sardinia. At a time when we were excluded from every port in the Mediterranean, except where our arms had taken post, the French required from this sovereign, as the price of their friendship, that he should exclude not only all our mercantile and armed ships from his ports, but also expel or arrest all our agents. This he most positively refused to do, and refused it even while the present government was at that very moment negotiating, without concert or communication with him: this he did, preferring, as he said, *British gratitude* to *French friendship*. And yet this friendly, honourable power was not only excluded from the peace, but has since the peace been annihilated on the continent, and his Majesty's ministers have seen no material change effected thereby! It does not appear that even a remonstrance was made on the measure of his ruin. Was not this enough to rouse them? Surely it would be thought that, penetrated with the principles which they had put into his Majesty's mouth, they would have made a stand here. Let us look then to the progress of the next events. The treaty was made in the month of March; it was ratified in May; in June Piedmont was, by a formal decree, annexed to France; in August the consular government made a grand sweep and disposal of the entire constitution of Germany, and of all the princes and powers in it! Surely, either Germany was not in Europe, or we had no concern in the affairs of Europe; or Germany, perhaps, was a place unknown to us, or so insignificant and so distant as to be unworthy of notice—or ministers, who put into the King's mouth that they could not see any material change with indifference, would have taken the alarm at this step. Surely it demands an explanation, that the only power over which the French had not domineered—the only power upon which they had not trampled—the only power upon which we could rely as the means of counteracting the inordinate ambition and strides of the consular govt. was thus insulted and broken down, so as to deliver over the whole of Germany to France, and yet the King's ministers did not view this step with jealousy; nay, though this was done without even the accustomed civility of a communication to the Brit. court, and though they received no other notice of it than by the newspapers, through the message of Talleyrand to the Senate, yet no notice was taken of the outrage—no step taken, though it was, in one article, a flagrant breach of the treaty of Amiens, and in another involved a gross and personal insult and injury to our own Sovereign. Their Lordships would remember that the interests of the House of Orange, omitted in the preliminaries, was by a new article to be taken care of in the defin. treaty. In that instance a most perfidious subtlety was practised on the weakness and credulity of the King's ministers, of which they were justly ashamed; and the noble person who signed the treaty, pledged himself in that House, that the indemnity of the House of Orange should be ample and adequate to his loss. What turns out to be the case? The indemnities of the House of Orange are regulated by France, without even the formality of any concert with G. Britain; and they do not amount to one-tenth part of the loss. And yet no interference in his favour was perceived. The same stupor which had prevailed all along still held the King's ministers, and their conduct was still marked by humiliation and concession. Nay, that was not all. Even the miserable pittance that was allotted to the House of Orange was in part extorted from the just claims and rights of the Elector of Hanover; so that our own Sovereign was plundered to pay the debt of justice which G. Britain owed to the House of Orange, while he was at the same time exposed to the indignity of seeing, by the allotment of Hildesheim to Prussia, a Prussian garrison placed in the very heart of his dominions. It had often falsely, and most foolishly been said, that G. Britain had suffered on account of its connexion with Hanover. Now more truly might it be said, that Hanover had

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uffered on account of its connexion with G. Britain, or rather on account of its connexion with the present ministers of G. Britain. He would, however, forbear to enlarge on the painful nd delicate topic, particularly as he saw and elt the impression which it made on their Ldps. What then must they think of the King's ministers, who had seen even this measure with orpid indifference? How can they justify themelves for having, at the very moment when all his was perpetrating, gone on disbanding the rmy, dismantling the navy, surrendering post fter post, and completely putting it out of their ower to take advantage of the just indignation vhich these proceedings excited in every part of his country? They were cool, tranquil, indiffeent spectators of all this: they dismantled ship fter ship, reduced regiment after regiment, ent out orders to surrender Martinique and the Cape, and in this apathy we came down to the nd of Sept. It is not till Oct. then that ministers took alarm. It is not possible for them to pretend that any thing aroused them till then; since no step was taken for internal or foreign defence. Something new must have occurred, o have driven ministers at length to take this new position, which made the 3d proposition in his Majesty's Speech. That proposition had also his most hearty concurrence. Though expressed in a form to comply with the rules, and suited to the language of parliament, yet ministers would agree with him that it was neither more nor less than that His Majesty announced o his parliament an imperious necessity for an augmentation of the national force, and that hey should enable him to do so. This was the true intent and meaning of the phrase; and he certainly, for one, most cordially acquiesced in he wisdom, and even necessity of the measure. He thought it indispensable to our safety, and was only in dread, that by our rashness in disarming, it had been delayed too long. The Noble Lord recalled to the recollection of the House he only defence which had been made for the dishonourable peace that was concluded the 1st Oct. 1801.—That it was a peace made in the spirit of peace; and likely to be permanent, on account of he disposition which animated the Chief Consul. What had we seen in all this but the *total want of foresight and capacity*, with which men who aspire to the high station of government ought to be endowed? Those whose duty it was to inform themselves of the dispositions of our enemy, told us that the tone and temper of the negotiation were more satisfactory than the terms; and asserted that there was no reason to apprehend that this peace would be less permanent than any other that the country ever had concluded. The country was deluded for a time, but it did not last long. Not a day had elapsed, —he might challenge observation on the word— not *a single day* had elapsed, without some act of insult, indignity, or attack upon G. Britain, or her ancient allies, since that time. But what now had occurred? Was it some change in the conduct of France—some new encroachment—more violent and more fatal to Europe than all that was past? Was it the attack upon Switzerland? If this be the cause, he might ask, was the occupation of Switzerland, atrocious as it was, an act more violent in itself, or more injurious to our interests, than the annexation of Italy? Or was the seizing on Parma by one pretended treaty with Spain, a more outrageous insult against the public faith of nations, than the seizing on Louisiana by another? Their whole conduct had been a series of gross and inexcusable error; and he must take upon himself to say, that in such hands he could not trust the safety and independence of the empire—nay, he might say the existence; for he had no scruple in saying that the very existence of the Brit. empire depended on the system which should be pursued for the next three months. Nothing of personal animosity influenced his mind in making this observation. He could truly say with the Noble Earl near him, that he had no personal ill will to any one member of his Majesty's present councils; but he must solemnly declare that, if we meant by any one strong united effort to save the vessel of the state, we must change the persons in whose hands the direction was placed. We must completely get rid of that wavering, indecisive, and contradictory conduct which had subjected us to the derision of Europe for the last twelvemonth. The acquiescence of ministers up to the interference in the affairs of Switzerland, and still more the time and mode of that interference had shewn that our councils were in the hands of men totally unfit and inadequate to the crisis. For now that they had awakened from this stupor, and shewn some signs of life, they had done it when they could have no communication nor any concert with those powers of the continent who could have made an interference effectual. What shall we say of the impotence of those ministers when they make this explosion of rage at the outrage on Switzerland at the very moment when Austria was making a declaration in the opposite tendency? Why not have taken the moment when they might have had co-operation? Why wait till the season for action was past, why delay their remonstrance till the French troops were actually in march? Why first resolve to give up Martinique and the Cape, and then take offence?—Surely the whole conduct was calculated only to expose us to the contempt of the enemy. Martinique, the Cape, and Malta, three great commanding ports, were in our hands.—Martinique was surrendered, and the very same week in which we heard a speech from the throne calling upon us to arm against France, brought us the account that ministers had given into the hands of France the key of the West Indies. Was there then so little foresight in government that they did not know even their own intentions six weeks before they acted? Could it possibly be right to have sent the order for the evacuation then, and to have armed in Europe at the very same moment? Or to execute the treaty in the West Indies in the same breath in which you complain that France has

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violated every article of it in Europe? Martinique, however, was gone, this bulwark was lost to us, perhaps, for ever. Orders were also sent out to surrender the Capes and it was only a matter of accident if it was not so. He should be curious to learn the date of the subsequent orders sent out for its detention; because it would shew that if it escaped the folly of their conduct, it was by accident only that it was preserved. Malta, however, was still in our hands, and he rejoiced in the fact. We were indebted for its safety to one of the blunders which had marked their administration. Oh! that all their blunders had been equally fortunate! They had made an arrangement for Malta which never could be executed, and it was only because their own contrivances was incapable of being executed that we were now in possession of that invaluable post. The noble lord concluded his most spirited and vehement animadversion on ministry by saying, that a sense of duty to his King and Country had compelled him to express his sentiments of their conduct. He had never been one of those whom they had duped into the conviction that we might enjoy even a little delusive tranquillity. He knew that a nation like Great Britain ought never to buy protection by sacrifices and concessions. All history, and even the history of our nation, was against such a step. When our ancestors poorly bribed the Danes with money to return to their homes, they laid out the sums in the purchase of ships to return to the attack. We were now trying the same experiment on a larger scale, and he was confident it would be with the same result. Every fresh concession we made to France operated in a double sense to weaken us, and to strengthen her. All these successive sacrifices tended not at all to soften her animosity, but operated largely indeed in increasing her means of hostility. Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that the alternative of peace or war is in our own choice. We might, if we chose it, still consider ourselves as at peace with France, and it belonged not to him to decide this question in the present moment under all the disadvantages and weakness which the conduct of government had brought upon us. But whether we did so or not, France was not an iota the less at war with us. She was so now, and she had constantly been so from the signature of the preliminaries to the present hour. She looked invariably to the subversion of our government, and the destruction of our country, nor could we even console ourselves with the shameful hope, which had, he feared, operated in some parts of Europe, that if the independence of the state were subdued, yet our private properties might be saved, and our personal ease secured. If the examples of so many other countries were good for nothing else, they might at least teach us to renounce this hope. And we must eternally keep in mind this truth —that though we might be at peace with France, France was actually at war with England; as much so as if the declaration of war had been made; perhaps she might choose, indeed, to call the speech of this day a declaration of war. If she did so, it could not make us worse. We must exert ourselves; we must strain every nerve; we must struggle for an existence; by wisdom and vigilance, by measures of extensive and active preparation, and by a tone of firmness and decision supported by a conduct corresponding with it, even peace might, in his opinion, be still obtained and enjoyed from this very hour. Not a nominal, dishonourable, and ruinous truce, but real peace founded in a sense of our dignity, supported by a knowledge of our own strength, and maintained by the respect which our conduct would then create abroad, and by the confidence it would inspire at home. But he had no hesitation in saying, that if we meant to make that struggle effectual, it must not be under the auspices of the present persons in office. No; not under such men. There was but one man in the kingdom, to whom every eye was directed—to whom every heart was attracted, as alone equal to rally the national force —as alone equal to weather the storm.

Lord Pelham said, that was not the proper time to go into a detail of the nature and extent of the intended augmentation of the force of the kingdom; he hoped, therefore, that his silence upon the subject would not be construed into an assent to the construction that had been put by the Noble Lords over the way (Lords Grenville and Carlisle) upon that part of his Majesty's speech; but thus much he would say, that no sudden or great augmentation of the troops was intended, nor did there appear any thing in the state of Europe that made such an augmentation necessary. With regard to that part of the Noble Lord's reasoning which applied to the indemnities assigned to the different states of Germany, his Ldp. said, he could not think this country had any justifiable cause to interfere, so long as the several states in question were satisfied themselves with the indemnities allotted to them.

Lord Carysfort said, he was sorry to learn from the noble Secretary of State, that they were not likely to be gratified with that essential augmentation, which the critical situation of the empire indispensably required. It was undoubtedly a solemn and a serious thing to engage in war, and the noble Secretary of State would not be justified in unnecessarily plunging the country into a renewal of hostilities, but there might occur circumstances which might make such a measure unavoidable. His Ldp. drew the distinction between peace and war being considered as experiments. War, he admitted, was an experiment, because the events of a war were uncertain; but peace, he contended, was not an experiment, but a matter of certainty. He declared he was astonished to hear the noble Secretary of State talk so lightly of the distribution of territory in Germany. Was it a matter of no importance to this country to have the means of carrying on her commerce with security? Did they not know, that from the mouth of the Ens, to the Bay of Trieste, we had not a *single fort in our possession?* The North of

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Germany appeared to him to be of the highest importance to the commercial interests of this country.

Lord Hobart rose to complain of the injustice of Ld. Grenville, in censuring the King's servants, on account of the dismemberment of Germany, when he could not but know that the treaty of Luneville was made during that Noble Lord's administration; and that Germany was brought into its present condition by circumstances which were not subject to the controul of any ministers. It was enough for him to say, that the indemnities in Germany were not considered as of sufficient importance to prevent its making peace. The Noble Lord stood up to charge his Majesty's servants with incapacity; it did not become him, (Lord H.) to say one word in answer to such a charge; he only desired that the present administration might be judged by its conduct; but he would tell that Noble Lord, that he could not charge the present ministers with incapacity, without at the same time criminating himself for having relinquished his post.

House of Commons, *Tuesday, Nov.* 23.—The Speaker having read his Majesty's Speech, (for which see p. 690.)

Mr. Trench rose to move an address of thanks to his Majesty. In viewing our internal situation, he should advert first to those sources of prosperity which were more immediately within our own reach; and in this view of our situation, there appeared to be the greatest cause for exultation. Whether they turned their eyes to the attachment displayed by all ranks of the people to the constitution of this country, in the most trying situations. Whether they looked to the increasing revenue of the empire, or to the improved state of its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, in every point of view there was the greatest reason for congratulation and triumph. In looking at the state of our commerce, we should no where find the verification of those melancholy, those sinister predictions which were made by some gentlemen, that our commerce, though great during the war, would decline at the peace. Instead of being injured, our resources remained, not only unimpaired, but improved, after exertions almost greater than imagination could conceive. Under these circumstances, every one must undoubtedly wish for the continuance of peace; but yet we had no reason to apprehend the event of a war, if war was necessary for the security of the country. It would be unnecessary for him to enter into any argument to shew the necessity of our keeping an eye upon the measures adopted on the continent, because it was a proposition recognised by the last parliament, in its address to the throne on the conclusion of the peace. That events which had occurred on the continent had demonstrated a great disposition to encroachment on the part of France, and naturally excited some degree of jealousy, could not be denied. But in what manner and at what point we ought to interfere, or whether we ought to interfere without concert with other powers, were questions upon which it was impossible for them to decide without a greater knowledge than they possessed. He sincerely hoped that peace might be maintained; but if the honour, the independence, and the security of this country required measures of an opposite nature, he was sure ministers would not want the hearty co-operation of the whole empire.

Mr. Curzon rose to second the Address. He congratulated the House upon the flourishing state of the trade, the manufactures, and the commerce of this country. He perfectly concurred with the honourable mover of the address, upon the importance of preserving peace, if peace could be preserved consistently with our honour and dignity.

Mr. Cartwright said, the best way to preserve the blessings of peace, was to shew, that, if necessary, we were prepared for a state of war. When he considered the conduct of the person at the head of the govt. of France since the conclusion of the treaty of peace; how little pacific he had shewn himself since that period, and how much pains he had taken to irritate the feelings of this country, it certainly could not be denied that we ought to put ourselves in a state of readiness. He said, that ministers had been much to blame in disarming so quickly as they had done; in doing so they had deviated from the conduct of all former ministers upon former occasions. They had always taken care at least to provide a force equal to that of France; instead of which, if we were now to go to war, he doubted if we had a fleet equal to that of the enemy; because, since the peace *they* had constantly been increasing their force, and *we* had been decreasing ours. But the stronger his feelings were with regard to the conduct of France, the more he lamented the loss of those great talents which had so long watched over the interests of this country, and had so successfully counteracted the efforts of France against her; he could not help lamenting the loss of the abilities of the right hon. gent. he alluded to, because he was convinced that there never was a time at which this country stood more in need of those talents than it did at present.

Sir J. Wrottesley said, that he felt himself called upon to take a short review of the conduct of ministers, and in so doing, he should follow the example of the hon. gent. who moved the Address. The hon. mover of the Address had dwelt upon the improved state of our manufactures; he was sincerely glad to hear that statement from the hon. gent. because we should, perhaps, soon see the moment when it would be necessary to call all the resources of the country into action. He was sorry, however, to observe, that the state of the manufactures, in the part of the country to which he belonged, was not such as to justify the hon. gent.'s assertion. There were many important topics upon which the hon. mover of the Address had very wisely touched but lightly, and his doing so, must have been a matter of satisfaction to those who sat

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under him. Very soon after the signing of the treaty of peace, ministers found that the spirit of the govt. of France was not such as they could approve. France had dictated to the empire on the subject of indemnities, she had lately annexed the Duchy of Parma to her overgrown dominion. We had seen the glorious achievements of the patriots of Switzerland to establish the liberty of their country, frustrated by France, and that, without any known remonstrance on the part of this country. He did not know what the conduct of ministers had been upon this subject, but he knew that Switzerland had been over-run by a large French army; he knew that the best people of that country were in the power of the Consul of France, sharing perhaps the same fate as the unfortunate Toussaint, lying in a dungeon. In this gloomy prospect, he saw but one dawn of hope, and that was, the calling forth again the greatest abilities in this country: they had saved this country in times of the greatest difficulty and danger, and might still save it.

Mr. PYTCHES said, he should consider the Speech which had been read, as the speech of the minister; and considering it in that point of view, he had no difficulty in pronouncing it *a complete Salmagundi. He was convinced that the French govt. had no intention of violating the peace with this country.*

Mr. FOX—Some expressions, Sir, which fell from the hon. mover of this Address, as well as from two hon. gent. under the gallery, make it necessary for me to trouble the House with a few observations, explaining the grounds of the vote which I shall give, and which will be a vote of direct and cordial approbation to the Address. Before I proceed I will just say a few words respecting an expression in the Address, which may appear to stand in need of explanation, consistent with the principles on which I shall have the honour of voting on the present occasion. The expression to which I refer is that which pledges the House to make provision for the support of such an establishment as may fully provide for the national security, and while an ardent desire for peace is cultivated, assures his Majesty of cordial co-operation in vindicating the national interests and honour from the attacks of any foreign foe. As I understand the expression, it conveys to his Majesty no pledge which has not my fullest approbation, and it is only in consequence of an observation made use of by the hon. mover of the Address, that I consider it proper to advert to it. The hon. gent. let fall some hints about the necessity of keeping up a large establishment; but by the vote which I shall now give, I protest against any such inference; and certainly I do not, by agreeing to the Address, bind myself to the support of any establishment of this nature. Those who think that the peace of the country will be best maintained, and its security supported, by such an establishment, will understand the expressions in the Address in the sense which the hon. mover attaches to them; but I, who think that these objects would be *best promoted by a small military establishment*, whether with the view of preserving the peace, or of renewing the war, do not mean, by agreeing to the Address, at all to preclude myself from canvassing any estimates which will hereafter be laid on the table. Neither the Speech, nor the Address, indeed, speak of the extent of the establishment, but very properly speak of the subject generally, leaving the details to form the ground of future arrangement. I have thought it necessary to say these few words on this point, to prevent any misconception from applying to the opinion, which at a future time I may feel it my duty to submit to the House, when the extent of the establishment to be maintained comes regularly under consideration. Now, Sir, as to the observations of the two gent. to whom I have alluded, I think that they were introduced in rather a singular way. One hon. gent. (Sir J. Wrottesley) thinks that the language and spirit of the Speech are too pacific; but unfortunately the hon. gent. is not very consistent in his remarks, for he finds, in the conclusion of the Speech, a language employed which seemed designed to prepare the House and the public for an immediate renewal of hostilities. He is displeased at ministers for stating to the House a determination to watch with jealousy the changes in the relative situation of foreign powers, and asks what right this country has to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland, since they knew of similar acts on the part of France at the time the treaty of peace was concluded, and made no remonstrances on the subject? Such is the inconsistency of the hon. gent.'s observations, which appear to be introduced only for the purpose of blaming ministers, when no ground of blame existed. The other hon. gent. is offended with the representation given in the speech of the flourishing state of our commerce and manufactures: he says, that in the part of the country with which he is connected, the case is quite otherwise; and certainly, Sir, on such a subject the hon. gent.'s opinion deserves very great consideration. For myself I shall give no opinion on the subject. I hope the hon. gent is mistaken; but whatever be the case, of this I am certain, that there is only one wish in the House and the Country, that our internal situation should be such as by the Speech it is described. Undoubtedly there are circumstances in the state of Europe which cannot fail to excite considerable alarm; but I hope there is no reason to be alarmed about the prosperity of our manufactures and commerce. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that they had suffered decay, I hope no one can for a moment conceive the absurd idea that we could better our commercial and manufacturing interests by plunging again into war.—With regard to the objections to the Address, they will be considered in a different way by different sides of the House. Those who defended the treaty of peace, when it was laid before the House, will defend it still on the same principles which originally induced them to give it their approbation, and they will naturally view

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the objections to the Address as frivolous and inconclusive. Those, on the other hand, who contended that they would not have made peace on the terms which the treaty contained, will be anxious to break a peace which they would not have made, and to renew a war which they wished to continue. But it may be said, that war would not now be renewed on the same principles on which it was formerly prosecuted, and that new causes of war had accrued since the treaty of peace was concluded. I cannot appeal to the House, for the decision took place in a former Parliament, but I can appeal to many gent. who now hear me, to consider what the principles were on which they approved the peace, and whether any thing has taken place since the treaty was concluded which would authorize them to give their vote on the present occasion for breaking the treaty and recommencing hostilities. Supposing for a moment that war was to be renewed, gent. would do well to reflect in what manner hostilities would be conducted. On this part of the subject I will not go into detail; but supposing that a determination were taken to renew the war, it is obvious that our means of annoying the enemy would consist simply in re-taking the places which by the treaty we had agreed to cede, or in retaining those still in our hands.—Now, Sir, I say distinctly, that to violate the treaty of peace for such an object as this (and under the present circumstances there is no other object which could be obtained) would be to place the ministers of this country and the members of the last parl. who had approved of the treaty in a situation to excite the ridicule of all Europe. The continuance of peace, I do contend, is infinitely desirable; I feel its importance in the strongest manner.—Adverse, however, as I am to the renewal of hostilities, I do not mean to assert that no circumstances may have followed the peace which would fully justify ministers for refusing to comply with its provisions. I am not ashamed, Sir, to avow an opinion for which I have not unfrequently been exposed to ridicule, and now explicitly to declare, that I consider the preservation of national honour to be almost the only legitimate cause of war. This doctrine I hold on the plain principle, that honour is directly and inseparably connected with self-defence. If it can be proved to me that the national honour has been insulted, or the national dignity disgraced, I will, without hesitation, declare my opinion, which is, this would be a fair legitimate cause of recommencing hostilities.—I must, however, hear a very strong case made out, before I can give my vote for re-plunging the country in those disasters which a calamitous contest had produced, and from which we were so recently delivered. Though I contend that honour is the only legitimate foundation of war, I do not mean to deny that other circumstances may come in aid of its force. As to the present circumstances of Europe, I see no ground of war, so far as this country is concerned.—There never was a period, Sir, in which this country enjoyed more internal prosperity, or more profound tranquillity; there never was a time when every consideration of the soundest policy more strongly suggested the propriety of cultivating the continuance of peace. Without referring to the calamities of the last ten years, I ask gent. fairly, whether in pursuing this policy the country ever had more fair play?—There are some persons who affect to entertain a dread of the French navy; but it is hardly possible to believe any one serious in indulging any alarm on this subject. As to the acts of the French govt. indicating a spirit of hostility to the interests of this country, I shall at present say nothing. They are not now before the House, and may be better animadverted on at another time, if any real ground of complaint actually existed. It is my own firm conviction that there is on the part of the French people, as well as the French govt. a strong desire to restore their commerce to new activity, and their manufactures to new life; and this, I believe, is the field in which, if any contest is to be carried on betwixt the two countries, they wish the dispute to be conducted. Of the result of such a rivalship, we have, Sir, surely very little room for apprehension. We have got so much the start of them, that we must take the lead; and, if they had the start of us, our superiority is so great that we could not fail speedily to overtake them. In this contest we should be certain of victory, and every intermediate step in our progress would only afford new facilities for increasing our superiority, and augmenting our improvement. It would be absurd, indeed, to pretend that this fair prospect will not be marred; but of this I am perfectly convinced, that it must be a very strong case which would justify the recommencement of hostilities, instead of employing our resources in cultivating the arts of peace. Is there a man in this House or in this country who, after the disasters which have been sustained during the progress of a wild and destructive contest, would, without continental support, again renew a contest with France, without any support but that derived from the co-operation of a few German princes, whose troops might be subsidised to engage in our cause? I trust that so extravagant a project will not again be adopted; if, contrary to every suggestion of expediency, and every dictate of policy, it should be embraced, it requires little political sagacity to foresee that the result will be incalculably disastrous. The first and grand object which we ought to have in view is security, but there can be no true security which is not upheld by honour. There can be no true dignity which is not supported by character. An hon. gent. however, finds a new ground of war in the character of the French govt. He is surprised to find it not so friendly or conciliating as he expected at the time the treaty was concluded. Did the hon. gent. Sir, really expect that the French govt. was henceforth to entertain towards this country no feelings but those of friendship? Did he imagine that we might expect from it every interchange of civility and kindness; that our govt. would find in it a powerful and dis-

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interested ally? If such were the hon. gent's. ideas, I confess myself at a loss to know on what they were grounded. There was certainly nothing in the language employed at the time when the merits of the treaty were under discussion, to countenance this supposition. The very reverse was the impression which every part of the discussion was calculated to inspire. By those high in office a very different prospect was held out to the House and the Country. A Noble Lord opposite (Ld. Hawkesbury) made use of a very remarkable expression when describing the situation in which the peace left us with relation to the other powers of Europe. He said that the continent was in a "very unsatisfactory state," a sort of language certainly by no means calculated to suggest any ideas of friendship or cordiality on the part of the French govt. The immense aggrandisement of French influence and French power is doubtless a subject of deep regret, and no man laments it more than I do. It must be lamented by every Englishman; and this very aggrandisement is with me a grand cause of accusation against the late ministers, by whose obstinacy and misconduct it was obtained. But, Sir, let gentlemen who hold this language reflect, that with the knowledge of the continent being in the state which the Noble Lord described, the treaty of peace had received the approbation of the House and the Country. Who was not aware that the power of France was increased to a degree which naturally excited jealousy on the part of this country; who did not take this into his contemplation when called upon to give his vote upon the merits of the treaty of peace? No one pretends that this was not known; but knowing this, seeing this, stating this, it is impossible for any rational man to deny that these causes for war, drawn from the state of the continent, which were now so much insisted upon, were known at the time when the treaty of peace was sanctioned—and to hold them up now as grounds of renewing the contest betwixt the two countries, was equally impolitic and unjust. There indeed remains a question how far the state of the continent, in consequence of intermediate events, was more unsatisfactory than at the time when peace was concluded. These acts, whatever their nature may be, are not now before the House, and therefore I shall not now speak to them. A great deal has been said, Sir, about the disposition of the people of this country in favour of a renewal of the war. This, I have no hesitation in affirming to be completely false. Of all the fictitious crimes which ever were imputed to the people of England, and certainly they have often been accused of crimes of which they were incapable, even in thought, I do pronounce this to be one of the most groundless that ever was invented to injure the national character. The origin of this calumny it is not difficult to trace. It arises, Sir, from the coalition of some newspapers, who affect to hold out this as the real disposition of the people. Their motives for such representations may be various. They may wish to gratify spleen, or to increase their circulation, by contriving something to excite the curiosity of their readers. I do believe in my conscience that the people of this country are, at this moment, as eager to cultivate the blessings of peace, as at any former period. Mankind, Sir, have been too often sacrificed to the ambition of princes, and to the intrigues of parties; but if the publishers of newspapers are to be the means of plunging the nation again into a destructive contest, it will be the most base and ignoble cause in which ever a people was engaged. But we are told that a most considerable body in this country are strongly actuated with a desire that the war should be renewed. The class to which I allude, are the commercial interests in all the capital trading towns throughout the country, but more especially in the metropolis. To this representation I am not disposed to give my assent. The merchants in this country are too liberal, and too respectable a body of men to have any wish to replunge their country into all those calamities, from which she has just begun to emerge, from any hope of gain arising from contracts with govt., or from any of the other means of emolument which spring out of a state of war, and which to one class are the sources of aggrandizement, while to the community they are only pregnant with misery. If, however, the fact is as gent. represent it, I should feel disposed almost to wish the reverse of those ages of splendid achievement which distinguished the history of antiquity. If human beings are to perish to gratify any passion of our nature, I should rather that their blood should flow to gratify the romantic ambition of Alexander, than to fill the coffers of a cold calculating body of unfeeling merchants; let us not be accused, Sir, of a wish to renew those disasters which for ten years have desolated Europe, to open afresh those wounds which have so long afflicted suffering humanity; let us not disturb the peace of the continent when our interference could produce no beneficial effect. When there is not a single power ready to second our efforts, let us not by a rash step forfeit those blessings which are indispensably and eternally connected with a state of peace. Great enterprises, which might in my opinion with much more propriety be styled rash actions, are flattering in prospect, but disastrous in the result, *spelæta eventu tristia*. We are now in a state of domestic tranquillity, of flattering internal prosperity, and when our commerce, as far as the nature of human affairs justifies anticipation, might become daily more extended. There is one other point, Sir, on which I shall make one or two observations. At the commencement of the late war, the House, and I believe, I may add, the Country, were as it were hurried into the contest by the expectation that the struggle was one which would not be arduous during its continuance, or protracted in its duration. Fatal experience has, however, sufficiently demonstrated the fallacy of such anticipations. I hope, Sir, we shall not again be hurried into any new war on the expectation of its only lasting one campaign. If we again engage in war, it is surely matter of importance

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to weigh well the nature and the consequence of such a step, and I trust that ministers will feel this importance before they once more give up the certain benefits of repose for the uncertain chances of war.—With respect to the present administration, I believe that it is almost unnecessary for me to say that I have no sort of connexion with them. I thank them for having made peace, and I hope they approve the treaty which they formerly concluded. If we have made peace, I trust it is in the true spirit of peace; I do not mean to accuse them of any design of concluding a treaty under peculiar circumstances, and afterwards availing themselves of some change to refuse compliance with its conditions, to undo all that has been done, to retain and retake all the settlements which were previously agreed to be ceded. The power of France is unquestionably too great; but it is not increased to such a degree since the peace was concluded as to justify a rupture. The interference of France in the German indemnities is a subject of complaint. Did ministers not know, Sir, that there was an interference naturally to be expected? By not being parties to the treaty of Luneville, did we not know that France would interfere in the subject of the German indemnities, and what reasonable ground of complaint now exists? The language of the late ministers was explicit: they told us, Sir, that it was not for the interests of this country to treat in conjunction with Austria. She had consulted her separate interests, and we were freed from our engagements. As we were unwilling to share in the advantages, we had no right to complain of consequences easily foreseen, and of effects easily anticipated. France, as might have been expected, did interfere in the arrangement of the German indemnities, and Russia has been induced to join in the same object. I do not mean to go into any minute illustration on this subject. I content myself with a general observation, which is, that this interference is in some points of view not unfavourable to the interests of this country, as they may be collaterally affected. I have only to conclude with expressing my ardent hope, that peace is the first object of the govt. as I am convinced it is the strongest wish of the people.

Mr. CANNING said, he was a friend to the Address, on the principle that it recommended a system of vigour which seemed too long to have been wanting in our national counsels. Respecting the propriety of such preparations as might enable us to meet any emergency which might occur, he was convinced there could not be two opinions among the real friends of the country. He had, however, serious objections to some of the expressions contained in the Address. He thought that it called on the House to extend to ministers too much implicit confidence, and presumed, from the disposition they had already manifested to preserve peace, in favour of their exertions to promote the continuance of so desirable an object. It seemed to be taken for granted, that all had been done that could be done for the preservation of peace; but some explanation was necessary before this could be fully admitted. All had not been done to preserve peace, if *nothing had been done with firmness*, while every thing was marked by the spirit of conciliation. All had not been done, if remonstrance was not accompanied by dignified threats of following it up with a corresponding conduct. All had not been done, if demands were made only to be rejected, if concessions were required which were haughtily refused, if a shew of manliness was assumed from which there was no dignified retreat, after the mortification of disappointment. He was afraid that conduct of this kind had not been altogether wanting on the part of ministers. It was a matter of public notoriety, that on the subject of the execrable treatment of the French govt. to Switzerland, a remonstrance had been presented in a manner totally inconsistent with policy or expediency. In saying this, he begged it to be understood that it was a thing the most remote from his wishes to have it imagined that he did not feel a lively interest in the fate of a brave and suffering people, or that he was deficient in a sentiment of honest indignation against the foulest oppression which had stained the history of a period marked by the most unjustifiable attacks on the liberty and independence of foreign nations. The Swiss had afforded to Europe a glorious example of the heroic efforts of men combating for liberty; and he trusted that if ever the time came, as in so awful a crisis as the present it might come, we should in defence of our rights discover a spirit no less courageous, and meet with a success correspondent to the energy of our exertions. In estimating the propriety of a remonstrance, such as that to which he now alluded, the wisdom of such a measure was to be determined only by circumstances. Its expediency was dependent on extended views of policy, and enlarged prospects of advantage. It was true, indeed, that when the intelligence of the glorious exertions of the Swiss patriots reached this country, every honest man was interested in their exertions, every lover of freedom was ready to devote himself in their cause. Ministers, however, were not to be guided by a popular impulse, however respectable. They were to consider how far their remonstrances, in favour of a suffering people, were likely to be attended to, or how far they could hope to enforce them, by holding out to the French govt. threats of employing force, in case peaceable remonstrance was ineffectual.—The whole history of States sufficiently proved that remonstrances betwixt independent nations, unaccompanied by penalties, were generally nugatory. Now, on what footing did the remonstrance of ministers, in the case of Switzerland, stand? It arrived at a time when it was fruitless—the people were subjugated, and their hopes were blasted for ever. But, supposing that it had not been presented too late, had ministers made any arrangements on the continent to give it effect? Were any allies ready to second our efforts? Was the co-operation of the Court of Vienna secured, or was an Austrian army ready to march to the frontiers of Switzerland? No allies

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were formed; and we seemed to take as little trouble about collecting an Austrian army as calling a coach from the stand. In this point of view the measure of a remonstrance was unwise, impolitic, inexpedient. But there was another important point of view in which it may be considered, in which it was no less objectionable. It appeared as an insulated measure, and not a part of a system on which they meant to conduct his Majesty's counsels. He begged leave to ask, whether, on being first disclosed, it did not create the utmost astonishment in the public mind? When the merits of the treaty were canvassed, the language of ministers and their friends had been, that the system of continental connexion was to be greatly relaxed, and the country were congratulated on being freed from so pregnant a source of war. An hon. friend of his (Mr. Wilberforce) had not contented himself with expatiating on this change of policy with exultation in the House, but had addressed the same language to his constituents on a late occasion. The sanction of so respectable a name could not be without its share of influence, and certainly the public had been strongly impressed with the idea of this change of system. He had no blame ministers if they meant to act on the system which had received the sanction of the greatest politicians of this country, because they did not prepare the public for a change so very important. It was at all times proper that the people should be thoroughly apprised of the principles which govt. had resolved to act upon, because without this there never could be a cordial co-operation. When ministers, contrary to their original professions, had determined to act on the old principle of continental alliances and connexions, they ought to have given fair notice to Europe; but above all, they ought to have given fair notice to the people of England. It gave him great satisfaction to hear that ministers were now determined to act with vigour; but though friendly to the Address, he could not help thinking that *past experience did not warrant implicit confidence in the energy and decision of Ministers.* Contrary to all preceding example, nothing had characterised the reduction of our peace establishment, but a precipitation altogether unaccountable. New encroachments on the part of France were met by conciliation; new accessions of strength were succeeded by new diminutions of our national force. There was nothing like a reciprocity in the arrangement of a peace estab. Ministers now admitted their mistake, and they were forced to do that with difficulty which formerly they could have accomplished without effort. It was unnecessary for him to point out to the House that it was a work of considerable labour to recruit a disbanded army, to refit a dismantled fleet; but, whatever the difficulty was, it was wholly to be ascribed to want of promptness, decision, and energy in watching over the ambitious designs of the enemy. Of all the bad consequences of this policy, nothing was so bad as letting down the national spirit. To repair the consequences of this error, was not the work of a day. National spirit was not to be roused in a moment. It was to be cherished and fostered by the paternal care of govt. Ministers had neglected this most important object, and now they wished to repair the consequences of their error, and to raise the spirit as high as it was when they received the govt. from the hands of their predecessors. A great deal had been said at different times of the desperate state of public affairs when his Majesty's present ministers had been entrusted with their management. This observation, often repeated, he had at all times most strongly controverted. He was ready to go into a detail on every point, and to prove that in every particular it was unfounded. What were the circumstances under which ministers undertook a situation represented as hazardous beyond all former example? They had left to them a war with France, and the neutral question in such a state as to afford no prospect of accommodation without an appeal to the sword. But what were the means they were furnished with to meet these objects? For enforcing our right on the neutral question, they had a fleet prepared to strike an immediate and decisive blow. To finish the war with France, they had the Egyptian expedition in readiness for immediate service. They, to all the advantages arising from success, did not unite any of the dangers connected with responsibility. They were entrusted with the government of a country in a state of complete repose. Treason in Ireland was destroyed, domestic sedition was repressed, commerce extended beyond all example, manufactures active, finances unimpaired, were the prominent circumstances in the situation of the country when they were first called to his Majesty's councils; and certainly though their duties were arduous, their facilities of performance were numerous and striking.—He, at the same time, stated with great energy the hostile views of the French govt. to this country. The destruction of our independence and glory was the object never lost sight of for a moment. There was an invincible spirit of rancour which only waited for a favourable opportunity to display itself in action. The sentiment of hatred was cherished—the day of vengeance was only postponed—the purpose was taken, and in due time the French govt. would disclose its views.—*Telum auctum et reconditum promeret.*—The R. H. member concluded by exhibiting a succinct view of the deficiency of ministers in their diplomatic transactions, which he illustrated with particular reference to Russia, whose alliance had been unaccountably lost under the most favourable circumstances.

Lord Hawkesbury said, he could not agree with the hon. gent. opposite to him, (Mr. Fox), in some points he had stated, nor with his R. H. Friend, (Mr. Canning) in others. He agreed with many of the sentiments which had been delivered by Mr. Fox; but he did not agree with that hon. gent. that the events which had happened since the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace between this country and France, might not, in the opinion of many

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persons, create a material difference in the relative situation of the two countries, for certainly France did not then stand in the situation in which it stood now. In stating this, his Lordship observed, that he did not mean to enter at present on the question, of whether it was wise in his Majesty's ministers to conclude the peace on the terms on which it was concluded, nor to enter into any comparison between the events as they stood then, with the events that have happened since the peace. It was said at the conclusion of the peace, he believed by him, that it was right then to close the account of the war, and that with all the conditions upon which it was then made, he had added, it would be wise to look always on the further encroachments of France with jealousy and watchfulness; and he had said also, that much might depend upon the chance there was of success in endeavouring to stop it. He wished not to apply this to the present case, but the distinction which that observation was intended to convey, was material. He could not agree with his R. H. Friend who had just sat down, in the allusion he made to what he had supposed to have been said by him (Lord H.) when the subject-matter of the prelim. and defin. treaties were discussed in that House. He regretted, that his R. H. Friend was not present at that discussion, so that he had not an opportunity of knowing precisely, the sentiments on which that defin treaty was defended by his Majesty's ministers, for, by the representation he made of that matter, and his arguments from that representation, it was evident he had, in some respects, misconceived the grounds on which his Majesty's ministers defended that treaty in its discussion in that House. His R. H. Friend asked, what the system was on which ministers had acted, and whether they had relinquished the system on which they had concluded the treaty? To this he answered, that his Majesty's ministers acted now precisely on the same system as they acted when the defin. treaty was concluded. That the principle which was then avowed was the principle which would govern them; it was a principle which was perfectly clear and intelligible, and practicable. That principle was stated by the hon. gent. opposite to him, as far as the statement went, with perfect fairness—It was that, as far as respects the interests of this country, the peace was made on terms that were honourable, inasmuch as it preserved the integrity of the Brit. dominions; and it was added, at the time of the discussion of that treaty, by some who took a share in it on the part of his Majesty's ministers, that, as far as it respected the state of the continent, many things were left under circumstances that were unsatisfactory, and ministers had expressed regret upon that occasion, and in terms that were stronger than the hon. gent. opposite to him had stated to-night upon that topic. The principle on which his Majesty's ministers justified themselves then was this, "That to continue the war for continental objects, without the prospect of continental support, would be absurd, and that consequently it was better to take the chance of peace, than the chance of war—That if we were to have the alternative, it was desirable for us to try peace, when in continental objects, our expectations had ceased."—This was the principle on which his Majesty's ministers then acted. It was the principle by which they now act, and on which they would always be ready to act, and to justify themselves. He knew that his R. H. Friend who had spoken last had alluded to some general topics, and referred to the opinions of other persons as to the system which ministers ought to pursue, and who did not agree with ministers. But he had mistaken some sentiments which were uttered by him (Lord H.) It was stated as if something was said on the discussion of the defin. treaty, that it was the policy of this country to abstract itself from the continent. That was not the principle then avowed; but he remembered having said something very different himself on that occasion, and he was ready to defend what he then said. He had said, it was not the system of this country to abstract itself from continental concerns, and attend exclusively to its own resources and internal affairs; he should have thought, if some respectable persons had not expressed a contrary opinion, that the case was too clear for any doubt to be entertained upon it. He owned, that to a country so large, and territories so extensive, commerce so great, and interests so complicated, it was impossible to apply, with good sense, the principle of abstracting itself, and to attend to mere internal policy of its own, distinct from all concern with the affairs of other states, upon all occasions. Those who should ever attempt to guide the affairs of this country upon a contracted system, would soon find it a policy which they must abandon, or sacrifice the real interests of this country. He might object to this system on a more large and extensive principle than any he had hitherto mentioned, but it was not his intention to be diffuse in what he had to submit to the House. He knew he might allude to what had been the practice of his Majesty's ministers; that was a subject on which he felt more delicacy than otherwise he would have of difficulty in the detail. He thought, however, that the affairs of states, like the affairs of individuals, took their course from the circumstances and importance in which they stood.—States that were in size and consequence of a subordinate kind, had to follow a rule of policy different from that which would be a wise one to a great and important state. Inferior or subordinate states, like inferior and subordinate individuals, had to look chiefly to maintenance and support, often little more than preservation of existence. But individuals of rank and station, of high condition in life, had the support and assistance of others to attend to; the concerns of others and interests of others to consider, and, in some cases, to provide for.—So in states.—Great and powerful states had to look to many things besides their own immediate and internal interest; both policy and justice required that they should attend to other objects, for the interest of a great and powerful

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state was often combined with those who were inferior to it, as well as in endeavouring to set some limits to another power, and therefore it was to him a matter of surprise, that any person of an enlarged understanding should suppose it could, under any circumstances, be the interest of this country to pursue an abstract system, unconnected with any part of the affairs of the continent. This, he presumed, would be an answer to that part of the speech of his R. H. Friend which tended to imply, that the policy of his Majesty's ministers was that of an abstract insulated nature. But still there might be circumstances that ought to govern his Majesty's ministers. That the policy which he had already stated, was that on which his Majesty's ministers had, in some cases, acted, in others forbore to act, was a point which it was almost unnecessary for him to state. It was so fresh in the recollection of all who heard him, that this policy of attending to expediency, had governed this and other states in the concerns of kingdoms—one of a recent date; it was the case of a nation, not much less than that of France itself, in point of territory at the time—more populous than several of the then independent states of Europe, and yet that vast nation had been blotted out of the map of Europe, as an independent state. It must be obvious to the House that he alluded to Poland. Upon that occasion, there was, in that House, and in this country, but one feeling, and yet it had been held, not only by ministers, but also by a considerable body of those who opposed them, that this nation ought not to go to war on that ground.—He did not believe that any considerable body of men blamed ministers for their conduct on that occasion.—Why? Because whatever pretence it might furnish afterwards for continuing a contest that might be inevitable, it was unadviseable at that time, however desirable, because it was impossible for us to have interfered, with any chance of success, without continental support. From the state of Europe, at that time, under all the circumstances that must inevitably have been connected with war, there was no reasonable hope of success, in any efforts of ours, without continental support, which we could not then have; and, therefore, however just in itself, or desirable the thing might be, there was nothing to warrant our active interference. Another transaction was to be found in the history of Europe, which was more immediately connected with the direct interest of this country, on the subject of continental policy. It was that of the conduct of King Wm. III. under all the good qualities of that prince and his admired general policy, and when the political system of this country was established, on the wisest footing. He meant the great point by which the ambition of Louis the XIVth appeared on the death of the King of Spain, on the war of succession, upon the will of the King of Spain. It was then declared, by King Wm. to be the policy of this country, under all the circumstances, not to interfere alone in that question, so as to involve this country in a war, without continental support; and this was the opinion of a prince, who, from his education and habits, was certainly prone to an interference in continental affairs. In a word, it was his opinion, that without continental support this country ought not to interfere in continental concerns on the ground of expediency; but this was a totally distinct thing from any abstract insulated policy.—It was a policy founded on the reason of the thing, arising out of circumstances over which we had no controul. With regard to the circumstances of the present moment, and what would have been wise for his Majesty's ministers to do, that was, as he had said already, a question of more delicacy than difficulty for him to speak upon—he should, however, speak in general terms upon that topic. He would say, that the conduct of his Majesty's ministers was governed by a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, by a due consideration of the value of objects, of the then peace, and of the state of the continent at the time. Putting the first point for a moment out of the question, many observations might be made on the state of the continent. It might be well worth consideration, whether, if they thought that the objects themselves were such, as would deserve the renewal of hostilities, and we were determined to take that course, it was probable, at this moment, we should have any effectual support? This was a point which must be governed by a variety of considerations; and he had no difficulty in saying, that although, after a war, such as that which had been closed, with the magnified state of France, peace was, under all circumstances, desirable; yet he should have rejoiced, and he believed that every reflecting man in this country would have rejoiced, if, by a wise, temperate, and firm conduct in the other powers of Europe, a barrier could have been put to further encroachment; but at present, from points, some of which had been foreseen at the time of making peace—he meant particularly some questions as to the indemnities, which must give to France advantages in all continental discussions of this kind; many evils arose which were unavoidable. It was not necessary for him, at this time, to consider the question of indemnities, though there was much injustice, yet, perhaps, something of the kind was inevitable. It was a system of indemnity, so called, and nothing more. But so it happened, that the moment the discussion was opened, France had it in her power to hold out immediate advantages to some states, which made them less vigilant than they should be of the general interests of Europe; so that in this respect a system was established which was not to the interest of this country. But what was most material to be considered was this, if continental connexions must be had with a view to such a renewal of hostilities, if it should ever become necessary, by a hasty and a premature renewal, we should lose all the advantages of a well concerted system. This was not a point on which he wished to hold out any expectation to the House; he could not with propriety do so if he had any grounds for it; but the House would feel the propriety of the principle which he had laid down, as a rule to

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guide this proceeding. He wished to be most distinctly understood, as maintaining the opinion, "that under the present circumstances of this country, and of Europe, if peace can be maintained, consistently with honour to ourselves, under a proper defensive system, it is, under all circumstances, better than a renewal of the war, even connected with a consideration of all the events which have happened. His R. H. Friend had stated some words of his, used on the discussion of the defin. treaty, respecting the national spirit of this country at that time. His ldp. said, he did not state the sentiment in the insulated manner mentioned by his R. H. Friend; yet he did state then, and he believed now, that if a sufficient case was made of injustice to us, but not only of injustice, but also with a reasonable expectation of success, the spirit of the people was fully equal to any contest in which we might be engaged; yet, that after ten years war, carried on so extensively and so variously in its course, the spirit of the people did require, in some degree, recruiting; and therefore, under all the circumstances, peace, if made with honour, it would have been wise to make, even on terms less advantageous than might have been expected at the first year of a war—but this did not apply, exclusively, to his country, it was applicable to the whole Continent of Europe, which consequently required recruiting, to give a chance of success in the contest, an object deserving great regard. He thought he had a manifestation of public sentiment upon this occasion, as upon other occasions, which proved that if a renewal of hostilities became inevitable, however desirable peace might be, yet the spirit of the people would be fully equal to the contest. With regard to the allusion of his R. H. Friend to a supposed transaction by which the honour of this country was committed and forfeited, he could freely say, that no step whatever had been taken which committed or forfeited the honour of this country. What steps had been taken by the govt. of this country, it would be improper for him to disclose; but it would be an extraordinary proposition to entertain, that we never were to bring on the discussion with a foreign govt. on any point, if we were not afterwards to state that unless it was conceded to you, you would go to war. He would correct the statement of his R. H. Friend on another point, for he seemed to have gone upon an idea, that the resistance of Switzerland was instigated by this country, and that after the commencement of that resistance, that his Majesty's govt. did interfere and hold out encouragement to that resistance. *He thought it important to say, that no part of this event was instigated by the govt. of this country; not only that the resistance was not instituted in that case, but also, that no encouragement whatever, after its commencement, was given by this country.* The two other hon. mr. who spoke early in this debate, seemed to look at the present situation of Europe with some dissatisfaction. They had stated that some events had taken place which might have been foreseen, and they seemed to distrust, in some respect, the firmness and sufficiency of his Majesty's present ministers to conduct the affairs of the country at the present crisis; and they accompanied this observation with a reference in particular to the abilities of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) who was prevented *by indisposition* from being in his place in the House this day.—In every thing they could say, continued his ldp. with reference to the abilities and the services he has performed to his country, he will find no person more ready than myself to agree with them.—It is impossible for me to let this subject pass over entirely in silence, especially after what has been said by my R. H. Friend who spoke last—I certainly approve of the measures of that right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt)—I have proved it by voting for them; but it is not always in the power of the greatest abilities to command success. I think I may say that the events which happened towards the close of that administration is a proof of that observation, and, therefore, I felt the more surprised, as I believe the House did, when my R. H. Friend (Mr. Canning) stated circumstances as if the condition of this country was, at the time of the close of that administration, the most flourishing, the most prosperous, the best calculated for the continuance of war, or for the making of peace, that was ever known—Such as any persons of the most ambitious temper for applause would wish to come in at the head of govt.; as a state in which it was of all conditions, the most easy to conduct our affairs—With regard to that event, I know that no motive did actuate him (Mr. Pitt) in quitting govt. but *a sense of what he thought a superior duty—a matter of opinion on a great and important question*; but is it possible to forget, what was the state of events at that time? Does my R. H. Friend recollect the state of this country then—with a great combination of almost all Europe against us, with the exception of the cabinet of Vienna to be sure, but which could not support us, so much as by words? Does he recollect the great dismay felt as to various events, when myself, and those with whom I have the honour of acting, succeeded to that administration? I allude to the question with the Northern Powers, which led to the battle of Copenhagen. It is well known, that other powers were strongly attached, to what was called the neutral code—and even after the battle of Copenhagen, and the death of the Emp. Paul, no point could be attended with more difficulty than that question was. With regard to another event brought forward by my R. H. Friend, the expedition to Egypt, I will venture to affirm, that no man ever applauded that expedition more than I do, or who thinks, that under all the circumstances, it was not the wisest disposition that could be made of our force at the time; but to state it as my hon. friend has done, as one in which the event was certain, considering the comparative force of the French, the difficulties which our force had to encounter, and the whole of the detail of that expedition, is what I own astonishes

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me.—I know that every war and every expedition in war, implies a great portion of risk, and that in moral certainties in such cases, we do not mean absolute and physical certainties. I believe this expedition was the best mode in which the country could, at that period, have employed that force. I believe too, that the event contributed to the establishment of peace. But if my R. H. Friend consults the military officers employed in that expedition, he will find it was not at the commencement of the present administration an event that had any certainty about it. My R. H. Friend made an allusion to a passage in the King's Speech, and in the Address commented upon by the hon. gent. opposite to me (Mr. Fox), in which my R. H. Friend seemed to consider that the assent given to the observation of that hon. gent. by us, implied that we agreed with him on the subject of the peace estab. of this country—our assent on that occasion, was, undoubtedly to the explanation of that hon. gent. in that particular; for he stated that all the Address went to, was to concur in all measures necessary for the interest of the country.—The hon. gent. opposite to him, had said, that in his opinion, that would be best supported by a small peace establishment, but that other individuals had other opinions upon that subject, and it would be time enough to discuss the amount of the establishment when it came to be proposed, and it was a point on which difference of opinion was likely to arise; and it was only to the expression of that sentiment that any assent was given by ministers. But I have no difficulty in stating it as my own opinion, *that in the present state of the Continent, it is impossible that the peace establishment of this country, should not far exceed what it usually was*; and that if doubts could have been entertained on that subject, events which have happened since the defin. treaty, have decided that question. One word to another part of my R. H. Friend's speech, and which was also alluded to by the two hon. gent. who followed the mover and seconder of this Address, namely—the state in which this country now is as to naval and military force. They seemed to think that our military force has been imprudently disbanded, and our fleets dismantled; but the truth of that matter is, that there never was before this time, the first year of a peace, when the peace establishment of this country was any thing like so considerable as it is now, and particularly the navy—nor was there ever a period in which the navy of France was so reduced. My R. H. Friend states, that what he looks to, is not the state or condition of the terms of peace between the two countries, but the *animus*. If we look to the *animus* alone, and were not to have peace until we were satisfied upon that particular, I am afraid we never should have had peace at all, *either from the monarchy of France or from its present govt.* I think it is manifest from the terms of the *three last treaties of peace* we have concluded with France, compared with their conduct, that at the very time of signing, *they meditated a breach of them*.—The *animus* is therefore out of the case, and if we staid until we were satisfied on the mind and intention of France towards us being pacific, whatever opportunity might occur to favour hostility, we should continue at war for ever.—An hon. gent. spoke in the course of this debate as if he had some doubts respecting the prosperous state of our commerce: he is connected with a part of our country deeply concerned in that matter; but when accounts came to be laid before the House upon that subject, I am confident the information which they will afford will be perfectly satisfactory to that hon. gent. as well as the House and the Public, and will prove, that nothing which has hitherto been advanced in favour of the state of our commerce, has been without foundation. To preserve peace, and to give to the country an opportunity to improve its great resources, both has been, and will be, the policy of his Majesty's ministers: but they cannot look to the events which have lately happened, without calling on this House and on the Country, equally *to entertain a spirit of watchfulness* on the state of Europe, and to be prepared for the alternative. Our policy has been, and will be, *to resist unjust demands made by any foreign power*. The stand must be made in the first instance, and to preserve peace as long as we can, consistently with that policy, and with a due attention to the circumstances of Europe, is the object of his Majesty's ministers. Undoubtedly, the situation of Europe, whatever may be ascribed to particular persons, has fundamentally changed, even in principle, by an extraordinary revolution which has taken place in so considerable a part of this world; a revolution which, although it may have ceased in some respects in its original spot, could not have ceased to affect other powers, and that must be subject of regret to every lover of his country.—But it is not always in our power to redress what we feel to be a grievance. I trust the conduct of his Majesty's govt. will be such as to satisfy the country; and as they are governed by no principle now, but that which governed them at the time of agreeing to the peace, they will continue to maintain the honour and the interest of the country, by preserving that principle, which has always been held in the greatest esteem among us by the most enlightened and ardent lovers of its welfare.

MR. WINDHAM. [This is but a very imperfect sketch of what Mr. Windham said on this occasion. We have taken the best report that was published; but, in a long debate, where there are many speakers, the best report must, of necessity, be very deficient, both as to quantity and to correctness.] "I do not rise to make any observations upon the general doctrine advanced by the noble lord who has just sat down, so far from thinking it unsatisfactory, I shall be content with even less than it holds forth. My purpose in rising is to offer a few words upon the general state of the country, and upon the address. Considering the speech from the throne, and the address, which is its echo, as the speech

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and address of the minister, our situation is alarming indeed, when on the very first day of a session we are told of insults and strides on the part of France, which require extraordinary jealousy and precaution, but if these things have not been foreseen, if this be the first impression which govt. has had of them, then are we lost indeed. It seems as if an hon. gent.'s powers (Mr. Fox) lose all their energy, when touching upon the French revolution. At its commencement, he told us there was nothing extraordinary in the French revolution; that there was nothing so simple and easy in a state, as a change from one form of govt. to another. The ship, says he, *is* in stays; she is now on a tack, but you need not be afraid, she will sail safe into port without falling foul of you. This was his language in the beginning of the revolution. But when this "*stupendous monument of human wisdom*" was raised, then he thought it was of importance to us; for in these great edifices, if the foundation be not good, and the walls be not perpendicular, they may fall and spread ruin wide around them. At the beginning, it was as innocent a thing as ever came into the world, it was one of those things that become vicious by ill treatment; and yet, when grown up, it has destroyed all before it, as well that which did not, as that which did offend it. Those that lay in its way, and those who did not wilfully resist, it alike overthrew. We may, indeed, apply the words of Shakespeare, as an image of its conduct—"You beat the blind boy, and the blind boy beats the post."—Since the peace, France has conquered Piedmont; she has conquered even the hon. gent.'s old friend, the Duke of Tuscany; and yet, he says, she is only a commercial rival. I should be glad to know, from the hon. gent. how long the two countries are to go on in this way of commercial rivalship? Has France no power to engage in any other sort of rivalship? Is any man prepared to say, that she has not? What, after country has fallen upon country; when messenger comes in upon messenger, as in the last scene of a tragedy, to announce some new calamity; and these events so rapidly follow each other, that the news is stale when a day old; is it for the hon. gent. to rise and say, France is only a commercial rival? When I say the country betrays every mark of dissolution, when I represent it as going the way of all flesh, and when I am asked, why I think so? I am disposed to ask those who doubt me, why they think otherwise. *That* I think is the more natural question of the two, and I illustrate it thus: suppose a man for some years in another world should inquire of a person recently arrived from this, about the state of this family of Europe. He would be told, that of the 20 nations that he formerly knew, there were only four or five remaining in an independent state: that Flanders was annexed to France; Prussia, though nominally independent, entirely under her influence; Spain, her vassal; Portugal, at her mercy; Genoa, in name and reality, the property of France; Switzerland just fallen; and Modena, Parma, in short the whole of Italy all gone; that Austria was so feeble she dare not move a step, and the whole of Germany partitioned and divided; would not such a person, if an Englishman, after being told all this, pause before he put the question upon the fate of England? Would it not be more natural for him to suppose that it had shared the fate of the rest, than that it should have survived such general ruin? This, then, is the case, as matter of mere calculation upon the number of states; but how much more strong does it become, when, in addition to the number of fallen powers, it is considered that the infection is of that nature, that the more it has destroyed, the more able it becomes to destroy more. The cases are precisely the same. The proof then is not upon us to shew that we have not perished, but upon the others, to shew why we have not. It is merely a question of Cocker, namely, if in a given time France has destroyed so many powers, in what length of time will she be able to destroy the remainder? But the case is stronger still; for not only has she the same force to destroy, but she possesses it in an increased proportion, which is inversely as the resistance, so that France goes on to the attainment of her object in a ratio compounded of these two quantities, her power to destroy, which is equal, and the quantity of resistance, which is constantly diminishing. See then at what rate France has gone for the last six months, and you will find at what rate she will go in future. This is that compound increasing rate I have mentioned, unless it will be said that she moves only at that rate in time of peace, which enables her to take an extraordinary start; a case which I shall leave to others to explain. But it may be said that the peace will stop it. As well might it be said that the conclusion of the last century could stop it. Take out the map of Europe, and measure not leagues, but climates and degrees, and see how much France possesses in Europe. Russia is also a power of great extent, but nothing to France in population.—France, including her own people, and those under her immediate influence, has the use of a population of between 50 and 60 millions, amounting to half the population of Europe. She has been always a more populous country than this, as her population amounted to 24 millions; but, formerly there existed circumstances which counterbalanced this excess of population. Now, however, that counterbalance is destroyed, and we have the whole of her population against us, together with what we have lost, and she has gained upon the continent. With respect to the nature and situation of territory, it may lay remote and detached, as that of Russia, which extends into the north of Asia, and so cannot be brought into effect. The population may also be timid and feeble, like the Asiatics, with whom we have been fighting; but is that the character, I ask, of the people of France, or of the nations whom she has overthrown? Looking at this I must exclaim with Macbeth—

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" Can such things be,
" And overcome us like a summer cloud,
" Without our special wonder? You make me
" strange,
" Even to the disposition that I owe,
" When now I think you can behold such sights,
" And keep the nat'ral ruby of your cheeks,
" When mine are blanch'd with fear."

This is the feeling with which I look at this part of our relative situation. Look now at the other side. The first effect of the peace was a reduction of our expense, and a great saving, as if our wealth was expected thereby to grow faster than the power of France, and consequently improve our situation; and, with this view, the reduction of our naval establishment after the treaty of Amiens was so rapid as to place us in our present perilous situation, to say no worse of it. This prospect of gain is however likely to fail us, for if they see that they keep us between high and low armament: they may do away all our savings, just as a man might spend as much on a journey to Hounslow or Windsor on as one to Edinburgh.—But if we are to weigh gold against the sword, and commerce against continental politics, and if trade shall go on in a prosperous course, will that satisfy the statesman? I shall always give merchants credit for their good wishes to the country, but on a question of this kind they are not the best authority, as being interested parties. The merchants look to present gain, but they may be bad guardians of the country in relation to its future prosperity, just as tenants of church lands, who have short interests, are inattentive to their future improvement. I shall not, however, go into the detail of trade on this subject, but content myself with a general view which may be more correct. I ask then by what rule or law of nations, all trade shall centre in our ports, and France possess imperial power? I wish it to be considered, that France remaining as she is, may destroy its source, and break it up at once by a new war. France acts upon this ground; and with this view, she has taken great naval and commercial stations in all parts of the world. She has proceeded as an engineer in the time of Louis XIV. would proceed, choosing what fortresses it would be advisable to destroy, and what to keep and improve. In this spirit, she forms her commercial establishments in every part of the world, and hangs every where upon the sources of our wealth. That these will not soon grow up, is what no man can dispute—France may then prescribe to us in our commerce, and cut and carve out our trade with other nations, as she shall think proper. This is the rivalry in which the hon. gent. as a declared supporter of the peace, sees no danger. He appeals to the trader, and not to the trade; the present trade, may approve, because he may have an interest; but the ultimate system may be ruined. To say that France may not hereafter injure our navy or our trade, possessing, as she does, such naval and commercial stations, no man can venture; and as our navy and our trade helped each other up, so they may help each other down. If, however, it should be asked, of what importance is this danger of rivalship in trade at a remote distance? to that, I answer—we must consider we are running a race with a wolf, who, though we may not be able to run him down, may turn short upon us. Now it may be said, to what does all this lead? To this I answer, it leads to a just sense and view of our internal situation, which is the source of all manly resolution and prudent conduct. In the alternative of peace or war, we cannot understand the reasons for the one but in the other. The reasons for war we have now found out in the peace. We are like the testy old batchelor, who took a wife, and exclaimed, "Aye, aye, now that I am married, I have found out what is the matter with me." So with us, we have now discovered the reasons for war in the peace. We have always talked of these two states as if, because they are opposite in their nature, they must have opposite effects; that if war was bad for the country peace must be advantageous. There may be danger in both states. You may be so unprosperous in a war that it may not be in your power to make peace. This was nearly the case of the last war, which was unsuccessful in relation to some of the objects assigned for it. In my view of it, however, it was not unsuccessful; for what I say is, that we are in a better situation than if it had never been undertaken. It has not, however, enabled us to make peace with France with safety, and in that view it has been unsuccessful, and is a cause for much anxiety.—France is now a great power, with the means of increasing it. I suppose then that we thence understand our situation; that we are engaged with a rival who means our destruction, and to make its accomplishment the last of her Herculean labours. When the hon. member talked of the pacific disposition of France, and deprecated the wars of princes, but not one word about the wars of the First Consul. I thought he had brought over some friendly remonstrance; for, says he, in what has France violated the treaty of Amiens? I did not think that any casuist would argue that there are not grounds for war exclusive of the treaty of Amiens, and that it is only a question of prudence. Now, if he had said, that whatever might be the ambition of Buonaparté, the public opinion in France was pacific, and would controul his design, this would be a security; but, in contemplating that astonishing monument of human wisdom, the name of the people in that free country has never been once mentioned by the hon. gent. We see, then, that his ambition is not restrained by public opinion, and hence it has been able to make such havoc. But, so far as public opinion goes, when I consider the language and addresses presented to the First Consul, as demonstrative of it, I must believe the accounts of the well informed people, who have lately returned from that country, all of whom assert, that the great sentiment there is the destruction of England, to which they ascribe all the ills that they have suffered; an idea which they have been taught to cherish by those who have so often inveighed against the late unjust and unnecessary war, as they have stiled it. Now, to come to the chain of commerce, credit and capital, although the changes have been rung upon these three things as distinct, upon a nearer view they may be comprehended under the head of commerce singly, and it is at this that France aims. See, then, what she has done to attain it. Since the peace she has built 13 ships of war, 6 of the line and 7 frigates, and she has imported 10,000 tons of hemp, which is equal to a year's consumption of the British navy in time of war.—Never was there a greater expedition than that which she sent to St. Domingo, and all this she has been enabled to do by the Brit. credit, and partly by Brit. ships. Added to these, she is now preparing another expedition from Holland. We heard much

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at the time of peace of the poverty of France, and her inability to engage in such undertakings; but we now find she can avail herself of Brit. credit to accomplish them. It was then argued, as if we might go on in our commerce quietly and unmolested, but she now sees she can break up our system whenever she pleases. On the other hand, we also begin to understand our situation. Men who wished to stop these results have been called men of blood, disturbers of the western family. A surgeon may advise an amputation without being a man of blood. The patient may wish it without being a man of blood. A kind sympathising husband and father may recommend these experiments without being monsters. No; these are the monsters, these who, when the fond mother had by an exertion of her tenderness summoned up resolution to suffer an operation upon her child, and to comfort and encourage it by her presence, could revile her and say, see that unnatural mother holding her child while a barbarous surgeon mangles its tender limbs. Now, one does not like this language from the mother of revolutions. (A laugh!) One does not like to hear this pious horror recommended by a revolution, with twenty others in its belly; a revolution which, like a certain piece of fire-work, which bursts in its ascent, and showers down a multitude of others. There is something in the boasted title of pacificator, so ludicrous, that it excites contempt. It is like the cant slang, so much in use with smugglers, robbers, and gipsies. With such people, smuggling is called a free trade, skipping a hedge moonshine, and running away at night. I remember a set of thieves in Suffolk who called every sort of plunder of the revenue, hiding. So when the First Consul marches 40,000 men into Switzerland, he calls it settling their affairs. When he invaded Egypt, in breach of treaty with the Porte, he called it chastising the rebellious Pachas. If any oppose his measures they are called disturbers of the peace, but his soldiers and partisans are all supporters of order. The Romans too had something of this language—*Ubi solitudinem faciant pacem appellant*. We are a little cured of the mania in this country, which was only an octave higher, when we were told that those who advised the war were men delighting in blood, while those who opposed them were lovers of peace. Not being in an official situation, I am not sufficiently informed to advise particularly; but on such a question, I think, we should weigh well in what situation we shall be when the war shall come upon us, for come it will, and sooner than I wish to say. I think it would be the wiser way to anticipate the blow, but this is more than is necessary for me to enter into, as that is for ministers to determine. We should not, moreover, let out of our hands any of the means which accident or precaution has left in them for another war. I admit this may lead to a war, but taking into consideration our hope of advantage, from war's delay, and the chance of our being in a worse situation by its speedy commencement, I have no hesitation to declare for the latter, and that so little chance is there of the peace improving our situation, we are not authorised to purchase delay upon such terms. Now, one of these terms has been alluded to, namely, co-operation upon the continent; a hope, whimsical enough, when it is allowed, that the treaty of Amiens is allowed to be a renunciation of the continent. But if it be a little unreasonable to hold this language, and to entertain these hopes, it is surely still more unreasonable to say, 'formerly we interfered for your advantage, and struck the first blow, when we were farthest from the danger; now, when the danger is close at hand to us, do you begin first.' If we are waiting for a co-operation on such terms, it will never happen. We should begin and set the example. Had we done so, we should now see in Europe a vigour and energy that do not now exist. The Italian Republic would not have been erected. Piedmont would not have been annexed to France, nor would Switzerland have been over-run. None of these could have happened, not even the settling of the indemnities, as it is called, or, properly speaking, the partitioning and dividing Germany among the partisans of France, in furtherance of her ambition, and the destruction of the German Empire. It might, Sir, also have had its effect even in France; new circumstances might have taken place, a new combination might have arisen in that country, outraged and indignant at last by such rapacious and inordinate ambition. But no power upon the continent will or can be expected to stir till they hear G. Britain declare herself; till they see her in a state fairly and fully to co-operate with them. The hon. gent. while he has been preaching unconditional cowardly submission to France, has been holding up the point of honour; this is a popular tone, which, however, I will take much lower than he does. I could have wished, indeed, his principle had been lower, and his practice higher. Sir, I put the point of honour out of the question very much. I will not push it to a wild, extravagant, chivalrous excess; for national honour, when rightly understood, is, generally speaking, nothing more than national interest. In general there is nothing dishonourable in giving up this thing or that, when it is not disadvantageous to the national interest. But there is another point which seems not to have entered into the hon. gent.'s contemplation; I mean the point of national safety. Sir, if France is to be suffered to continue this career; if she is to be permitted to extend this system of aggrandizement and encroachment unopposed; if we are to look upon it with apathy, and mark its progress with base and cowardly indifference, what can we expect but that, when she has attained these objects of her ambition upon the continent, she will immediately fall upon and attack us? It is on that ground that I say, retain those things we have still in our possession, as arms in our hands for our defence and protection. Sir, no man is more an advocate than I am in all ordinary and quiet times for the nation's placing a just confidence in its representatives, and in his Majesty's ministers. But circumstances of an extraordinary nature may arise; occasions of an uncommon magnitude may occur, in which the nation should deliver its opinion, not by force, not in the way recommended by the lovers of revolutions, but by the expression of the sentiments of the enlightened part of the community. Such circumstances have arisen, such an occasion presents itself now. Sir, I doubt whether it would be in the power of any administration to save the country from ruin, without the close and strict co-operation of the country itself, founded upon a deep sense of the difficulties by which we are surrounded; a deep conviction of the dangers to which the country is exposed; difficulties and dangers, such as they have never experienced before. Unless the tide turns, unless the current runs the other way, unless the breeze springs up, we cannot expect, by our sweeps, to

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be carried off the rocks. The country must aid the govt. Do we want arguments?—do we want appeals to any or every class? To the generous—to the liberal—to the patriotic—to the high-minded, we have arguments for all. The interest of posterity, the grand and noble feelings of our natures, all call upon us loudly, imperiously.—I would appeal, Sir, to that party, for which I cannot be suspected of having much affection, I mean the Jacobins. I would appeal to them. Bad as my opinion is of them, I do not suppose them all to be made up and compounded of wicked elements. Many may be led away by inflamed representations, by exaggerated statements, by too highly-coloured pictures, by heated imaginations—many may be led away by their very virtues. To the Jacobins I would appeal, not as lovers of social order, of good govt. of monarchy, but as men of spirit, as lovers of what they call liberty, as men of hot and proud blood—I would ask them if they are content to be put under the yoke, and crushed by France? I would say to them, that France might annihilate our monarchy, our aristocracy, destroy our church—all good events in their estimation; but after she had effected this, what would she do? They would pass under the yoke of men who would treat them exactly in the same way in which they had treated those they had destroyed. I would put it to them, whether it was consistent with their spirit to be made such instruments and engines? I would persuade them that this species of revolution would put us into the hands of France; a state of liberty, which they would not wish to see realised, because it would be a situation, in which they would become nothing. To another class of persons, the inactive and the inert; to those who think only of their own interests; who console themselves with the idea, that trade will last long enough to make their fortunes; to such men, if there be men of that description, I would say, what security have you, that these hopes will be realised? I would ask them, what security they have, that the change will not come on so rapidly as to crush them on a sudden? Sir, we must not argue from any thing that has before happened. We are in the metaphysics of politics, as we were before in the metaphysics of jurisprudence. Formerly, certain points were taken for granted. We knew that there must be gradations; that as the oak was a hundred years in arriving at its maturity, it must be a certain period in going to decay. But this knowledge will be of no use to us under the present circumstances. The evil may overtake us rapidly, suddenly. We must, therefore, be *aut Cæsar, aut nullus*—we cannot stand still.—If they reduce us to the situation in which Spain is, or even Prussia, if they get us into a state in which we cannot stir, what must we expect will be our fate? To that situation of insult and danger; to that precipice are we rushing with hasty steps. In the wild vagaries of their hatred it is impossible for us to know what they would do should they get us into their power. Do not let us be sure that we should be treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation. Sir, this country has risen to its present state not so much by its soil or its situation as by the energies of its people; but these energies, this vigour, they will not suffer to subsist if they should ever be able to command them. Let us not suppose that they would not crush us if they could ever get us down. What would they care though the island should not be half so productive as it is? they would have satisfied their hatred; they would have satiated their vengeance; they would have crippled our energies, broken our spirit, and reduced our firm and manly bodies to shrunk and shapeless skeletons. To men of the description I have mentioned, I would address such arguments as these. But at all events, I would have the country declare its mind, that we may be prepared whenever that period comes, when the alternative of war shall be deemed better than a continuance of servile submission, and when we shall think it incumbent upon us to change the timidity of the flying hare for the courage and attitude of the indignant lion. Sir, I hope that in such a case we should find the country true to its ancient character. If the people catch at first nothing but an enlightened rational fear, we may hope it will soon be followed by manly spirit; but never can we hope to save the country but by making them sensible of the full extent of the danger. It is with a view to this that I hope ministers will form and shape their own conduct. If they do shew by their measures that they mean to expiate the sin they have committed, I for one shall heartily and openly applaud them. Whether they will raise their minds to such a height—whether they will expand in the trial and burst, I know not; but at least I trust they will do their duty: at least I hope they will not suffer themselves to descend with execration to posterity; that they will not consent to be handed down as the *Augustuli* who have precipitated the country to its ruin. Sir, there are many points which I have touched but lightly; others that I have not touched at all. But further opportunities will be furnished me for discussing them. It is, indeed, a deep sense of the calamities of our situation, that has induced me to trespass upon your time so long. A deep sense that the country is going down—that it is almost settling in the water—that the power of France is growing fast round us—that we are dying by a complication of disorders, both chronic and acute; by disorders, some of which are less rapid in their operation than others; we may be cut off by a blow at once.—From such an effect, may we be defended by a sacrifice of that system, an abandonment of those principles, upon which his Majesty's ministers have acted; feeling, as they must do, that we have this complication of diseases. Sir, I trust the country will express its feelings, founded upon its reason; it cannot be blind to the danger—it cannot be ignorant of the causes that have produced it. This, Sir, is my advice; it is an admonition which belongs to the situation in which we are; for fatal, indeed, would it have been if the address had been suffered to pass without any such observations being made as those I have found it necessary to submit to you. I could have wished they had come from a person of more weight, for made they must be.—Sir, unless the House see the danger as I see it, unless exertions and sacrifices be made, such as we have never seen before; unless we abandon all those low-minded and ignoble ideas, the country must be inevitably hurried on to its ruin. I recollect, with peculiar force, the last dying quiver, the last words almost that dropped from the great Lord Chatham before he fainted in the House of Lords. I was present at the melancholy scene. His last words (they were coarse and homely, but, coming from such a man, they derived, perhaps, a peculiar vigour even from their coarseness), his last words, when some submission was spoken of—a submission trifling when compared with what we are called upon to make at present,—were, that "*never then consent to such a mea-*

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' ure, I would pawn the shirt off my back." Sir, that expression, with the weight and authority of such a name, conveys what I feel upon the present crisis."

Mr. Fox—The Rt. Hon. Gent. describes me as having spoken of the power of France as not being formidable, and as having set it down for nothing. Now, I am in the recollection of every gent. in the House, whether I did not distinctly say, that I was as much impressed with its magnitude as any member in the House, or any man in the kingdom. I feel that power as deeply as any human being. I laid it specifically to the charge of the late ministers, that they had done more to aggrandise France, and to produce that power, than all the ministers that ever preceded them. I said that that enormous aggrandisement was a crime for which that Rt. Hon. Gent. and his associates were gravely responsible.

Mr. Windham.—" Sir, I spoke to the tenor of the hon. gent.'s speech.—I did not mean to fix upon any particular expression."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although they who thought with the hon. gent. that the conclusion of peace was pregnant with the destruction to the country, may now agree with him in the lamentable picture he has drawn of our situation and prospects, yet I cannot believe that views so discouraging to all spirit of enterprise, so inconsistent with all public confidence and private comfort, will meet with the approbation of impartial men in this House, or in the nation. I cannot believe that a comparison of the respective situation of G. Brit. and France, so full of dismay to the inhabitants of this Empire, will be justified by the observations or by the feelings of the country. The R. H. Gent. spoke as if he thought, that ministers in concluding peace would feel that they had sins to expiate, while on the other hand the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Fox) expressed a hope, that ministers did not repent of the part they had acted, in bringing the war to a termination. I must state then to you, Sir, and to the House, that I do not appear before you as an apologist for my conduct in that affair. If I am a delinquent, I am a hardened one; for I never reflect upon the share I had in that event without inward satisfaction. The R. H. Gent. said, that if a person who died 14 years ago were to rise from the dead, he would scarcely know the world, on account of the changes it has undergone. I confess that I look back with horror on many of the events of the last ten years, but with a mixture of pride on the conduct which this House, and which the Country have pursued during so eventful a crisis. Yet will the hon. gent. say, that even 14 years since we had no cause to view France with jealousy? But supposing the R. H. Gent.'s alarm of French power to be just, how does he justify the policy of an immediate peace? He surely then has not examined the question with sufficient attention, or he could not have so completely laid out of sight every consideration of prudence. Several gent. have alluded to the naval and military estab. as being successively and prematurely reduced. Upon a matter in which, by proper inquiry, accurate information might have been obtained, it is surprising that they should have so greatly erred. The fact is, that with regard to our military establishment it is double what it was in the year 1784, at the same period from the conclusion of the treaty. There has been a reduction in the cavalry, but still it is double what it was in the year 1784. As to the navy, in 1786 we had 115 vessels in commission; we have now 207. In 1792, the year preceding the war, we had 18,000 seamen; at present we have 46,000. So much for the reduction of our naval and military estab. It is with the utmost satisfaction, likewise, that I am able to convert into certainty what was stated as conjecture respecting the increase of our commerce, manufactures, and revenue. I am the more gratified in being able to do so, when I collect the gloomy presages on this subject which were held out by those who disapproved of the peace. In the year ending Oct. 1801, the exports of Brit. manufactures amounted to between 23 and 24 millions. In the year ending Oct. 1802, the exports amounted to no less than £27,500,000. During the last year also the amount of the revenue has been unexampled. Many thought that I was too sanguine last year in taking the surplus of the Consolidated Fund at £4,500,000 for the current year, but for two quarters from the 5th April the amount of the surplus has already been upwards of 3 millions. The floating debt of every kind, which was estimated at upwards of 20 millions will, in Jan. next, amount to no more than 14 millions. The principles on which ministers concluded peace were, that our single efforts could be of no avail to repair what was amiss in the state of the Continent, and that therefore our honour being saved, it was wise to spare our resources for occasions when, if peace could not be preserved with safety and with dignity, we might go to war with the co-operation of allies, or be enabled to assist and animate their returning energies. When Austria retired from the contest all wise and impartial men thought that we should likewise give up the conflict, if terms of peace compatible with our honour and interests could be obtained. In such circumstances we did put an end to the war, our honour entire, our constitution preserved, our best interests secured, and if the renewal of the war should, by any aggression or insults on the part of France, be rendered necessary, it would not be renewed on grounds different from those on which its discontinuance had been justified. The right hon. gent. has insinuated a suspicion that the tone which ministers may have assumed in any discussions which the govt. of France has been inconsistent with the dignity of the nation. I assert most positively, that in no one instance has the honour and interests of the country been committed by ministers; and this is all that it would be proper for me to say upon such a subject. I am satisfied that the public opinion is, that the country wishes for peace, but is not afraid of war; that it wishes what is best, but is determined to be prepared for what is worst—it will submit to no base compromise of its rights, and of its dignity, but will not be misled by exaggerated statements of danger, to overlook all considerations of prudence. In this House, and in the Country, there will be no disposition to prostrate the honour of the nation; but I am aware that there is in some individuals a disposition, originating, no doubt, in the most laudable feelings, to rouse the passions, to alarm the fears, to pique the pride of the country, in order to force us back into war, without any adequate motive.

Mr. T. Grenville, rejoiced to hear that the revenue was in so flourishing a state; but to show that the revenue was flourishing was no answer to

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his R. Hon. Friend, who had shewn that the whole state was exposed to such imminent danger. The R. H. Gent. seemed to consider the observation, that he might have *sins to expiate*, somewhat differently from what was intended. It was not merely in regard to the conclusion of the treaty, but what had passed since, *that he might have sins to expiate*. His Hon. Friend on the same bench (Mr. Fox) seemed to consider the makers and approvers of peace upon the same footing; but there was a material distinction. Those who approved did it, perhaps, in the confidence they had in the assertions of ministers with regard to the tone in which the peace was concluded, and their promises to resist all further encroachments of France. Mr. G. read from the address by Ld. Hawkesbury, on the defin. treaty last May, in which the House relies upon his Majesty to prevent any encroachment on the sources of our wealth, greatness, and naval power. He asked how this had been followed up? He could not conceive it would be contended that no encroachment was here in contemplation, except such as immediately affected our naval power, because the sources of our power might be materially affected by other encroachments. Much stress, he observed, had been laid by the noble sec. of state in defending the preliminaries on the tone and temper in which it was concluded. It appeared, however, that the noble lord himself had begun to distrust the temper of France, by recommending, by the address on the defin. treaty, an increased vigilance in regard to the measures of France. But had there been any vigilance or increased vigour in opposing the encroachments? Those then who approved the treaty, relying on the tone and temper in which it had been concluded, or on the increased vigilance to be exercised, to supply what was doubtful in the temper of Buonaparté, might consistently blame the conduct of ministers, by whom they had been deceived. Mr. G. then proceeded to the different encroachments of France since the treaty, the annexation of Piedmont, the conquest of Switzerland, the annexation of Parma, and the letter to the Batavian republic. He remarked that the remonstrance on the invasion of Switzerland had been attended with no effect. He stated, that according to report five or six ships had been condemned in French ports since the treaty, on grounds that would not bear investigation; particularly he mentioned the Southampton packet. He complained that none of that vigilance recommended in the address on the treaty had been displayed. He asked if any attempts had been made to renew foreign alliances, the want of which was, as alledged, the cause why the war could not be carried on, or the aggrandizement of France on the continent opposed with success. In the debates on the preliminaries and treaty, the noble sec. of state stated, that all hope of foreign alliance was at an end. Was such a declaration an encouragement to foreign princes to form alliances with us? Was our treatment of allies such as induce them to make common cause with us? He stated the instance of the King of Sardinia, and showed how our refusal to co-operate with the Emperor Alex. I. in procuring redress for that monarch, had alienated him from our cause. He likewise censured our conduct to the P. of Orange. He took notice of the feeble tone in which the speech alluded to the state of Europe. Last year, when we were signing the peace, strong language comparatively was spoken; but now it was merely said, that his Majesty could not see the state of Europe with indifference. Repeated encroachments had taken place, and as far as could be judged by the result, any remonstrance presented to the French govt. must have been in that stile of "polite intimation," mentioned in the course of the debate. The noble sec. of state says to night, "that we are to resist the unjust demands of any foreign power;" but as that is confined to ourselves, and to our naval power, there was no reason to imagine that any encroachments of France on the Continent would meet with any resistance. He concluded with repeating, that as the tone and temper of the peace had not corresponded with what had been held out by ministers, and as their promises of watching the farther encroachments of France had not been realized, they did not merit the confidence of those who had approved the peace, far less of those who viewed our present situation with danger.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, that as by the war we had secured our own essential interests, it became prudent to husband our resources, after it was manifest that by war we could not repair the losses which the Continent had sustained; while by persevering in the war we might still farther expose those powers that might be well affected to our cause. If the relative situation of France was so materially changed as to affect these, it would be necessary to oppose her encroachments; but it did not follow that we were to resist every measure of France on the Continent, when we had no direct interest and no co-operation of other powers. He contended, that even if it were necessary to go to war to resist any new encroachment, it would be of the utmost advantage to be able to carry the country along with it, by shewing that it was a point of necessity not of choice; whereas before the peace it would have been impossible to make the public co-operate with spirit in supporting it. It was said that ministers had not shewn any attention to foreign alliances; but was it not rather to be presumed that ministers would endeavour to form alliances to oppose a barrier to the aggrandisement of France?

Sir H. St. JOHN MILDMAY wished that the remonstrance on the invasion of Switzerland might be laid before the House, to shew the tone of ministers, who, he seemed to think, had not displayed sufficient vigour.

Mr. WHITBREAD lamented that ministers, particularly, had rather imprudently, he thought, talked too much, *as if there were doubts* of the permanence of peace, by that means damping enterprize, and keeping the country in suspense. He approved of the peace, and trusted it would be lasting. He saw no new grounds of war. France was in real possession of Piedmont and of Switzerland when the treaty was concluded. He detested her conduct to Switzerland, but did not think it could justify us in breaking the treaty.—By scattering doubts and fear respecting the permanence of peace, all its benefits would be blasted. As to Mr. Windham, he admired his abilities and admired his high spirit in public and private; but on this subject his powers of right reasoning, not his ingenuity, failed him. But, though he made entertaining speeches to the House, he would find it difficult to prove his consistency, in continuing a member of a cabinet which in a preceding negotiation had offered to give up all our foreign conquests, while he had protested against any of them being given up.

The address was voted *nem. con.*

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, 24TH NOVEMBER 1802.

Mr. TRENCH brought up the Report of the address on the King's speech. On the question for the second reading,

Mr. WILBERFORCE said, he was desirous of taking the earliest opportunity of delivering a few observations on the very important subject now before the House, the more especially, as certain sentiments of his had been alluded to by a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning) on the preceding night. The sentiments which he had uttered at the time adverted to, were such as he was ready to avow. The address seemed to him to speak the language which it was proper for the House to hold, for it was not right to push matters to extremity with regard to continental affairs: there was a propriety in saying, on the part of his Majesty, that we should keep our eyes on the affairs of the continent, and be ready to take such measures as circumstances may require; and that was properly assented to in the address. If any thing gave suspicion to him in this matter, it was an allusion to the standing policy of this country, which, upon a careful and attentive perusal of the matter, and much reflection, he had formed an opinion upon which he was not likely, on a sudden, to abandon. It was this, *That that House and this country had been far too forward to engage in war and continental connexions; to enter into engagements; the full extent of which we could not foresee, and many of which had been, to the highest degree, injurious to this country, having wasted much of its blood and treasure, and that without procuring, in return, the least benefit to us.* Therefore, if he were to take the speech in the spirit of a special pleader, he should doubt how far the words of it, or the address upon the subject of the policy he alluded to, was right; but, in a general sense, he had no difficulty in expressing his approbation of the sentiments it contained. But it had been said, that he had uttered, on a former occasion, a sentiment purporting that in no circumstances ought this country to form any continental connexion; a sentiment which he never did utter, nor did he believe he ever should utter it, for it was going to *an extreme* which he *never approved*; it being his persuasion that almost all good policy lay *between extreme points on either side*, as most virtue was said to be in a medium; but he had no difficulty in saying, that, under the present circumstances of this country, it would be *wise in us to pause before we renewed any continental alliance or connexion*: for if the experience of the last ten years had not made us at least diffident upon these projects, it must have been most unhappily thrown away. He hoped, therefore, we should, in the language of the address, keep our *eyes* on what was going forward. It was indeed desirable that we should prevent France by land, as well as by sea, from extending her power; but then we were to look to *expediency*, and not depend *on any speculations of statesmen*. Need he say any thing on the shortsightedness of men? How had the greatest and the wisest of men been deceived in their conjectures! how had their speculations been turned into foolishness! Indeed some of the most *profound politicians* had overlooked things which *men of the plainest, and almost meanest capacities had foreseen*. And here he was led to remember and reflect on a very splendid and eloquent speech which his Noble Friend (Lord Hawkesbury) made in that House, and which could not be too much admired, as it gave earnest of those great talents which had since been exercised in the service of his country, and which had been so great an ornament as well as guide to the debates of that House. He could not help, however, reflecting on the miscarriages which may attend the schemes of all those who are accustomed to a great chain of political combinations in their thoughts and sentiments. The speech of his Noble Friend, although he most unaffectedly admired the knowledge it displayed, as well as brilliancy, on the occasion to which he alluded, naturally occurred to him, when he was considering of human foresight, especially on the events likely to arise out of the policy of states. The truth of the matter was this: politicians calculated on the continuance of the operation of certain causes, and a given number of events; when one of these events happened to be altered, the whole combination was at an end, and with it, of course, all the reasoning that was built upon such combination; nay, the whole system built upon such a combination might be reversed by one event. The whole state of a great number of things might be altered by a single event: so that after a great deal of speculation and political sagacity, we had discovered that all the trouble we had taken, might have been very well spared, and the country have saved vast quantities of blood and treasure. The cost might have been well employed in the improvement, instead of the destruction of mankind. He illustrated this by adverting to the circumstances at the peace of Utrecht, of which the danger, at one time so much apprehended, shifted at once, by a single accident, and changed the whole complexion of political affairs, as they regarded the House of Austria, Spain, and France; and which, from threatening all Europe with the horrors of war, produced a peace for thirty years, in which we were united with France for five years. Whether any policy might again unite us, he could not say, but that was not impossible. Upon these topics there was abundant matter for discussion, to shew how little human calculation was to be depended upon in the affairs of states, and how much was the mere effect of accident, that is to say, upon events which human foresight could not penetrate. These were considerations which ought to make us cautious in relying on the advantages of continental connexions, which

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might depend on a combination of numerous events. It had been said of him, that he had uttered a sentiment *which had about it perhaps some unseasonable merriment*, nor was it totally without its sober sadness. The phrase that conveyed the sentiment he alluded to was this: "*That the people of this country are too honest to* "*have much to do with continental connexions.*" His Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Canning), who had animadverted on that expression, *ought to have made some allowance for his situation.* He had occasion to go home to his constituents, and to address them on the subject of their pressure, for such must be the effect of every war to *such a class as his constituents*, and particularly in the last war. He therefore ought to have some indulgence in speaking as the representative of *such a class of persons as his constituents were.* It was not unreasonable to say that we wanted to recruit our strength, which was much wasted both in blood and treasure; and therefore, *if he made use of an odd expression, it was not matter of great blame.* But the truth of the matter was this: he had no apology to make for the expression which had been so quoted and animadverted upon, *and he was so far from making any apology for the assertion, that he was now about to repeat and affirm it;* and it was a sentence to which he called the attention of the House, and particularly that of his Majesty's Ministers. *He said again, that the people of this country are too honest to have much to do with continental connexions.* He said this because WE are *always faithful to our engagements*, THEY *almost always faithless to us;* at least always so when it appears to them *to suit their interests;* for it was part of the general system of the policy of the continent to pay no attention to political engagements when it is in the least degree convenient to neglect them. Of the truth of this there were many instances; a striking one was that of the Pragmatic Sanction, in which, in the course of a few years, every power engaged in it deserted its engagement, England alone excepted. As to the last three we had had with France, to use the strong language of another person, the ink which recorded these engagements was hardly dry when they meditated a breach of them. In a word, the principle on the continent seemed to be, that of paying no attention to political engagements for a moment longer than an observance of them was convenient. Seeing this, and feeling the effect of it, he would ask, whether it was too much to say, that the people of England ought to be cautious in the engagements which they enter into? We certainly ought to be cautious in these things, for we must keep our engagements whether they be convenient or not, whatever others may do with theirs. He entreated the House to consider what was likely to be the result of a confederacy with any of the powers which we had already been engaged with. We had been engaged in as powerful a confederacy as ever was formed, and upon a subject as interesting as ever was contemplated by any state; and on the part of some of the confederates, the ties of consanguinity were added to those of general policy; for Austria had family motives in the confederacy. Russia, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, and indeed every power in Europe had at some time or other belonged to this great confederacy. Did not every one of these powers get out of the confederacy as soon, or, as it were, steal of out it? nor could it be otherwise while they were acting on views so different that some of them were more afraid of each other than they were of the enemy they had united to oppose. In 1797, was not the court of Vienna induced to quit us? How did that court behave towards us on that occasion? Did it discover any extraordinary fidelity towards this country? Did they give us a positive intimation upon that occasion of what they were about to do? No such thing. We could not know for many months, what the treaty was between it and France. It was lodged in the breast of the Austrian cabinet; but when it came out, there was no wonder it was so long concealed, for it disclosed the utmost perfidy with regard to us. So with regard to the German indemnities, no regard was paid to any engagements with us. From all this continental policy of faithlessness we had only to determine to embark no further than we can see our way. He had heard it said, that among the alterations which the French had introduced, that of changing the meaning of words was one; so that now, No may be made to mean Yes, and Yes No. So that when the French say, they will guaranty the integrity of the Turkish empire for all time they mean, they will give away part to any power they please, upon having an equivalent, and that they will keep the remainder themselves. Such was the nature of the engagements they made with states; yet we must observe ours if we made any. He proceeded to observe on the probable effect of the new confederacy, and expressed an apprehension that might be dissolved, as far as regarded Austria or Russia, by the granting, by France, for an equivalent of course, to either, but particularly to Russia, a certain part of Turkey; by giving part to the one, and part to the other, both might become hostile to us—We had seen that once already, in the course of the last war—nor was a project like this unlikely to enter the head of a Russian statesman—nor was it unlikely that the parties should act upon it. What then should we do? Take care not to form any engagement, unless for present action; not to form any connexion that was to be of distant execution by powers, of good faith of whom we had reason to be diffident of; not to enter into a combination we have reason to apprehend may be dissolved without any regard to our interests, and in which we had reason to be diffident of. He called on the House to infer from the experience of the

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last 14 years of continental affairs in particular. He then proceeded to take a view of the policy which it was the real interest of this country to pursue, and differed totally from the sentiments which had been expressed by Mr. Windham upon that subject.—The Right Hon. Gentleman had declared that, upon a full view of our situation, war appeared to him to be the better course of the two. Now he would ask what we could expect from war?—In the last war we had taken all that was takeable, if he might be allowed the expression. And what could we do but take again what we had agreed to give up? And what should we be the better if another peace was agreed to within 50 miles of Vienna, or at the capital? What could we get by prolonging the war? What could we hope more than to be put into the situation in which we were at the conclusion of the peace? Were the people of this country so ready to burst with prosperity as to be eager for war? Or did it appear, on a calm view of our situation, that a war was necessary for us at this moment? He apprehended not, and he could not help thinking, that *were it not for some immovable prejudice of Mr. Windham, a man of his enlarged understanding could not see political events and affairs in the light he did.* Before we were engaged again in war, we should look at our revenue, and see that it be improved; we should look the whole of our situation in the face—look at and provide against all our dangers; attend to the dearest interest of our country; but we should consider wherein that interest consists. Let us remember, that, dear as are army and navy, our revenue, our trade, and our commerce, and all our resources, that yet above all our army, above all our navy—that was to say, above all our soldiers—ay, and above all our sailors too—above all our commerce, and above all our wealth, and the preparation which that wealth enabled us to make, there was one more important than all the rest to a free country, and that was *the disposition of the people*, that was, that its government should possess the hearts of the people; but he begged leave to warn Ministers against the possible event of creating a clamour for war, by exciting the resentment of the people against some detestable acts of tyranny in another power, and of taking advantage of it, to involve the country in war; the effects of which, when the people began to reflect, would be dismal. He entreated that they would, as far as possible, inform the people of their situation; give a right feeling of their danger; observing, that if they hurried on the people to war, without this caution, they would deserve the severest censure, and, he had almost said, *the execration of their countrymen.* He thought that Ministers acted on the true policy of this country, by endeavouring to restore to it the blessings of peace. He hoped they would turn their thoughts to all species of internal improvements, to the economy, to reformation of abuses, to the *improvement of the education of youth*, as the best way to improve morals, to the redress of all species of grievances, as the best way to continue the attachment of the whole people to that constitution and state of things, that rendered us at once the admiration of the whole world, and marked us out as a people enjoying the greatest blessing it had yet pleased Providence to bestow on mankind—a Government, under which liberty was enjoyed, and property protected, and all the comforts of human life better secured, than any other age or country had yet felt. With all these blessings, and with all this power to preserve them and sense to enjoy them, he could not help wishing that we might try the advantages of peace, and avail ourselves of them, and shun all indefinite continental connexions; above all, to enter into no engagements hastily or precipitately, on the ground of any supposed readiness in the public for hostility, on account of some recent instances of flagrant injustice. He wished rather to obtain the sentiments of the *middle class of society*, who, generally speaking, were *the best informed*, and who had and who felt an immediate and direct identity of interest with the public at large—a class of men whose opinion, although never neglected in this country, had not perhaps *all the weight it deserved.* He concluded with observing, that if this course was taken by Government, we should have nothing to fear from the enormous size of the French republic. *What if they were* 50 *millions of men*—did that constitute the strength of the Chief Consul of France? Rather his weakness, if left to themselves; for multitudes of them must hate the system by which they are become subject to their present yoke. —*Time, therefore, would remove all apprehension in this respect.* It was natural to expect, that if this unwieldy mass was left to itself, it would, in time, change its condition—it could not be otherwise; for moral causes were certain of their effects, whereas the effect of human policy was always uncertain. The way to produce the dissolution of this mighty power, *was to leave it to its own course*; the way to unite it, was to attack it by hostile force.

Gen. GASCOYNE.—He apprehended there might be some mistake in the representation given of our common prosperity. That description did not apply to the most important branch of all, he meant the West India islands. Since the conclusion of peace, a pressure had fallen with great severity on the carrying trade particularly, which diminished it at this time one third of its former value.

Mr. ELIOT said, he should not consume the time of the House by an apology for presuming to ask its indulgence. He had been so little in the habit of public discussion, and felt so unfeigned, and, he was conscious, too well founded, a reluctance, to engage in it, that he trusted the House would do him the justice to

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believe him sincere in declaring, that nothing could have induced him to trespass on its patience, short of the circumstances of the alarming crisis in which it was assembled—a crisis which filled him with considerations, that, he acknowledged, almost superseded and overwhelmed the ordinary emotions of personal embarrassment. All other feelings seemed to fade and die away before those great and primary interests, which must, at the present conjuncture, have seized and fastened themselves on the minds and apprehensions of all men. It was not whether one spoke with a little more or a little less reputation: that was not in the class of reflections which occurred at such a period. It was, whether our nearest and dearest concerns were not at stake. It was for the landed interest to consider, whether the security of their inheritance was not shaken; it was for those engaged in commercial life to consider, whether they were likely long to remain in the safe enjoyment of the well-earned fruits of their industry. The stoutest and boldest hearts around him could not look at the present awful state of public affairs without harbouring a doubt, whether that whole system of relations called our country was not on the very edge of irretrievable ruin. With these impressions, he could not reconcile it to himself to depart from this second discussion [*debate on the Report*] in perfect silence. If ever there was a period which called for discussion, if ever there was a conjuncture which demanded the deliberative voice of every man endued with a public trust, surely it was the present. In that hour of peril it behoved us to sift our situation to the bottom, to endeavour to trace to its source the danger to which we stood exposed, to examine whether it proceeded from a fundamental error in our system, or from erroneous measures accompanying that system, or from causes independent of both. It was our bounden duty to unveil the danger, not only to ourselves, but to the country, to shew it in its nature and quality, and in its full extent, that we might apportion our efforts to the exigencies which required them, that we might turn from us the danger, if human prudence could avert it, or that, if we should be obliged to meet it, we might encounter it with the firmness that became us; and above all, that we might prove to the enemy (if enemy we had) and to the world, that we were still in the unimpaired possession of that true, genuine, and tried resource of the empire, that persevering constancy, that unshaken resolution, and that cool and determined courage, which had ever distinguished the British people, when summoned to assert the honour, the character, the safety, and the independence of their country. With this view of his duty he should take the liberty of adverting to the events that had occurred on the continent since the close of the last Parliament. Within that short space of time, a period of only a few months, we had been taught a very awful and impressive lesson: we had learnt that France could conquer in peace as well as in war; states and a whole empire had fallen before her. A new revolution had been accomplished on the continent of Europe, which he protested he could not help regarding as little less affecting to the interests of this country than an internal convulsion would have been—he meant the dissolution of the Germanic Body, the circumstances and importance of which had been so ably described by his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Grenville) on the preceding night, that it would be superfluous, if not presumptuous, for him to dwell on them. In truth, no person who had cast his eye on the map of Europe, or who was conversant with history, or who had heard of the equilibrium of power, could be ignorant that the German empire was the very balance of the scale. The political evil of this transaction was not the only calamity arising from it. It was impossible for us to turn our eyes from the moral mischief of it. No man could behold the overthrow of property, titles, and honours; the abolition of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and corporations both ecclesiastical and civil; no man could see sovereign princes transferred from one dominion to another, and subjects severed from their legitimate rulers, without feeling that all those opinions, habits, prejudices, and principles, which constitute the foundation of civil government and social order, were shaken to their base. All this too had been done under the auspices and influence of a power, which, it was ever to be remembered, was itself founded on the recognition of the violation of property. The political effect of this stupendous change was obvious: it gave to France that ascendancy in the German empire which Austria before possessed. The transaction was marked too by the peculiar contempt and neglect with which his Britannic Majesty had been treated. The arrangement had been made without previous communication, either with the House of Austria, the legitimate head of the Empire, or his Britannic Majesty (the first instance, he believed, in the history of modern Europe, in which so important a change on the continent could have happened without a prior concert of the court of London), who was the ally of Austria, who had recently signed a treaty of peace with France, who was a member of the Germanic Body, and who was peculiarly fitted to be an arbitrator in the partition, as he was entirely disinterested in the question of the indemnifications. It was settled by France, in conjunction with Russia, which had a very slight interest in the Empire, and with Prussia, which expected indemnification in the vicinity of his Majesty's Hanoverian possessions, and the troops of which had not long before, without any declaration of hostility, actually occupied Hanover; and the partition had terminated in establishing a Prussian garrison (in Hildesheim) in the heart of his Majesty's patrimonial ter-

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ory, and with the additional contumely of exorting from his Majesty a part of the indemnification for the House of Orange. It would be recollected, that, after the private convention at Amiens, between the Dutch and the French ministers, it was stated in a sort of extra-official urn of debate, that the indemnification to the Stadtholder might fall upon this country. It had now actually come to pass, that a part of his indemnification had been derived from his Majesty's continental dominions, and, perhaps, another portion might subsequently be drawn from Great Britain. It had been said in the course of the discussion of last night, that the honour of the country had been saved in the terms of the peace; but he appealed to any man who should review the whole of the transaction of the indemnification of the House of Orange, whether he could lay his hand on his heart, and declare that the honour of the nation had been preserved.—He mentioned Piedmont only, because it afforded an example of the systematic advancement of French aggrandizement. During the negotiation of peace, it had been denominated a 27th military division of France; since the conclusion of the peace, it had been, by a sort of regular progression, formally annexed to the territory of France. The fate of Switzerland was too well known. It had been rumoured, that the British government had made a representation on its behalf. From what fell last night from the Noble Lord (Hawkesbury), and the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite to him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), he rather understood them to have admitted discussions to have taken place on that subject, but that nothing had been done which had committed the honour of this country. Whether or not the honour of the country had been committed, he must observe, was rather a matter of opinion than of declaration. He, however, conceived his Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh), who had spoken afterwards, to have said, that there had been no remonstrance. In short, the matter was involved in a mystery, which he should not attempt to develope. In argument, he should take it both ways. First, he would assume, that his Majesty's Ministers had interfered. That they had a right, and that they were warranted by every principle of justice and policy to interfere, he had no hesitation in asserting. A more foul, flagrant, and unprovoked aggression on the rights and liberties of a brave, innocent, and injured people, than the conduct of France towards the Swiss exhibited, he believed the records of tyranny did not furnish. But though he applauded the motive, he must condemn the mode of the interposition. It ought to have been made earlier; for, unless he had a distinct and specific assurance from Ministers to the contrary, he could not be convinced that the Swiss, so soon as they had determined to resist the encroachments of France, would have been so negligent of the interests of their cause, as not immediately to have communicated their intentions to the independent powers of Europe, and to the court of London among the first. In that case Ministers must have been apprized of the rising spirit in Switzerland many months ago: they should therefore have adopted means for giving authority to their representation by a suitable armament; and they should have endeavoured to have procured a co-operation on the continent. Instead of precautions of that nature, however, they permitted Germany to be so enfeebled as to have no hope of co-operation from that quarter; and then they came forward with a remonstrance, without even the countenance and support of an adequate armament. The principal feature in the importance of Switzerland to Europe, consisted in its being a barrier to Germany; but we suffered Germany to be partitioned, and then we interposed for Switzerland. We first permitted the house to be plundered, and then we made an inefficient bluster at the door. If, as he had apprehended his Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh) to have stated, no remonstrance had been made in favour of Switzerland, he must still impute blame to Ministers. There ought to have been a remonstrance, and a remonstrance made in a manner to have given it effect, and not in a way which was calculated at once to commit the dignity of the country, and to aggravate the misfortunes of the people whom it was our object to succour. If there had been no representation, it was because we were unprepared with a suitable armament to support it. But how came we to be so unprepared? Was it possible that his Majesty's Ministers could have put the last hand to the treaty of Amiens without having endeavoured to acquire a knowledge of the actual relation of France with regard to other powers, as well as to ascertain her ulterior views; for instance, to ascertain whether Germany was to have been free in the arrangement of the indemnifications? If no measures had been employed to obtain some information and security on these points, we were at that moment in complete ignorance in respect to even the extent of the possessions of France. Mexico and Peru, for any thing we knew, might have been ceded to her in addition to Louisiana. But admitting that Ministers had been guilty of so flagrant an omission, they could not have been insensible to that spirit of aggrandizement, by which France had been actuated during the whole course of the negotiation of peace; and they therefore should not have been unprovided with the means of meeting it in the event of the measures of the French government subsequent to the peace proving to be such as should menace the interests of this country. There had been nothing new in the system of France. Her power had, to be sure, increased with an accumulated rapidity; but the spirit of her proceedings was unchanged. It had been manifested during the negotiation in multiplied acts of fraud, insult, and violence. Had the

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seizure of one of the most flourishing portions of Italy, while our ambassador was waiting the pleasure of the First Consul at Amiens, escaped the memory of Ministers? Did they not remember how they had been imposed upon in respect to the limits of Portuguese Guiana? how they had been cheated in the instance of Louisiana? how they had been deceived about Elba? Could they have forgot the trick practised on the Turkish minister at Paris, and the diplomatic manœuvre, which the Noble Secretary of State himself had experienced, in regard to that article of the preliminaries which related to the evacuation of Egypt? He trusted, that neither the Ministers, nor the Parliament, could suffer to be erased from their recollection that memorable interval, during which this country had been held up to the scorn and derision of Europe. He was persuaded that most of the members of the late Parliament, who had voted for the peace, had considered it in a great degree as an experiment; and he was convinced that none of them (at least he meant with very few exceptions) would have given it their sanction, if it could have entered into their contemplation that his Majesty's Ministers would have immediately begun to deport themselves as if the trial had been made, and the result had been successful; if, for example, they could have imagined that our establishments would have been diminished, before it could have been ascertained whether the conduct of France was likely to be such as might afford a rational hope of repose for Europe, and before she had evinced any disposition to reduce the scale of her own establishments. It was his firm belief, that no man in that House (always excepting a very few of very eccentric opinions) would have conferred his approbation on the treaty, could he have foreseen that such a system of measures would have followed it. That the fixed, uniform, and rooted purpose of France, was the establishment of universal empire, if other proofs than her conduct were requisite, was evinced by publications which had lately appeared in a French newspaper called the *Moniteur*. He was well aware, he might be told, that newspapers were not to be considered as authentic documents, that they might be disavowed; but if the newspaper to which he alluded should be disavowed, could any person in the House credit the disavowal? It was notorious that the press in France was in a state of the most abject subjection to the government, and the Moniteur was a paper which bore the title of official. It was therefore highly improbable that any paragraph should be inserted in it, which had not the sanction of the French government; but it was absolutely impossible that a second publication should appear in it without the direct approbation of Consular authority. It was the second he should quote, partly because it contained a concise description of the present situation and views of France, and partly because it was desirable in a transaction between adverse parties, such as the treaty of peace, to discover the sentiments of both parties in respect to it; and the last publication declared the Consular opinion of that instrument. He should read only what was essential to his purpose: "What is the interest of "France? It is to have none but good neigh- "bours and sure friends: in the south, the "King of Spain, the ally of France, from inclination as well as from interest, and the Italian "and Ligurian republics, which enter into her "federative system: Switzerland, the Duke "of Bavaria, the good Prince of Baden, the "King of Prussia, Holland, to the north and "east."—"Every thing has returned to its "natural state, into that state which on all "sides will exhibit the fine territory of France "surrounded by friendly people." Such friendly people, continued Mr. E. as were contained in the new states, which had been created by the late partition of Germany, and which, being in complete subservience to France, were so many forts and garrisons on her frontier, answering the purpose either of aggression or defence. The paragraph then proceeded to state, "That situation is the "result of ten years triumphs, of hazards, of "labours, and immense sacrifices." Europe, he said, seemed to be described by the Chief Consul as a fine estate, with eligible appendages and circumstances: and what were the titles, what the deeds of conveyance to that estate? "The peace of Luneville, the pre- "minaries of London, and the peace of Amiens, "far from having changed it, have consolidat- "ed it." Here we had the testimony of Consular authority, that when the Noble Secretary of State signed the preliminaries of London, and when his Majesty's Ministers concluded the treaty of Amiens, they had established and consolidated the domination of France; and so he solemnly protested he believed they had. He then proceeded to touch on the topics of consolation which had been offered. Of consolation, he said, he stood so much in need, that he should catch with avidity at any ray of it that might be shewn to him: one was, the extinction of the danger of Jacobinism. It had been alleged, that Jacobinism was suppressed in France; and he did, indeed, believe that no one dare utter a seditious sentence, or write a seditious paragraph against the government there; but with the determined malignity which the Prime Consul bore to this nation, he saw nothing which justified him in flattering himself that Buonaparté would neglect to avail himself of any seditious combinations which might exist either in England or Ireland, for the subversion of the British empire; and it must be admitted, that the intercourse of peace was calculated to mature a system of organization with greater facility than it could have been carried on in war. He really knew not from what source Gentlemen derived their security on this head; not, he imagined, from the band of Irish traitors who were now at

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Paris, nor from the illustrious instance of Napper Tandy, whose name he could not mention without remarking, that, had he been vested with the power, he would have pardoned him. He was, to be sure, a traitor, and had been convicted on the clearest evidence: but he was an old man, and perfectly insignificant: he was, in truth, an extinguished traitor; and though he, perhaps, could not justify the feeling, he must repeat, he would certainly have spared his life. But he must add, that if, after his pardon, it had been even whispered or insinuated that the French government had expressed a solicitude for his release, he would have taken care that he should not have been permitted to retire to France; and if he had been suffered to go thither under such circumstances, he could not help saying it was a positive insult on the right feeling of every English and every Irish heart. Before he quitted this part of the subject, he could not forbear reminding the House of the new English paper which had been lately established in Paris, with the cognizance and sanction of the government (for no paper could otherwise be circulated there), and in which, among a mass of very dull sedition, it had, he was informed, been insinuated, that the Irish nation was absolved from its allegiance to the King. This, it must be confessed, was pretty ardent language for this anti-jacobin, pretty stout doctrine for this confirmed friend and potent protector of civil government, who had the press of France at his devotion, to suffer to be circulated in his own dominions, and to be transmitted to the country with which he had recently concluded a treaty of peace and amity. Another topic of comfort was the increase of the trade and resources of the country. He felt it his duty here to correct a misconception of his Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh), who appeared to have understood some of the Gentlemen near him to have stated in the last Parliament, that the resources of the country depended upon war. His Noble Friend had certainly misunderstood those Gentlemen: they, to the best of his recollection, had said, that it was probable that, for the first two or three years of peace, the amount of our trade would remain much the same (perhaps a little more, or a little less) as it had been in the course of the war; but that when the peace should assume a settled and permanent appearance, it must be expected that the other maritime powers of Europe would resume their share of the commerce, which, during the war, had been entirely engrossed by Great Britain. The Right Hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had represented the exports of the last year (to Oct. 1802) to exceed those of any of the years of war. He was far from meaning to controvert the fact. He had no doubt that the exports of our manufactures to France were very considerable, notwithstanding the severe restrictions of the French government; but it was to be observed, that our commodities being excluded by the French decrees from the whole line of the French coast, our trade was carried on totally on the principle of a contraband traffic, and much of it in neutral bottoms: consequently the prosperity of our navigation was made a subordinate consideration to the manufacturing interest. The price of shipping had, he understood, already experienced a considerable fall; and thus, while continental connexions, one great means of control over the ambition of France, were regarded as impracticable, and by one Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) ineligible, even if they could be obtained, we were embarking in a system of commerce eminently prejudicial to that maritime superiority which was our only remaining shield against French aggrandizement. We also ought not to veil from ourselves the immense commercial means of France, if she should apply herself to objects of that nature. It seemed impossible to look without some apprehension at the vast territorial extent of that country, its immense population, and its inexhaustible riches of production, together with the addition of the industry and manufactures of the Austrian Netherlands, and the collieries, iron-works, naval stores, and other multiplied resources of the country lying between the Meuse and the Rhine. Much reliance had been, perhaps, justly placed on the superiority of British capital, credit, and confidence; but he did not think we sufficiently appreciated the force of the capital of French power and of French energy. He was at a loss to discern the principle on which those persons reasoned, who thought that the activity and enterprise which had rendered France so formidable in war, would not have the same overwhelming influence when directed to the concerns of commerce. Of the magnificence of the public works in France, we had a recent example in the military road through the Valais, which he understood was carried on upon the grandest scale. If with the same spirit, and on the same scale, she should turn her attention to the formation of canals, which, he believed, she did not wholly neglect, she must, in consequence of her possession of all the principal rivers of Europe, secure to herself the entire inland navigation of the continent. Of the coast of Europe she was already mistress; and we had too good reason to know that she now had large and valuable colonial territories. He was anxious, however, not to be understood as depreciating the resources and riches of this country; he firmly believed it was almost bursting with opulence. But some Gentlemen argued as if the efficacy of wealth did not consist in its application. They really spoke as if it contained some principle of vitality, as if it had some inherent principle of activity, as if it had ears and eyes, and hands and feet. They say, "We have a surplus of near four millions "of money." I say, "The French have four "hundred thousand bayonets." I tell them,

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"An armed robber is at the door."—"Oh! "but," say they, "we are very rich." In common sense the answer is, "So much the "better for the robber." The report which Ministers had to make to Parliament, of their administration, was this: "It is very true that "Germany has been so divided as to secure "the preponderance of France in the Empire; "that a great portion of Italy belongs to "France, and the whole of it is under her influence; that Piedmont is annexed to France; "that Switzerland has been overwhelmed by "France; that the Austrian Netherlands and "a considerable part of Germany are united to "France; and that Holland, Spain, Portugal, "and the coast of Barbary, are in vassalage to "her; that we have recognised a principle of "armament for France, by permitting her to "send fleets and armies to St. Domingo for "the subjugation of the negroes; and that, if "those fleets and armies fail to subdue the negroes, they are ready to be applied to the "invasion of our own colonies; that we have "restored to France, Martinico, improved "both in point of cultivation and strength, and "also Tobago and St. Lucie; and that we have "ceded Elba and Minorca. The Cape, we "trust, is not yet transferred; but our possession of it depends on a race of ships. Malta "we still hold, because fortunately the machinery of the arrangement for our dereliction "of it is so curiously complicated, that even "its inventors cannot work it. France has "imported maritime stores with great activity, and to an immense amount. We "have transferred to France near thirty thou"sand seamen, and we have reduced our own "establishment in a greater proportion. All "these things are very true; but we have a "surplus of near four millions of money." What an account was this for a government to render at such a crisis! Former Parliaments would have demanded, and he hoped the present Parliament would ask, "Where is our "army for the protection of the few possessions you have left us? Is Ireland in a state "of safety? Where is our Channel fleet, the "bulwark of our coasts? Your savings have "been made out of the very vital security of "the country." No man, he said, could exult more in the flourishing state of the revenue and resources of the nation than he did. But he could not help reminding Gentlemen, that our wealth may be our glory or our shame. If wealth was in its due place, and was made subservient to the honour, dignity, independence, and security of the country, he trusted that, under the blessing of Providence, it might become the foundation of a towering and durable greatness; but if we betrayed more fear for the loss of it than zeal in defending it, if we did not direct it to its proper objects, it would be no longer the magazine of our strength, or the storehouse of our power, but an additional bait to the rapacity of our foe. In respect to the necessity or expediency of war at the present moment, he should not presume to deliver an opinion. It was a point on which those were responsible who had the necessary information. But he was prepared to say, that we ought to arm without delay, and that we ought to retain, even at the hazard of war, those points of cession which remained in our hands, as some balance (though he confessed a very inadequate one) to the accession of power which France had acquired since the signature of the treaty of peace. An Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) had asked, "Why should you risk hostilities? What "would be the chances of war?" He should reply by asking, What had been the chance of peace? We beheld France possessed of large territories in the western hemisphere, something in Asia, much in Africa, almost the whole of Europe, and a long line of coast opposite our shores, augmenting instead of reducing her establishments both by sea and land; shewing no disposition to forego her system of aggrandizement, but, on the contrary, pursuing it with unabating zeal and increased rapidity; prohibiting our trade, and manifesting a rooted desire for the destruction of that country which presented the only remaining obstacle to her universal dominion. If in this predicament we submitted, she would continue her encroachments, and the point of our resistance must at last arrive, when we should have diminished means of contending with her. It was evident we must, under the present aspect of affairs, arm to the amount of a war establishment; and under such circumstances what would become of the economy of peace, which was the benefit most expected and most desired from it? He begged nevertheless to be understood as far from advising that the country should be rashly plunged into war. Perhaps that event might be still averted by a firm, dignified, and vigorous remonstrance; but whether such a representation might have its due weight and effect, when urged by those who had hitherto spoken only in the tone of acquiescence and submission, was, indeed, a matter of very grave and serious reflection. He should trouble the House no farther than to observe, that if unfortunately we should be compelled to a renewal of hostilities, it would not be a contest for our honour, though that would be a legitimate cause for war; nor for the rights and the independence of other nations, though that also would be a legitimate cause of war; but it would be a struggle for the very existence of the empire; and relying on the justice of our cause, and on that most valuable of all our resources (which, he trusted, we should ever most carefully cherish and foster), the generous spirit and magnanimous fortitude of the people, he hoped we might look with confidence to a favourable result.

Sir F. BURDETT agreed in many points urged by those in whose opinions he had often concurred; and also in many that were ad-

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inced by Gentlemen with whom he never fore had the good fortune to concur in opion. As to the speech of the Hon. Gentleman Ir. Eliot) who had just sat down, if it did t provoke and incite to war, it appeared to m the most strange and disinterested exerion which he had ever witnessed. Indeed at Hon. Gentleman has depicted, with great ath, the melancholy state of the country, ising out of the gigantic aggrandizement and cumulating resources of France. Without etending to any great degree of political netration and sagacity, it was doubtless easy foresee that that aggrandizement, seconded all its concomitant circumstances, must be source of alarm and of danger to Great Brin. So formidable a situation could not be ntemplated by an Englishman without regret dismay, and no man could be more deeply uck and alarmed at it than he was.—But Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Eliot) says that he ted for peace as an experiment. Surely the anges and chances that may arise from war peace are not of a nature to be trifled with, d the hazarding of such experiments cannot said to argue any great wisdom or prudence. was led much more to adopt the sentiments another Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce); timents, however, which he could not but ar with surprise from a person who had en a zealous and uniform supporter of the ir, but which certainly, as far as his judgnt went, laid down the true policy which s country ought to pursue; for nothing now s so absurd as any attempt to renew or pre-ve what was called a balance of power in rope.

Mr. DILLON defended the Irish representan from swelling the Ministerial phalanx, d said, notwithstanding, that the reason they posed them was, because of *the melancholy uation* of the country since the conclusion of peace.

Mr. JOHNSTONE approved of the conduct of inisters, in endeavouring to maintain peace, d was sorry to see them deserted by their mer friends, while they were attacked by ntlemen of such formidable abilities. Indeed, it was too evident that endeavours were king to remove them from office. The nduct of a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. indham), and that of his friend, gave him ich surprise. For after the Netherlands, and a great measure Holland, have been abanned to the French, was it prudent to instite a war for interests in which we were so notely concerned, and when our interference uld not be attended with any prospect of ccess? Equally must he disapprove of all tempts to renew continental alliances with ustria, at least till other powers were inned to co-operate with us. He trusted inisters would remain *calm* and *moderate*, d not expose the country to the chances of war, unless our naval power was attacked, or our colonial possessions were invaded.

LORD TEMPLE.—"We are told the country is not prepared for hostilities, that it is therefore wrong to indulge language which is impotent, unless there be a force to support it. It is said we wish for war, at any rate, in preference to peace on any terms. I rise to contradict that assertion. War is no part of our system. We feel in common with others every danger connected with war; we know the difficulty and almost impossibility of engaging in a war at this time. The object of our arguments is to open the minds of the people to their danger; to shew them *into what hands the country has fallen*; to shew them *how degraded, sunk, and debased*; to shew that *while the country continues in such hands, there is no hope of success in war, nor of honour and security in peace. They attract danger and disgrace as conductors attract lightning; as blunt conductors, which attract most strongly, and spread the mischief most widely around.* The country approved of the peace, on a promise that we should again commence war when France was guilty of any aggression sufficient to provoke hostilities; but the promise has not been kept, though a multitude of aggressions, of the greatest magnitude, have taken place. We were told last night that Ministers act on the same system on which they have acted all along; if so, what right have they to call the country to arm? what reason is there for arming now, that did not before exist against disarming? If they did not interfere for the rescue of Piedmont, the preservation of the independence of Germany, including the dominions of their own sovereign, for what will they interfere now? Much, however, remains yet to be done, and *in other hands* much may be done, not by engaging in a hazardous war, but by real firmness; not by that happy mixture, as it is called, of conciliation and firmness, the most nauseous mixture that was ever forced down the throat of the country, but by real conciliation and firmness."

Gen. MAITLAND said, as evidence of the expedition with which the means for an augmentation might at any time be supplied, he need only remind the House of a case that happened in the West Indies. The late Earl Howe had only six ships in a condition to meet the French fleet of much superior force. In this situation, he sent to British vessels at New York, the men of which immediately volunteered their service, and furnished him with more than he wanted to man his fleet. He was sure then that should an increase of our naval force be necessary, we should be able to procure sailors even faster than we should want them. Much had been said of the insufficiency of confidence, credit, and capital, on which we relied for the stability of our commerce, and how little they would avail us whenever Buo-

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naparté should think fit to throw his sword into the scale. Now he thought this very apprehension was the best security for our commerce. Commerce never flourished under tyrannical government. It could only find its way into some free government, without ambition or passion for conquest; for such only could possess that confidence, without which trade cannot flourish. A Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that, weighing all the circumstances of our situation, the tendency of his mind was for war. If war could remedy the evils of which he complained, this advice might be well founded; but it could not. War would not change the situation of France in Europe. We might indeed take her colonies, sweep the ocean of her ships, and, by ruining her trade, destroy her finances; but what would be the result of all this? Why, she would do as she had done before. She would make some neighbouring state her bank, and draw upon it for the reimbursement of her losses.

The SECRETARY at WAR.—"Sir, I am surprised that any Gentleman should say that we have no army, and that we have laid aside our navy. So far is this assertion from being founded in fact, we have a greater efficient force than we ever possessed in peace, or even in several years of the late war. The diminution made in it is only of the corps that were enlisted for a specific time, of the militia, and of a number of the fencible corps that were raised upon the same terms with respect to the duration of their service. Thus our physical force is not only greater than at the periods I have mentioned; but it is in a state of organization and discipline for the purpose of carrying it to such a state of augmentation, as would make it not a very pleasant thing for any foreign force to meddle with it. A Gentleman (Mr. Eliot) has asked, Where is our Channel fleet? We have not, to be sure, thirty or forty sail of the line lying at Spithead, but we have a fleet greater than ever it was in a peace, or even during part of the late war, not stationed in one port, I allow, but scattered over the world; in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean, and several other places, in none of which it is not sufficient to meet any force that France could muster against it in those respective quarters. With the aid of the wise and able administration of the Noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and the regulations which he has introduced, a system is formed which would enable us, at any time, to put a force to sea fully adequate for our defence; and therefore there is no cause for dismay, so far as respects our navy. That the situation of France is formidable; that she has attained a power and influence greater than may be compatible with our interests; and that, as such, she should be viewed with considerable anxiety by this country, are points which no man attempts to disguise; but the tendency of their speeches beyond that I did not know. From the speech of a Right Hon. Member (Mr. Windham) yesterday, I thought then that their object was to renew the war; but to-day I find, from the speech of a Noble Lord, that their object is the dismissal of his Majesty's Ministers. It is manly in the Noble Lord to avow it, thinking, as he does, that himself and his friends could fill their places much better. This, then, being the Noble Lord's opinion, why not bring the question before the House, and put it fairly at issue, instead of drawing a gloomy picture of our affairs, and exaggerating the dangers of the country, with a view to make it discontented with the present Administration? That Administration the Noble Lord was also pleased to describe as a *mawkish milk and water composition. Whatever may be our deficiencies, it would at least be said of us, that we gave peace to the country*, and that it suffered no calamity in our hands."

Mr. FOX.—"I feel the most sincere pleasure that the Noble Lord has so frankly confessed the views and objects of the Gentlemen with whom he acts. The Noble Lord's sincerity on this occasion has enabled the House to come to some practical conclusion upon the arguments of those connected with him. He declares that his wish is not for war, that the sole end of his solicitude is, that the present Ministers should be dismissed, and that his friends should be appointed in their place. Then his anxiety is for a change of Ministers. For the last two days, during the course of this debate, I have heard nothing but language, in my conception, calculated to provoke war. it appeared to me to have no other practical purpose, but I find I was deceived; for the Noble Lord states that no such thing was in view; the only thing he and his party desired was a change in his Majesty's Ministers. However indifferent I may have felt of late to these changes, I confess I should not be unhappy if the Noble Lord's friends were attached, in some way, to Administration, because then we should probably get rid of their warlike language, and the country would be relieved from that agitation which such language tends to produce. It is rather uncandid, however, in the Noble Lord's friends to call into their aid every popular topic, every subject likely to inflame the popular feelings, when they have nothing in contemplation but their own advancement. If they feel that the present Ministers have misconducted the public affairs, let a fair appeal be made to the public opinion, to the judgment of this House. Every patriot will go impartially to the discussion; but let not charges be thus indirectly advanced. Having had some experience in parliamentary concerns, I think I may offer some advice to the Noble Lord as to the mode of conducting an opposition to Ministers. If they were guilty of such acts as rendered them unworthy to direct the government of the country, I would

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mediately move an address to his Majesty r their removal; and if their conduct was not ch as to demand such a serious proceeding, I ould propose a motion suited to the occasion. his would be the fair manner of attacking inisters, and certainly it would be more conial to the character of the respectable perns whom the Noble Lord calls his friends, d better calculated to answer his ends, than e practice of blending with an address to his ajesty, such impeachments as the Noble ord had dealt in. If it is supposed criminal Ministers to have reduced the naval or mili-y force of the empire, let a motion on that ad be submitted to the House; or if the dress under consideration be not considered fficiently strong, or the speech to which it olies not sufficiently explicit, let an amendnt be submitted, and a further explanation manded. Though I am not disposed to join : Noble Lord's friends in their censures of : present Ministers, yet if these Ministers re, as report stated, introduced into office, order to stand in the way of a great act of tice to the majority of the Irish people, and a large proportion of the inhabitants of Engd, most undoubtedly they would deserve asure; but if such is the ground of the Noble rd's abuse, why not avow it? The mode which Ministers got into power was cerinly mysterious. If it be such as I have aldy alluded to, the Noble Lord's proposition not be ill received, though Ministers may ad the peace they have concluded as a set against this charge. I cannot help expressmy surprise at the dreary picture which Noble Lord and his friends have drawn of state of this country, compared with that France, and my regret for the terms in ich they are in the habit of speaking the French people and their government. s not becoming the dignity or policy of this ntry to use such language, nor is the comison consistent with justice. Nothing but spirit of exaggeration or consummate dness could imagine it. Even if it were t, it does not become those who excited stria, Prussia, and the other powers of the ntinent, to interfere in the internal legisla n of France, and to compel her to submit to mily she abhorred, to dwell upon a situan of affairs which their own infatuation has duced. The Noble Lord would describe power of Great Britain so much at the cy of France as to excite universal dismay; l a Right Hon. Friend of his has in very wing terms enumerated the questions which an, rising from the dead, would be apt to respecting the changes which have lately en place in the state of European powers, h the answers he must receive. I ask, uld it not be among his first questions, who e the Ministers of this country all this e? by whom was this extraordinary revolun effected? and how came our commerce be thus endangered, and our continental alliances dissolved? This inquirer might suppose that this unexpected aggrandizement of France arose from the inertness of the British Government; but what was the fact? that the cabinet of England contrived to provoke the most formidable confederacy against France that the continent had ever witnessed; that it was not from the want of vigorous resources, but from a misapplication of that vigour, that French power was extended; and that while the avowed cause of the war was social order and religion, Valenciennes was taken possession of in the name of the Emperor, and Dunkirk was attacked, in order to be retained for the use of England; but the failure of this powerful coalition was easily to be accounted for: the spirit of liberty then prevailing in France—how far successful in its pursuit, is not now the question for discussion—and the pride of the French people, insulted by the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, produced such a degree of resolution and enterprise as was not to be subdued. That impulse, once roused, went on to the termination of the war. A similar spirit enabled the Dutch to attain that situation of eminence which formed an interesting subject of contemplation to the friends of liberty and the admirers of human industry. In the unparalleled progress of that people, no British statesman ever saw any ground for alarm. On the contrary, during the reigns of Charles I. and II. of William and Anne, every politician of this country felt proud of the noble effects which the spirit of liberty produced in Holland. The resistance of the Dutch to the arbitrary measures of Philip IV. and their proud contempt of the insulting language of Louis XIV. gave pleasure to all good men; and no one deserving the character of a great man ever expressed any apprehension that the enthusiasm of a nation struggling to be free would be productive of mischief to others, because it was rightly judged that they would soon recover their proper temper—that they would in time find their natural level. The growing greatness of Holland was not therefore an object of terror, but of admiration, to our ancestors; and I know not why the greatness of France, arising from the same source, should now be quoted to damp the spirits and to excite the envy of this country. That nation too will ere long find her natural level; her ambition will soon waste itself, or her strength will decay. At all events, what can Great Britain now achieve to restrain that ambition? Though I do not look at that ambition with the dread which seems to haunt the fancy of other men, I have no hesitation in saying, that I am an enemy to the aggrandizement of France; but I will appeal to common sense, whether, even though an evil be obvious and severe, we should attempt to remove it by an effort which must aggravate its severity? Such, I think, would be the result of the interference which some Gentlemen would recommend to oppose the proceedings

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of the French government. I should prefer the advice of Machiavel, as repeated by the Learned Gentleman behind me, to wait the operation of time, and there is every reason to calculate that the danger now so apprehended will disappear. From the manner in which the Noble Lord and his friends generally speak of the French government, one would suppose that in their opinion France had, since the peace, been guilty of much aggression against this country. But how did the case stand? Was the arrangement of the German indemnities to be considered as an aggression, an arrangement which was partly settled by the treaty of Luneville? Was it not known at the time the peace of Amiens was ratified, that those indemnities were to be provided for by secularizations? This arrangement, then, is no aggression against Great Britain. If so, why not as well complain of Russia, who interfered as actively in settling these indemnities as France? The House is told that the Elector of Hanover is a loser by this plan; I believe otherwise; but even if he were, it has been the policy of all former reigns, since the accession of the House of Hanover, to keep the concerns of that electorate quite distinct from the affairs of this country; and why not? for we had no more to do with it, than with Hesse Cassel, or any other German principality. But perhaps it is, on this occasion, made a professed object of solicitude, with a view of facilitating an approach to power—with a view of courting his Majesty's confidence. With respect to the fate of Switzerland, I feel as warmly interested as any man. I have had an opportunity of knowing the people of that country. I admired their institutions; I loved their simplicity; among them prevailed that regular and lawful equality which all the friends of true liberty esteem; many such men therefore sought an asylum, and always met a welcome reception among them. For such a nation, who, that feels as a man, would not be solicitous? But still I would ask, can the conduct of France towards that nation be pronounced an aggression against this country? It was admitted that it formed no just ground for war. Therefore it was no aggression. Was not Switzerland known, at the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, to be at the disposal of France? Nay, was not that very circumstance particularly dwelt upon by those who opposed the treaty? Why then call on us now, after peace, to do away what we krew to exist when we ratified that peace? Is it to be maintained that we never are to observe neutrality in the concerns of the continent? that we are always to meddle, however little our prospect of benefiting ourselves or others? How far is this terrible doctrine to be pushed? It is known that Switzerland has been in a state of commotion for some years; that she has been agitated by contending parties; but the French government has interfered to settle their disputes, and perhaps to establish no internal party at all. I sincerely wish the result may be conducive to the rights and happiness of Switzerland: but whatever may be the event, why should we interpose? are we to hold ourselves forth as the guarantees of the independence of all the states of Europe? Are we to imitate the decree of the French Convention of the 19th of Nov. 1792, and proclaim ourselves to Europe as ready to defend the liberty of every nation? It was easy to foresee at the time peace was concluded that the external relations of Switzerland must be subject to the control of France, and it was so argued. Yet it was now contended that France had gained more territory since the peace than she had obtained during the war. But when did she gain it? Where was the acquisition equal to the Netherlands, Savoy, the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and the borders of the Rhine? Perhaps the Right Hon. Gentleman who made that assertion thinks the conquest of Switzerland of equal importance; but I am of opinion that the French government will do wisely not to make a conquest of that country; to leave it to itself, and to acquire there the influence of friendship, will, in my mind, be much better policy. Does the Right Hon. Gentleman call Savoy an addition of territory, because, from being the 27th department, it has been lately styled the department of the Po? It is not now surely meant to talk of the losses of the King of Sardinia. We made no stipulations for that monarch in our treaty with France; and Gentlemen rather acted unfairly, in charging Ministers with those things which happened previous to the peace, as offences to be classed with those committed since that period. The same charges ought not to be repeated in both ways. If Ministers were guilty of a crime, in suffering the King of Sardinia to be deprived of his Italian dominions, they had many accomplices. It is well known that France was ready to restore the King of Sardinia, if Austria agreed.—But Austria dissented; she protested against his admission into the negotiation: "Leave him "out," said Austria; "if I accede to his "restoration, you may demand some part of "Venice; you may reduce the territory I look "for; therefore let him take care of himself; "he is an independent prince!" Whatever may be thought of these circumstances, they were articles of accusation properly belonging to the discussion of the peace, and were then urged, and should not now be brought forward again. Upon the whole, I think that the Right Hon. Gentleman on the floor (Mr. Windham) has not argued consistently with the object avowed by his Noble Friend this evening. The only conclusion to be drawn from his observations last night was, that he wished for war. But now his Noble Friend, who offered himself as the organ of the general sentiments of his connexions, stated, that they conceived war to be impossible for any rational man to meditate at present. Then, in point

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of prudence and honesty, why make use of such irritating, inflammatory language? One Gentleman regrets that we have not a Channel fleet in commission, that we should reduce our troops; he certainly too speaks out. According to his judgment, we should not diminish the expense of war, but always proportion our expenditure to that of France, in order, as he says, that we may be prepared for war. If this advice were to be followed, what would become of our finances? and in what state should we be, if actually impelled to engage in hostilities, perhaps in want of money? But a Right Hon. Gentleman seems to consider money as unnecessary to the purposes of his achievements; he relies on the force of bayonets; in his confidence in that spirit of chivalry which originated this war, he (Mr. Windham) despises wealth, and perhaps exclaimed, in the language of the poet:

"In shields, and swords, and arms, my soul delights;
"These are the gems for us, adventurous knights."

Riches may not be fit or desirable for those adventurous knights; but for the defence of a nation I conceive them very necessary to support our fleets and armies; and sometimes we might, as we had heretofore, find money useful in purchasing the assistance of foreign force, a practice not to be condemned, when prudently managed. To its indiscriminate censure, there is a short answer—that we have found its good effects. It is surprising how near extremes are to each other; the Jacobins, when the French revolution commenced, threw their books in the fire; they contemned experience, all old reasoning was exploded; but that reasoning they soon again found it wise to consult. To the deficient experience of history on the theory of man, I would therefore advise those Gentlemen Anti-jacobins to resort, who, frightened by the aspect of France, seem to have lost the use of their reason. A Gentleman says, "Don't surrender Malta, though "you have covenanted by treaty to do so." Undoubtedly it is right to retain that island, until the conditions of peace concerning it are complied with, but no longer. We must fulfil our treaty, if nothing objectionable has occurred on the part of France, towards us, since the ratification of it. The principle of peace pledged us to do so, and the national honour calls for it. I deny that the greatness of France can be any apology for doing so, or that its increased power can be made a just ground of war. That power was known and acknowledged at the conclusion of peace; therefore it cannot now be advanced as a pretence for quarrelling. —I can see nothing in the continuance of peace either dangerous or dishonourable, nor do I conceive it less secure than other treaties with the same nation have been. There are but two species of war in which I should be willing to engage: for the one I am not so sanguine as for the other, yet I would not shrink from it when the occasion was pressing and my means were equal to the accomplishment of my object. The war in which I should most readily engage, would be that for the maintenance of our national honour; the other to which I have alluded, would be for the support of a just balance of power on the continent; and, however the latter principle may be reprobated, I am clearly of opinion, from a review of our history from the Revolution to the peace of 1763, every war undertaken upon that principle was justifiable. The case, however, is now quite altered. After the experience of the last war, no man can say that we should place much reliance, or that we ought to risk much for any continental connexion. I should be sorry if Ministers now looked for such a connexion with a view to the renewal of hostilities. The ministers of the French monarchy were charged throughout Europe, with concluding the treaties of Aix la Chapelle, Paris, and Versailles, with the determined and perfidious resolution of renewing hostilities the moment any prospect of success offered. I sincerely hope the present Ministers of this country will preserve themselves from the suspicion of a a similar design. I trust they are incapable of it. I must yet observe, that if any man looks too much to aggression as probable, his fear goes a great way to keep up a hostile mind toward the power from which the aggression may be apprehended, and too strongly disposes him to hostility. I trust Ministers are not so absurd as to look to Austria for assistance in any hostile enterprise; that power cannot afford it; besides, if France suspects it, the suspicion must urge her still more to cripple the Austrian government. It is imprudent, therefore, to let out their expectations; even loosely to hint at it, is unkind towards Austria. I really think that Ministers, in their apprehensions, or in yielding to the apprehensions of others, have divulged too much the means they hope to employ on a remote contingency. I am sadly afraid they indulge a rivalry bordering on hatred, and fancy all should join in their alarms, without considering that the fears of many of the states of Europe are as much directed against our ascendancy by sea, as against the extraordinary power of France on the continent; and I have no doubt, were there an assembly in France of the same nature as this House, the formidable power of our navy would be as much the subject of jealous remark and apprehension, as the continental strength of France is now to us. Much has been said of certain publications in a French newspaper, for which the French government ought, according to some Gentlemen, to be made responsible: this is a kind of poetical justice. In the course of the last century, we had in England an *imprimatur* appointed by Government, who revised and controlled all the publications of our newspapers, and yet no blame was ever attached to our Government by foreign courts, for any of those publications. No such responsi-

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bility was ever thought of. It has been complained of, that a paragraph appeared in a paper (the Argus) published at Paris, which states that the Irish owe no allegiance to the British Government; one number of that paper, in which this paragraph was inserted, was shewn to me; it contained much abuse of myself and my friends. Now as I don't feel any pleasure in seeing my friends abused, and none at all in being abused myself, I never sought to see another number of that paper—*(a laugh)*—but to point out how industriously some newspapers of the two countries try to be even with each other in abuse, a London newspaper was shewn to me in Paris, in which it was stated, "*That Great Britain should fight the* "*French government with fleets and armies;* "*and that Frenchmen should fight it, not merely* "*with pens, ink, and paper.*" Now I would ask, is not this a direct instigation to assassinate those who manage the government of France? —*(A cry of No! no! no! Order! particularly from the Treasury Bench.)* I am convinced that a jury would so pronounce it—an invitation to insurrection it obviously is. Such an invitation might, on some occasions, be excusable; but speaking as the representative of a people in amity with the French government, I cannot approve of it. Among the most singular complaints against France, is, that Napper Tandy, and other Irish exiles, have found an asylum there. What! was it intended by those who bargained with the unfortunate men, that they should not find a landing-place in any part of the habitable globe? That bargain specified that they should go to some country at peace with our Government. They have done so, and why then should those murmur who made the bargain, which, by the by, according to its conditions, ought to have been fulfilled much sooner than it was? I again say that I am as anxious as any man in this House to preserve the spirit of the country; and the best way to preserve that spirit is, not to engage in war without necessity, and to avoid those unmanly libels which, both in and out of Parliament, are too frequently levelled at the French government. Those libels, I know, are much talked of and reprobated in France; though I also know there are many philosophical minds, both in that country and this, who look at this war of words with the utmost contempt, but yet I should prefer it to any other species of warfare. Let the Moniteur and the Morning Post, the Times and the Argus, go on in their hostile language; it is easier to be endured than a war of bayonets. Let us, however, consider, at the very moment we have sent an ambassador to the French government, eminently qualified to maintain that honourable character—when the representative of our Sovereign may be now, perhaps, making his bow, or performing the accustomed ceremonies in the presence of the First Consul of France, is it decent, is it dignified, that the Members of this House should be applying opprobrious epithets to the Chief of the French government? Certainly not. It can answer no purpose, unless it is wished to keep up a spirit of perpetual hostility. This I shall ever deprecate. I think the present a most momentous crisis indeed for this country, but I see no danger from the government or people of France. Those who do, must admit that they cannot avert that danger, or soften the animosity they suppose to exist, by abuse and irritating language. I heartily disapprove of such language, and still more of the expensive establishment which is desired, perhaps to manifest still more strongly the inveterate prejudice which dictates that language. Immediately after the conclusion of peace, the Minister held out a hope that the establishment he then proposed would be still farther reduced; but it seems a different course is to be pursued. This I shall most certainly oppose—not that if I supposed such an extended establishment necessary, I should decline to support it, lest France should take umbrage, for she would have no right to do so; but because I consider a large standing army, independent of considerations of expense, to be the most dangerous instrument of influence in the hands of the Crown. The Noble Lord expresses much dread, that the French, by their industry, will injure our commerce; perhaps he would think the cutting of a canal from Paris to Dieppe, a cause of alarm—perhaps a just ground for war. The attempt is really an alarming proof of French enterprise, and the execution of it would be a still more alarming proof of French industry. If the First Consul should order Genoa to rival London, and Amsterdam to rival Liverpool, as commercial orders are always obeyed, the circumstance would be very alarming; but would war remedy the evil, or would not greater evils arise out of it? For my part, I can admire the beauties of French manufacture without feeling any alarm, or hostile disposition; because, however beautiful they may be, I know the superior value of our own; I know the potteries of Staffordshire can withstand the beauties of French china. To go to war on principles of rivalship, would be an act of madness and folly; to be sure by war we might get rid of our money, but that is not worth the consideration of the Noble Lord's friends. Among the connexions of the Noble Lord may be found the fears of age and the ambition of youth, both urging to a line of conduct which, I hope, this House will resist with as much determination as we should any hostile aggression. If any aggression on our honour and independence should be attempted from any quarter, let Ministers call on this House, and I am confident they will find us and the country unanimously responsive to their call. Let us shew ourselves unwilling to attack, but strong to resist; and if we do go to war, let it be a war of defence. Upon this principle I hope Ministers will act, and they cannot fail to be

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popular; for I am happy to find, on my return to England, that there is but one sentiment among the people, as to the necessity of persevering in the maintenance of peace. An Hon. General (Gascoigne) competent to speak on the subject of commerce, has stated, that our manufactures are flourishing, but that our commerce has diminished. I believe that description of commerce has diminished, which arises out of a state of war. It was naturally to be expected. Such a diminution has taken place at the conclusion of every war. It was so in 1749, 1763, and 1783. It is, therefore, the common effect of peace; and if that change were to be attended to, it would be an argument for perpetual war. The French are much condemned in this country for the strict prohibitions they have established against the importation of our manufactures. They had a right to do as they pleased in that respect. Surely no man would seriously contend that such a prohibition furnished a just ground for war. We, of all other nations, are least entitled to complain of that kind of prohibition; for no nation took more pains to exclude any foreign manufactures that should interfere with her own than we did; but the conduct of France, in this instance, is founded on an erroneous policy, which must, if long pursued, injure themselves more than us. In Holland and Prussia, on former occasions, our manufactures were prohibited with the utmost strictness, yet no national alarm was excited. We considered then, what it was equally incumbent on us to consider now, that such a species of prohibition was mere matter of internal regulation, not understood to imply any hostile purpose.

Mr. WINDHAM rose, and in a speech ingeniously refined in argument, yet impressively familiar and pointed in its illustrations, offered a powerful answer to all that had been advanced in opposition to his known sentiments from either side of the House. We cannot pretend to report his speech in detail, but must, though with reluctance, content ourselves with touching lightly on its leading positions. He observed, in answer to a sarcastic remark from a former speaker, representing him and his friends to give many proofs of their fears, and few of their judgment; that those very fears might be the genuine progeny of judgment, and, therefore, the best proofs of its existence in those who gave the alarm; that, if the fears were conceived only on the approach, or in the very midst of real danger, not to feel them were the only proof of want of judgment; that on the score of fear, therefore, no accusation could be brought against him and his friends, without due discussion of the whole matter which stood at issue. He regretted his inability to recollect the different reasonings which had been advanced in speeches which a sense of duty compelled him to oppose. His habits of debate had not been such as to give him a command of that ready, flexible, and discriminating recollection, for which the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) was eminently remarkable. But he thought it incumbent on him, on this occasion, to attempt some reply to those things which were the most revolting to his judgment, and which had the most forcibly impressed themselves upon his remembrance. How was it possible for that Hon. Gentleman to deny to the penetration of his own mind, that the seeds of inordinate political aggrandizement were sown in the minds of the French nation, coeval with those of democratical revolution? Every succession of the revolutionary rulers had openly professed the very principles which so conspicuously possessed the mind of the present First Consul. The extension of dominion was made, at one time, the very pride of the revolution; at another, its necessary defence. But still it was in one form or another, for one purpose or another, the most confidently professed. And was it for any man to come into this House, and offer an encomiastic apology for the first efforts of a principle which had been thus carried, of deep design, and by no inevitable necessity, to its present threatening and overpowering height? It had been said, he observed, that Britain had gained nothing by the war, that France had acquired nothing by the peace. Was it, then, nothing gained to preserve our constitution; to hold at bay both the revolutionary principles, and the political ambition of the French; to maintain that erect, independent, national spirit which has so long constituted the very peculiarizing essentiality of the British character? Was it nothing to confine within the limits of Europe an ambition to bestride, as but a petty space, the very world? Buonaparté, with the soul of an Alexander, might regard this many-peopled earth as but a large prison; and was it nothing to confine that restless spirit within a space which might, to its hopes and darings, be but a narrow cell? The French had gained nothing by the peace! Was it nothing to have procured those restraints which they could neither burst through nor surmount, to be voluntarily withdrawn? The preliminaries of peace; the treaty of Amiens; had they not, like the spell of a magician, like the movement of some talisman, laid open, in an instant, to France, the obstructed passages to the West Indies, to Africa, to Asia, to every region to which she might otherwise have long struggled in vain to make her way? The sudden restitution of St. Domingo to the dominion of France, was not that an effect of the peace? To what but the peace did she owe the advantages of that access which she gained by the acquisition of Louisiana to the back settlements of America? While the issue of the contest remained yet uncertain, France possessed that confirmed power in Italy to which she has since attained. We may judge whether France has not gained by the peace, by reflecting whether, if we were now to renew

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the war, we could renew it with all those pledges for success which we held in our hands at the cessation of hostilities? The Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) has talked of the irritations of a paper war between the two countries, of its contemptible meanness, and of its being yet more foolish than irritating. But if we are to shut out from the people of this country all knowledge of the designs and conduct of the French rulers, it were difficult to understand how they should be prepared to meet any meditated hostilities with just indignation and resolution, till they were at our very gates, or rather kindling to a conflagration the very fires on our hearths. The Hon. Gentleman talks of the error of fine-spun and distant speculations; then refers us to Machiavel for an account of the wonderful and happy things to be expected from the blessed agency of time and chance. But time and chance rarely do much in favour of men who can do nothing to support themselves. To time and chance none ever trusted less than the French. Who would bet upon the uncertainties of the dice when he might venture his money upon the sure calculations to which it is possible to subject a game at chess? Look back to the most distant æra of French ambition to sway in the system of Europe. Buonaparté has but accomplished schemes that were conceived by Henry IV. and his minister Sully, and have been ever since uniformly pursued. And is it in this state of things that the Hon. Gentleman is to come, and with a voice, than which an enemy's ambassador could propose nothing more dangerous, to call to us, that we have nothing left but to trust to time and chance; to be quiet, lest we should be attacked; to dread the force of a population so much superior to our own; to hope well of our commerce, but to be comforted in the thought, that, when our trade and wealth are ravished from us, we shall have nothing left to provoke an enemy's desires? Did Buonaparté send a friend to solicit the interests of his ambition in this country; what else could he wisely enjoin him, to dissolve all manly resolution in the hearts of our people, than by such arguments to impress a general persuasion of the necessity to lay us hopelessly down in the charms of such a peace? [We particularly regret our inability, on account of the general length of the debate, to add here, a very beautiful and ingenious argument on the utility of continental connexions to Britain, and in defence of the fairness and honour of our allies in the late war, which Mr. Windham laboured in considerable detail, in answer to some things which had been previously thrown out by Mr. Wilberforce.]

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that the speech of his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Windham) was precisely in the same strain of despondency as that which he had delivered on the motion for the address. The general tenour of his arguments, however, was applicable either to a state of war or to a state of peace, though certainly in a greater degree to the latter. He was perfectly aware of the principles upon which that Right Hon. Gentleman had stated his opposition to the peace, and he gave him full credit for the manly, spirited, and consistent manner in which he had always avowed his sentiments. If he understood his arguments of that night, he supposed it to be the Right Hon. Gentleman's opinion, that upon the whole it was desirable that this country, on the general ground of security, should be restored to that situation from which it was taken by the treaty of Amiens. In that view he spoke of the evil which would be averted, that the French would not now be in possession of Louisiana, or of St. Domingo, and that the British power would still remain superior in the Mediterranean. The effect of the arguments on the other side of the House would be, not only to renew, but to render war perpetual. Mr. Addington then adverted to what had fallen from a Noble Lord in the course of the debate: that Noble Lord had asserted a proposition which was not maintainable, namely, that it was impossible hostilities could be renewed. The House would do him the justice to recollect, that in the very discussion of the treaty of peace, he had insisted that measure was not taken on account of any deficiency in our means to carry on the war. He had *disclaimed the plea of necessity*; and in the present instance he would aver, in opposition to the Noble Lord, that if the honour or the security of the country demanded the alternative, it had the means of supporting a contest of seven or eight years duration, without imposing any burdens on the people, but such as would be borne with cheerfulness. This allegation was not lightly made, but was the result of deliberate and minute investigation. With respect to the Noble Lord's objections to the persons of those who composed the present Administration, and his idea of their being unfit for their situations, he conceived him to object principally on the grounds of an imputed want of energy and vigour in their conduct. But he would ask the Noble Lord, what part of their conduct, either before or since the peace, justified such an imputation? They followed up the plans of their predecessors, with respect to the northern hostilities, with vigour and effect; their preparations for the defence and security of the country discovered no want of promptitude or energy; they sent adequate reinforcements to the army in Egypt; they detached a squadron to block up Cadiz, and to watch the Spanish coasts; and since the peace, nothing of the nature alluded to could be charged upon them: but they would be deserving of censure did they disarm to the extent which the Noble Lord and his friends at one time deemed proper. For these reasons he was induced to think, and as there were no specific

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grounds urged, that their real crime in the Noble Lord's eyes was their enjoying the confidence of the Sovereign, and being instrumental in giving peace to their country. He then entered into some detailed calculations to shew that the situation of the country was considerably improved by the peace, and that her strength and resources were such as placed her above every apprehension of danger in those points of view contended for on the other side of the House. Speaking of what had appeared in public prints in both countries, he expressed his concurrence with what fell from an Hon. Gentleman on that head: those kinds of observations were, he thought, equally unworthy the good sense, the prudence, and the manners of the country. However, it was not his wish, on that account, that a finger should be laid on the freedom of the British press. God forbid! The worst consequences which could ensue from those were light and insignificant, compared with what would be the effect of such an outrage! He assured the House, that Ministers would uphold the honour of the Sovereign and of the country; they would make no compromise disgraceful, even for the preservation of peace, but would persevere in a firm but moderate line of conduct.

EARL TEMPLE could not accuse Mr. Addington of an intention of misrepresenting him; but in fact he had done so. What his Lordship had said, was not, that the country was incapable of supporting a war, but that *under the present Administration there was no hope of war, and that they did not possess energy of character sufficient to ensure us safety in peace.*

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, there was one point he had forgot to state. It had been asked, what would be the economy of our peace establishment? In answer, he said, our peace establishment would be about twenty-five millions.

LORD MORPETH spoke in defence of the projet at Lisle, compared with the peace of Amiens. By that projet he said we maintained a scrupulous faith with our allies, and did not sacrifice them, as Portugal and the House of Orange had been sacrificed at Amiens.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he referred to the projet at Lisle only to shew, that whatever difference existed between it and the treaty of Amiens, that difference would not, in the one more than in the other, have shielded this country against the ambition and aggrandizement of France.

LORD HAWKESBURY said, the only material difference between the projet of Lisle and the treaty of Amiens was, the Cape of Good Hope, and that this was not to be urged as a difference in fact. The projet at Lisle was but a projet: the peace at Amiens was an ultimatum. It could not be contended that a first projet was an ultimatum. At Lisle, Ministers naturally asked more than they would have been contented to take, and it was fair to infer they would have given up the Cape. Before we signed the peace of Amiens, Portugal had been invaded by a French army, and had signed a separate peace. Why should we have stipulated for Portugal, which had settled for herself? But even under these circumstances, when we discovered the cessions she had made in America, we obtained back a part of those cessions. *With regard to the House of Orange, it was stipulated in the treaty of Amiens, that it should be indemnified in Germany.*

Mr. CANNING contended, that the projet of Lisle was an ultimatum, as *he knew* it was the design of Ministers in the event of that proposal to have come upon the country, and to have appealed on the fairness of our offers in case they failed. He thought it invidious in Ministers to argue on the projet of Lisle, as they had done, situated as they were in regard to their predecessors.

Mr. BRAGGE asked, what further security would the possession of the Cape have been against the present aggrandizement of France? The reasoning of Mr. Addington this night, he said, could not be understood invidiously by his predecessor, as he (Mr. Pitt) had wholly approved of the peace.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 2D DECEMBER 1802.

Mr. ALEXANDER brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply; and on the motion that the resolution for granting 50,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year, be read a second time,

Mr. T. GRENVILLE rose, and spoke to the following effect:—"I rise, Sir, to express my astonishment at the mode of proceeding which is now proposed, a mode which places the House of Commons in quite a new situation. The Minister demands an extraordinary supply of seamen, without condescending to give the least explanation of the reasons which induce the necessity, or the purposes to which he means to apply them. I cannot hesitate to observe, that the conduct of the Ministers, whose duty it was to give this explanation, is novel, unprecedented, and unconstitutional; is disrespectful to this House; and this House will subscribe to its own disgrace, if it should assent to this proposition until the necessary explanation shall be given. When I came down yesterday, I confess I felt a good deal of anxiety, curiosity, and expectation, to hear what language Ministers would employ. I had some hope of hearing from them some exposition of their motives and views, some allusions to the state of Europe, some idea of what

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the country had to look for; something different from those indefinite terms they have heretofore used, terms equally full of firmness and humility, and implying no fixed or regular system of policy; at one time adopting the dignified language which becomes the Government of Great Britain; at another time chiming in the tone of submission which issued from the opposite side of the House: but I was disappointed; Ministers were utterly silent, and the vote in the Committee passed without a single observation. I was glad of the opportunity that presented itself on this occasion for Ministers to speak out; I was glad, because I thought upon such a subject it would be impossible for them to hold undecided or equivocal language; but they have evaded it; they have not thought proper to tell us any of the grounds upon which they have deemed it expedient thus to deviate from the practice of former times, thus to demand a large disposable force, productive of great expense, without informing us what danger we have to dread, and how far the force demanded will tend to avert that danger. I have looked in vain for some communication from them to supply the complete deficiency of information in his Majesty's speech, and in the debates upon it. To the address in answer to that speech I assented, because I could not consistently refuse it, for it was drawn up in such a way as to contain nothing exceptionable, and yet to want that which was most essentially necessary, intelligence as to our present state with respect to the continent. The speech, in fact, contained not a sentiment which was not applicable to any period of our history; it was a collection of truisms, without any opinion or statement peculiarly referring to the present times. How different the conduct of Ministers in former instances! how different at the peace of 1763, and at that of 1783 also! On the former occasion it was stated, in his Majesty's speech, that, from the disposition manifested by the powers with whom the treaty had been concluded, there was the fullest assurance for the continuance of peace; and in the speech of 1783, his Majesty expressed the happiness he felt in being able to inform the House that there was no reason to doubt the disposition of those with whom he had concluded peace, to preserve it inviolate. In both these speeches there were the most intelligible and specific declarations of the opinions of Ministers as to the state of Europe, and they were on both occasions equally explicit in debate, as to the views of policy they meant to pursue, and the force they thought necessary for the defence of the country. But now, for the first time, a Minister opens a session in time of peace with a speech composed of general terms, and applies to Parliament for a vote of 50,000 seamen, without attempting to describe to us the necessity which calls for such a force, or enabling us to judge how far this force may be proportioned to that necessity. When the Minister, in June last, proposed a vote of 70,000 seamen, he was asked by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tierney), what would be his probable peace establishment, and he replied, about 30,000. Why, then, does he now require 50,000? what change has taken place in our position? what new and unexpected dangers have arisen? what event has occurred since the Minister made this reply, and which his great political foresight could then calculate upon, to render this excess necessary? Has this vote reference to a peace or a war establishment? If to the former, Parliament and the country may think it excessive; if to the latter, such a force may be deemed inadequate: at present this House is incompetent to judge; and before we submit to the obloquy of assenting to the proposition now under discussion, I trust the Minister will be compelled to present such materials for our consideration, as may fully qualify us to decide this question. The question upon which we are to determine is this: What is the danger that threatens us, and is the state of our resources and preparation equal to resist it? Among the dangers that threaten us, let us consider the maritime state of Europe. When we look at Russia, in the first instance, we unfortunately find a strong partiality in that power toward the views of France, at least for some time back, though, from the moderate character of the present Emperor, and some late circumstances, there may be a little reason to hope that a different policy will soon prevail, and that our former relations of cordial friendship with that cabinet will be re-established. I am aware, that, in adverting to the Northern Confederacy, I am about to tread on delicate ground; but I must observe, that, in my opinion, what is called the convention, did not satisfactorily settle the point in dispute with that Confederacy; and what the Noble Secretary of State termed the explanatory convention, involved the matter in still greater perplexity. However, my principal reason for alluding to that Confederacy is, to take notice of an expression made use of, on a former occasion, by the Noble Secretary of State, to whom I mean no disrespect. That Noble Lord said, that the victory of Copenhagen created an obstacle in the treaty with the Northern Confederacy, which rendered it the most difficult negotiation in which he had been ever engaged. I must then remark, that the British statesman who could experience a difficulty in his negotiation with an enemy, from one of the most glorious victories ever obtained by the British fleet, and over that very enemy, affords no very flattering prospect of the consequences likely to ensue from his dexterous management at the court of Petersburgh, or at any other court in Europe. But to proceed to a review of the maritime powers of Europe. In Holland, no one can be ignorant that great and unparalleled exertions are making to restore their navy; that a considerable number of large ves-

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sels are now building, and that many have been launched since the peace; and still greater efforts are making to recruit the fleets of France. I do not mean by this statement to express any apprehension of the superior power of the British navy, in the event of an engagement with any fleet, even with a disparity of force; but I wish the House and the country should keep in view the rapidly increasing maritime strength of that nation, whose gigantic power and influence is such, that it must be understood, that when we speak of the navy of France we speak of the navy of Europe. Before, therefore, we undervalue the naval force of France, we should consider the extent of the whole naval force of Europe; and more, that every acquisition she makes is a deduction from us; that it tells doubly against us; for every accession of territory to France is an exclusion of England. In the event of a war, the influence she has established on the continent would be sufficient utterly to exclude us; for what assistance could we hope to derive from Portugal? that country dare not, perhaps would not interfere. Let us only consider the state of the Portuguese, from the insult recently offered to a British officer in the port of Lisbon, in the presence of our Sovereign's son. Perhaps it may be stated that some satisfaction has been had; but I would ask, could such an indignity have been offered at a former period to the British flag while Portugal had the power or the will to respect us? was it probable? I quote this event only to shew how differently the Portuguese are disposed to us to what they formerly were. The subserviency of Spain to France no man can doubt, and the endeavours of France to exclude us from every port in the Mediterranean; her insatiable ambition and her hostile views are equally obvious; her pretensions in Africa, and wherever she can interfere with the interests of our navy, must excite the attention of every man who feels for our security. The Morea and the republic of the Seven Isles are not even safe from her attacks; day after day adds something to her conquests; and if the last rumour can be credited, it is in contemplation to add Tuscany to her dominions. The French government takes possession of what she pleases, under the delusive and insulting pretence of interfering *to tranquillize, and make other nations happy*. On the subject of Switzerland, I cannot help saying a few words as to the conduct of Ministers; their strange and contradictory language, their affectation of dignity, and boast of not having committed the honour of the country: but what is the fact? Within the last two days I have been told that a gentleman, holding a very high situation in the Secretary of State's office, was a considerable time during, and previous to, the disturbances in Switzerland, resident at Constance, and held frequent conferences with the principal directors of the Swiss insurrection. If this anecdote be true, it does not tally with the assertion that Ministers have not committed the honour of the country. To return to the Mediterranean: the French government have succeeded in completely depriving us of every port in that sea, except Malta; and I say, if Government do their duty, they will retain that island. It is, I understand, retained; but why, I am ignorant, and so is the House. This forms a part of the explanation I desire from Ministers, together with the conditions upon which it is to be given up, if such a surrender is now intended. Is it only held until the court of Petersburgh agrees to guaranty it? and does that court decline to advance her money to join in that guarantee, notwithstanding the positive assertions of the Minister, on a former day, that she would? I should be happy if that power perseveres in her refusal, and then, of course, there will be no apology for abandoning that important fortress, which we ought to hold. Indeed I have no hesitation in saying that it is incumbent on Ministers to retain all the places covenanted by treaty to be given up, which are still in our possession. In the present circumstances of Europe, and from the conduct of France since the peace, I maintain that such a proceeding would be consistent with justice and equity, and it is evidently called for by every principle of policy. It has always been my opinion that Malta must be under the protection of England or France, and it is decidedly my opinion that it is essential to our best interests to hold it now, as a port for our navy. If in Europe the prospect is so discouraging, is there any consolation to be derived from the West or East Indies? Certainly not. We have every reason to apprehend dangerous consequences to our colonies, particularly Jamaica, from the force in St. Domingo; and that danger is aggravated, from a consideration of the force at Louisiana, and the recent cession of Martinique; a cession most extremely impolitic, and rather surprising if the report be genuine, which is universally believed, that some time before the meeting of Parliament, Ministers sent out orders to retain all the settlements which were not actually surrendered. If so, it is of moment to ascertain, whether Ministers, at the time they were calling for 50,000 seamen, in the apprehension of war, were justified in giving up the key of the French islands. Wherever we turn our eyes, we must see the progressive aggrandizement of France. She is, I understand, immediately to take possession of Cochin, in the East Indies, a place of no commerce, which can afford no attraction in that way. Then the only use it can be, and doubtless the only view with which it can be taken hold of by France, is, that it is a strong place, and will afford opportunities of negotiating with the native powers. From this circumstance, and from the language generally held by the French newspapers, I can have no doubt of the disposition of France to interfere for what, in their

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usual cant, they term the happiness of India. In such a state of our affairs in every quarter of the world, I will ask, can the House confirm the resolution of the Committee of Supply, without some explanation from Ministers, whether we are to be at war or peace? If the Right Hon. Gentleman will shew a necessity for this force, no rational Englishman can object to the vote; but perhaps that necessity may appear to demand a still larger force; and I confess that I, for one, should not wish to see a less; but I would desire to know how Ministers mean to apply it, what is to be their general use, &c.—*(A smile on the Treasury Bench.)* Mr. Grenville noticed it. Gentlemen may smile, supposing that I want to know the destination of this force; but I cannot look for any intelligence so improper. My object is to know the *animus*, the mind with which this force is to be employed. Is it to make war? Is it to enable Ministers to speak with weight, authority, and effect, in the affairs of Europe? They have had 70,000 seamen at their service, and yet that number did not encourage them to interfere on the continent with weight, authority, or effect. This experience forbids the hope that any force *can communicate a firm and manly character to such an Administration*. Perhaps they want this force, in order that it may lie still at home, waiting for the enemy to find it out. I should be happy to receive a satisfactory explanation from the Right Hon. Gentleman. If he declines any, I hope the House will decline to adopt his proposition, and I pledge myself to move for its recommittal."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he hoped the House would do him the justice to believe, that it was not in consequence of the menace held out by the Right Hon. Gentleman, in the latter part of his speech, that he then rose to address them, nor did he think it necessary to say any thing to the imputation of direspect and contempt, and a disposition to bring disgrace upon the House. The Right Hon. Gentleman charged him with being silent; he, on the other hand, charged the Right Hon. Gentleman with being present in his seat last night when the vote was passing, and of not having said a single word relating either to his own objections, or to the silence of the Ministers. Ministers, he said, had never expressed any confident expectations from the pacific views of France; and when it was urged against them that large military establishments were not kept up, though they themselves, on the first day, confessed the necessity of them, they answered to the untrue and unjust charge made against them of having disbanded a considerable part of the military force, that none of the military whatever had been disbanded, with the exception of some cavalry; and that they then maintained 50,000 seamen, though 45,000 were deemed sufficient in the first year of the war. In a few days afterwards the necessary estimates were presented, and on Tuesday last notice was actually given, that the vote required for the ensuing year would be 50,000 seamen, which were moved for yesterday. He had on that occasion reason to expect, from the dispositions manifested by certain Gentlemen, that some questions would be put, and some discussions ensue; and he was then prepared and ready to enter into any debate or explanation which circumstances might call for. Was this, on his part, any indication of neglect of duty? Had he begun himself yesterday, upon any explanations, he had reason to expect that the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. Grenville) himself, in quitting the House, would be the first to complain that he had been unnecessarily wasting the time of the House upon a thing that was not wanted; for that he thought the vote, so far from being too large, was not perhaps enough. In the reference made to the speech of 1763, his Majesty expressed his confidence in the good intentions of other powers, and the number of seamen voted was 23,000. After the peace of 1783, the army was first reduced to 83,000, then to 43,000, and afterwards to 17,000, for guards and garrisons only. For the present year the vote was for 50,000 seamen; and in a very few days a Right Hon. Friend of his (the Secretary at War) would have to submit to them a proposal for a much larger military establishment than perhaps was in the contemplation of any Gentleman, because in the present state of Europe it was thought necessary to keep a greater defensive force than on ordinary occasions. He never yet, he said, *had any reliance on France;* his reliance was upon *security*, and that security could only be derived from a confidence of strength. The Right Hon. Gentleman seemed to think that Ministers should be compelled to give their reasons for maintaining such a force. He could not comply with what was asked, because he was not prepared to tell the relation between 50,000 men, and the present state of Europe. The Right Hon. Gentleman himself thought the number required scarcely sufficient; but if he wanted to find some of the reasons for keeping up a great naval force, he will find them partly in some peculiar expeditions. France, for instance, at present employed a very considerable naval force in attempting to reduce the island of St. Domingo. This made it necessary for England to maintain a proportionate force in the same seas; but in order to effect that object, it was necessary to preserve a greater force at home than would be otherwise requisite, in order to reinforce occasionally the squadrons on the West India station. Many of the ships on that station had already been a long time at sea, and the considerate system of the Board of Admiralty was to relieve such vessels from time to time, in such a manner as to add more to the comforts and convenience of the men. For this we must always have a home fleet in a constant state of

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reparation; but still he wished more to rest he augmentation on the broader principle of he present state of Europe, and the necessity f such a powerful defensive system as would lace the subjects of this country in a state of ecurity, and a condition to enjoy the blessings f peace. The Right Hon. Gentleman said, e has extended his statement to a general iew of the maritime state of the different ountries of Europe, and a description of the angers with which this country is threatened by it. Beginning his review with Russia, he expresses great concern at that court's shewing a disposition favourable to the views of France. He goes to the convention concluded with the Northern Powers; but as he has deferred that subject to some future discussion, for that subject I shall take the liberty of reserving myself. I cannot, however, pass over what he has attributed to my Noble Friend (Lord Hawkesbury), of having said, that the glorious victory off Copenhagen threw difficulties in the way of the subsequent negotiations. What he said was, that notwithstanding the previous event of the death of the Emperor Paul, and all the advantages of that victory, never excelled in splendour of execution, still the negotiations alluded to experienced many difficulties. The subject he next alluded to, is the great activity prevailing in the naval department of Holland, where new ships are constructing, old vessels repairing, and every exertion using to put the maritime power of that country on a formidable footing. But, considering its former greatness, how are its present efforts to be wondered at, or what cause of alarm is there? Having, in the course of the last war, lost 16 ships out of 41 they possessed before, it is endeavouring to replace that damage by increased building and repairing. I acknowledge that the maritime power of France, Spain, and Holland, must, under the present circumstances, be considered as one, and trust that England will take care never to view them in any other light; but the Right Hon. Gentleman is very much mistaken in representing that the navy of Russia, or of any of the other maritime powers, can in any way be taken as a part of the force of France. With regard to Portugal, it is notoriously true, that a flagrant insult was offered to the English flag; but that should not be taken as a proof of design or premeditated ill disposition; for no sooner was a representation made of it, than the court of Lisbon, without the smallest hesitation, hastened to repair the indignity, by sending all the persons concerned in the insult immediately to Lisbon, and took every step to afford the most complete and immediate satisfaction. That the satisfaction was ample, must be evident from the circumstance that the officer himself was satisfied, and made no farther complaint; and we all know that individuals of that description feel with delicacy and extreme sensibility upon every point of honour. With regard to the Mediterranean States, Mr. A. proceeded to state that the Right Hon. Gentleman was as defective there as in many of his other observations, for the British fleet in that quarter was certainly at this time greatly superior to any force that could within a reasonable interval be possibly brought against it. "We have there," said he, "ten sail of the line under the command of Sir R. Bickerton; and here I am happy in the opportunity of contradicting reports that the French had 27 sail of the line at Toulon in readiness to put to sea. In contradiction to this ill-founded rumour, I can assert, on the authority of the gallant Admiral himself, that the French have not at Toulon more than *five* ships of the line ready for sea, and that at Carthagena there is a still smaller number." He denied his ever having said, that we had obtained the guarantee of Russia for the manner in which arrangements were made for the government of Malta, though he might have said that we had obtained the guarantee of Malta. In order to shew the nature of that danger represented as threatening us from without, he stated, that at the commencement of the war the naval forces of the three powers were,

France - - -	80 ships of the line.
Spain, in 1797 -	79 ditto.
Holland 27, but having built 13 more in the course of the war, the total was -	40 ditto.

Amount in the whole to 199

By the result of our operations in the progress of the war these were reduced to 123. The state of the combined navy at present was, of the line—France, 39; Spain, 68; Holland, 24—Total, 131. England, of the line, 196; frigates, 243; sloops, &c. 229—Total 659. By this it would appear, that our excess over the combined navy was no less than 60 sail of the line, exclusive of a very great superiority of smaller vessels.

Sir SIDNEY SMITH, in his maiden speech, expressed his cordial approbation of the proposition now before the House, nor could there, in his opinion, be a difference of sentiment respecting the expediency of keeping up such an establishment as would afford us the means of acting with energy, as circumstances might seem to require. There were one or two points, however, on which he begged leave to make a few observations. When votes were passed for keeping up a strong naval force, he trusted that the dock-yards would be kept on a respectable footing. It had come to his knowledge, that a very considerable number of individuals had been placed in circumstances of great distress in consequence of their dismissal from the situations in which they formerly supported themselves and their families with comfort. When he reflected on the high character of the Noble Lord who presided, with so much ability over the naval department, when

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he turned his attention to the numbers of distressed seamen who were relieved by his Lordship's private bounty, he could not for a moment allow himself to think, that any thing like injustice to individuals would have been practised, from a deficiency in the allowance provided by the public for the support of this very important branch of the service. He threw out this as a matter worthy of consideration, and in the confidence that it would not escape the attention of Ministers. It was a point of infinite consequence, that those employed in any part of the naval services, but more especially in the dock-yards, should not be forced by extreme distress to enter into the service of other powers. It was his firm conviction that there were few who could be induced to enter into the service of our grand rival; and nothing but stern necessity could ever compel them to take a step against which the motives were so powerful. He had received numerous applications on this subject; but he had uniformly answered, that he was resolved not to be the representative of those who had done him the honour to elect him, in the antechambers of Ministers, or in the halls of office, but would take an opportunity of bringing the subject under consideration in his place as a member of that House. This he had now done, and he hoped the business would be attended to. On the general subject now before the House, he not only deprecated any reduction of the number of seamen to be employed, but was strongly inclined to think that it was hardly adequate to the circumstances in which the country was placed. It ought to be recollected by the House that a military force could not start into motion in this country in a moment, as on the continent, which had for so many years been formed into a great camp for war. For the sake of humanity, he hoped, that a speculative war would not be renewed; but that if unfortunately hostilities should become unavoidable, we should not be forced into it without adequate resources. There was with him an additional reason for wishing that the number of seamen to be kept up should rather be increased than diminished. It was drawn from the vast numbers of distressed seamen who in every quarter were to be found. The House would recollect that none but able-bodied seamen were employed in the merchant service. The consequence was, that the other descriptions of seamen were thrown wholly out of employment, and left to the precarious charity of the public, or to the very inadequate provision which national liberality assigned them. Was a sum not exceeding seven pounds a year any thing like an adequate provision for men who had lost a limb, or an eye, in the service of their country? He was convinced every one present was sensible of its inadequacy. Greenwich Hospital, though a grand monument of national beneficence, was not sufficiently comprehensive in the objects which it embraced; and even if it were extended, it was a question which admitted of a good deal of doubt, whether a mansion for disabled seamen might not be formed which might be more beneficial to the sufferers, and attended with less expense to the public. Instead of dismissing them to their homes with such an inadequate provision after all the long toils and perils of war, every dictate of policy suggested that they should quit the service impressed with gratitude for the ample provision made for them by their country, and ready, on the first call of danger, again to embark in its service. It was plain, that in the prospect of war, nothing was of such consequence as that of our navy should be promptly equipped, and nothing could so effectually promote this object as attaching the seamen to the service by gratitude. He took it for granted, however, when he said this, that war was not looked to either in this country or in France. Military men here, as in France, were anxious for a respite from the horrors of war, not from any selfish motives, but from a feeling of compassion for those brave men who might fall in any new contest. To feel compassion for human distress, occasioned by the war, was the inseparable attribute of true courage; and to the bravest spirits, victories were often painful. That there might, however, be a probability for the continuance of peace, it was above all things essential that we should have the means of speedily equipping our navy. He was inclined to believe that there existed on the part of the French government a desire to preserve the peace; and he was sure if such a disposition did exist, it would be materially strengthened by a formidable navy on the part of this country. Changes of government in France were, however, sudden and unexpected. He had himself had the misfortune to be present at two of these explosions, and in France they were considered as mere matters of course. They were like the mere decorations of a theatre, which excited no sort of uncommon emotion. On one of these occasions he had observed several of the turnkeys active in preparing lodgings for new prisoners, who were hourly expected. They made no secret of the light in which they viewed arrests, either of the governors or the governed. To his inquiries respecting the cause of such preparation, their answer was, that there had been high words in the Councils, and that new tenants for these lodgings might arrive that night. Their suspicions were just; for on that very same night, he believed, several members of the Councils actually took up their abode in prison. The period to which he alluded was the period which was styled the 18th Fructidor, in the favourite French gibberish. With the utmost composure the instruments of the most dreadful enormities walked about with their hangers, ready for some new atrocity, and deliberately consoled themselves, that in this tragedy they were only actors, not managers, nor even authors. With the persons then governing France, a subject for acting

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s never wanting. Julius Cæsar might have
n introduced, but numerous other great sub-
ts were untouched. Constantinople and
ppoo Saib might be introduced with great
nic effect; and, at all events, they had only
take an old stock-piece, which was sure at
times to be received with favour; and that
no other than the invasion of Britain. If
feelings of the French people were to be
ked upon, out of 28 millions there never
ld be wanting numbers to undertake any
perate expedition. Supposing that such a
vulsion as that to which he had alluded
uld unfortunately take place, there would
thousands ready to undertake any thing
ch should have for its object the destruc-
of this country. If our navy was kept on
spectable establishment, he had not, nor
ld any reasonable man entertain, the least
rehension from any such hostile and despe-
efforts. From the situation which, during
ar, he had held on the French coast, to
ch the motions of their fleets, he could
e with certainty to the House, that from the
ts of France itself there was no danger to
apprehended of sudden invasion. In all
r harbours, from which vessels adapted to
purpose of sudden invasion could sail, he
observed that there was no opportunity for
sels drawing more than 18 feet to leave them
n at high water, without being artificially
gged beyond the pier, and the greatest num-
which in one day could leave the different
ts of France could not exceed sixty, even
the largest calculation. Sudden invasion
n those ports therefore was not to be dread-

But the case was widely different since
nce had obtained so many ports on the
ern shores opposite those parts of this
ntry which were most liable to invasion; for
n the influence which France possessed over
land, every Dutch port was to be supposed
fford, in every point of view, facilities for
project of sudden invasion. If, there-
, any of those Brutuses who had figured
he time to which he had already alluded,
uld succeed in putting an end to the life of
First Consul of France—an event which
or his part most heartily deprecated, and
ld, if any thing depended on him, use
y means to prevent, from horror at a
e in all cases to be abhorred and exe-
ed—a fleet might, in the course of one
t, land forces in this country, and proceed
utrages the most dreadful, before invasion
anticipated. The Hon. and gallant Knight
cluded with earnestly impressing on Mi-
ers, in common with the House, the ne-
ity of holding out every encouragement to
e employed in the public service. He
ed in a striking point of view the mischief
ch would result from an idea going abroad,
the honourable service of the country in
military or naval departments was not
ly so rapidly to conduct to honours or re-
ds as services of a much less respectable
l. He begged the House to consider, that
if any thing existed to justify such an idea,
there would not be wanting persons to improve
on the hint, however suggested. The Hon.
Member, in illustration of his sentiments on
this part of the subject, alluded to some no-
tices of this description, which had appeared
on the cover of a publication pretty generally
circulated, in which the roads to the favour of
Majesty and the honours of Knighthood were
much more easily to be purchased than through
the tedious and laborious toils of war. After
reading this strange notice he sat down, pro-
posing to hand it over to his Majesty's Attor-
ney General, who would, no doubt, take
such steps as the nature of the case required.

Mr. STURGES said he was ready to give his cor-
dial vote for the number of seamen proposed to
be employed, on the mere ground, that Minis-
ters were the persons most competent to judge
what was the number which the exigencies of
the public service required. He could not,
however, help observing, that so extraordinary
a mode of voting the supplies for the public
service, as that which Ministers had offered
to the House, did not occur in the whole his-
tory of Parliamentary proceedings. It was,
he was convinced, the first instance where a
peace establishment, to so large an amount,
had been proposed to be voted without the
slightest communication to the House on the
subject. The language held on this occasion
by the Right Hon. Gentleman at the head of
his Majesty's Councils, had filled him with in-
expressible astonishment. What he begged
leave to ask was, the situation of the country,
and what was the language which the speech
held out to the House and the country? The
country was in a state of profound tranquillity,
and the speech offered nothing but a prospect
of the continuance of external peace. No-
thing of a dread of rupture was hinted at;
nothing was said of the necessity of supporting
a large establishment. He was sure that this
was the impression which the speech was calcu-
lated to create; and it was so understood by
an Hon. Gentleman, not now present (Mr.
Fox), who, when he gave his approbation to
the address, begged that it might not be sup-
posed, that, in voting for the address, he
pledged himself to vote for the maintenance
of a large establishment. He did not make
these observations, because he thought that
the proposition was liable to censure, but be-
cause the impression on his mind was, that
such was the sense in which the business was
understood, when the address to his Majesty
was under discussion. He was not one of those
who entertained the idea that our principal se-
curity consisted in the greatness of France.
This idea, he was sorry to perceive, on a for-
mer occasion, had been apparently acquiesced
in; and there were not wanting persons, both
in the House and the country, who thought
that French power contained within itself the
seeds of decay. If French power had only
risen from accidental circum ances, if it had

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only been derived from the conquest of defenceless states, he was ready to allow that there would have been some reason for entertaining such an opinion. When he saw, however, that every new conquest and every new aggrandizement was a real and solid accession of strength; when he saw every effort of nature combined with every exertion of art, conspiring to increase this strength; when he saw the left bank of the Rhine under the dominion of France; when he contemplated Holland, not merely allied to France, but under the domineering power of French influence; when he beheld the fortresses of Piedmont and the mountains of Switzerland seized upon by their rapacious and despotic hand; when every other state on the continent was subject to their destructive inroads, had he not a right to conclude that French ambition and French hostility were objects of the most watchful jealousy and unremitting precaution? But, had not the French government, in addition to the reasons for precaution drawn from this source, manifested the most obvious spirit of hostility? He was unwilling to go into any detail of the evidences of this hostility, nor would he say how far these acts formed a new ground of hostility. With Ministers, he most sincerely desired the continuance of peace. That he believed was the wish of every one present, and the only ground of difference was respecting the means to be employed for so important an end. He would remark, however, that the terms of the treaty were non-executed on our part; and this non-execution might either be the cause of war on the part of France, or the effect of a hostile spirit displayed by that power. Whether it was the cause or the effect, it was equally impossible for the House to determine, without a full communication of circumstances, which Ministers had thought proper to withhold. On this part of the subject, he begged leave to remind the House of the language employed by a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Addington) on a former occasion, when he assured the House that there was *no reason whatever* to dread a rupture, and that he saw no reason to suppose that this peace might not be as lasting as any of those which had been concluded for the last century. If there ever had existed any disposition to doubt the truth of this statement, or more properly to have feared that so sanguine a prospect would never be realized, certainly the proposition of this night was not calculated to do them away. He, for his own part, trusted that the Right Hon. Gentleman was not too sanguine in the exhortations he had formed, and that it never would with truth be said of him—

Intentus omnium metu
Solus non timet.

This would be a sort of supineness and security fatal to the best interests of the country; and he could not conclude what he had offered to the House more strongly, than by expressing his ardent wish that every precaution should be used to counteract any design on the safety of our foreign possessions, and, above all, to guard against any unexpected invasion of our native coasts.

Captain MARKHAM said, the House had been given to understand by an Hon. Gentleman (Sir S. Smith) that a number of persons had been dismissed from different dock-yards, but especially from the dock-yard more immediately connected with the city which the Hon. Gentleman had the honour to represent. True it was that a considerable number of persons had been dismissed in that dock-yard, in common with others; but he now took on himself to say, that no one person was dismissed who was not disabled from service by age, otherwise deficient in the discharge of his duty, or so grossly negligent, that he was a much fitter subject to be brought before a court of common law, than to be treated with the lenient sentence of dismissal from office. He had also to state, that in no case had a dismissal taken place in the case of deserving individuals where a pension had not been granted, and many had received a pension who had never formerly been allowed one under similar circumstances. He would not now say that the total effect of these regulations was hitherto experienced, because on several of the cases of augmentation of pensions the consent of his Majesty was previously necessary; but they were now in the direct train of execution; and he had no doubt, when completed, they would meet with the full and unreserved approbation of the House. He was confident, that, to the real friends of economy in the public service, the result would afford entire satisfaction. There was another description of persons dismissed from his Majesty's service, respecting whose case he had only to make one or two observations; these were the caulkers, who had united in a conspiracy with those in the same trade in the merchant yards in the river. The consequences of such a combination were serious in the greatest degree; and, in consequence of the application of the merchants and ship-owners, the Lords of the Admiralty had taken the subject into consideration. An offer had been made to these refractory caulkers to enter into the service of the merchants, and such of them as refused were immediately dismissed. On the subject of Greenwich Hospital, and the proposed augmentation of out-pensioners, he made a few observations. He desired the Right Hon. Gentleman to recollect that the former was a very late institution, and that it was designed only for the reception of those who had been so severely wounded as to be totally unqualified for labour, and those who were wounded, but not to the same extent, in his Majesty's service. For the relief of the other description of seamen, stated to be in a situation of deplorable distress, there was provided the chest at Chatham; and if this

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stressed objects were not provided with smart ckets from their respective captains, Govern- ent was not to be taxed with this omission.

LORD HAWKESBURY said, that in proposing vote for the army or navy, it had not been ual to precede the motion with many argu- ents, urging topics in support of it; he had ought it the less necessary in the present se, since it was in his Majesty's speech dis- ctly stated, and the sentiment was adopted the address, that such measures ought to be rsued as would be essential for the security this country. He believed that every Gen- man understood by this, that a large naval d military establishment would be necessary r that purpose. It was true there was no dge on that subject, which was indeed ma- ested by the speech of an Hon. Gentleman Ir. Fox), who had laid in his claim to inter- t the address in his own way, in the parti- lar of the quantity of the force to be voted our peace establishment; this he mentioned shew that indeed there was no pledge, but o that there was a clear understanding in the ouse, and it was a general understanding, it the peace establishment should be aug- nted, for it was at that time distinctly stated d avowed by his Majesty's Ministers, that vas their intention to propose, on a day pro- r for that purpose, a very large military and val establishment, and that on the ground of circumstances of Europe as they consider- them at that time; so that the augmenta- n now proposed could not be said to be by y of surprise on any Member in that House. iat being the case, it would not be expected t any one of his Majesty's Ministers should ain enter into the detail of that situation pre- ius to a motion for the peace establishment.

would undertake to say, that if any h thing had been done, it would be a thing common if not unprecedented. He had some experience in that House, and he uld affirm, it was not the practice of that use to call for an explanation from Govern- nt, such as was now demanded, previous to passing of such vote; it not only had never n required by the House, but it had never n required by those who were the most ve- nent opposers of Government. He remem- ed a peace establishment was proposed, ger than any former one; and a Member in t House, who at that time was in direct osition to the measures of Government, ivered himself to the following effect:— That if his Majesty's Ministers proposed the e, as a permanent peace establishment, he uld oppose it; but if th re were any cir- nstances in the then state of Europe, that uired it for the year, it should have his con- t; because, although he did not confide in Majesty's Ministers in general, yet that was onfidence which was at all events necessary the safety of the State, such indeed as must reposed for the moment in every govern- nt, and without which it could not exist. He would therefore say, than in proposing the army or the navy, it was a point which ne- cessarily called for the confidence of that House; it was therefore of course fair to ask it." He admitted, however, it was fair to ask Ministers, whether they proposed the establishment upon their views of a permanent policy, or upon cir- cumstances peculiar to the time in which it was proposed; and that question, he apprehended, was already answered, by what transpired in that House on the subject of his Majesty's speech, and the address which followed it. The circumstances of Europe were such as rendered the force now proposed necessary in the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers; the House would be aware that he could not enter into the particulars of such circumstances without danger of the most serious detriment to the public service. He wished not to be un- derstood to stand on any secret circumstances, or on any negotiation that might be thought to be depending, or on what Government pecu- liarly knew, or were judging of, but on the state of things, as that state is not only known to the House of Commons, but to every man in this country: and now he might take leave to observe, that from this general knowledge of the state of things, it was an almost universal opinion with those who paid any attention to it, that there should be, or ought to be, a pretty large peace establishment in this country; and that, as desirable as economy at all times was, as in peace it generally was, yet that there never was a moment in which there was less wisdom in observing what is commonly called economy, than the present; and it would not escape the observation of the House, that at the commencement of a contest we are never able to put forth our force in such a manner as to appear to advantage in the eyes of the world, or at all to resemble those efforts by which we had hitherto been able to terminate our contests. There were other reasons ap- plicable to the state of both our navy and army establishment, and which required them to be larger than they had ever been in time of peace; and those were reasons connected with the question of economy, and that applied to the possible trouble and expense of recruiting, in the event of hostilities becoming unavoidable; so that, upon any view of the matter, it was impossible that our peace establishment should be what it had been. But, whatever might be the feelings or apprehensions of some Gentle- men on that subject, they must admit that the measure now proposed was no surprise on them, for it was distinctly avowed by his Majesty's Ministers, on the discussion of his Majesty's speech, and generally acquiesced in, that, un- der all the present circumstances of Europe, under the terms of the peace, and even upon the principle on which it was concluded, it would be proper in this country to keep up a larger peace establishment than ever was kept up in this country at any former period. Un- der such circumstances, it would be prepos- terous to say that the peace establishment of

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this country should be reduced to what it had been in former times. It was impossible to look upon the state of Belgium, or of Holland, and many other countries, without regretting their state, and without a feeling on our part that there should be a much larger establishment than this country ever kept in time of peace. It was not a question whether Europe was by the peace placed in the condition which could have been wished, for that was never assumed by any one; but the question with us was, since nothing was to be gained to us by the continuance of the war, whether we were not more likely to be secure in peace than by the continuance of the war? And another question was, whether that peace was more likely to be continued by a large peace establishment, or a reduced one? a question on which he apprehended there was not much variety of opinion. Now, if circumstances required the force proposed, it might be asked, whether this force was not larger than it was desirable to keep up a permanent peace establishment? That it was larger than was desirable to be kept up as a permanent peace establishment in this country, was true; at the same time he was ready to confess, it appeared to him necessary that we should keep it up, and even increase it, if the circumstances of Europe should require it. What might hereafter govern his Majesty's Ministers as to the extent of the force to be raised or to be kept up, it was impossible for him at present to say. They must hereafter, as they are now, be governed by a general view of the circumstances of Europe. He thought it was not enough to say, that, under the present circumstances of France and of all Europe, it is proper that Great Britain should have the force now proposed for the year 1803, and so on in the year 1804; but when the establishment of the year 1804 shall come to be voted, to consider the circumstances which may appear then, without being bound by any thing that might be adopted; so that we may then diminish or increase our force, as circumstances may require. It was, in his opinion, desirable at this time for the country to try the experiment of continuing that peace, that is to say, by all honourable means to continue the peace, but at the same time to prepare, and prepare with vigour, for war, if that should become necessary. But when he said we should endeavour to preserve peace, it must be in the spirit of peace, a spirit not at all derogatory from our honour, or inconsistent with our independence, but a spirit that should not hold out any species of irritation, which never could answer any good end, but must, if pursued, inevitably lead to hostility. It had been asked, whether peace, with a war establishment, was not war? He had heard that question more than once in that House; but if Gentlemen considered it seriously and fully, they would have no difficulty in seeing the very great difference between the expense of peace and war, even upon the large peace establishment now proposed. Compared with a moderate computation of the expense of war, it would make a difference of from 20 to 25 millions of money a year. He had nothing further to trouble the House with; he only wished to bring back to its consideration the point with which he began, namely, that the House did not usually call for much explanation in the progress of a peace establishment, or of any establishment stated to be necessary for the safety of the country; that such practice was not consistent with that of the best times in the history of this country. It had been usual in those times to confide in Ministers, upon such occasions; but it was not on that ground that he submitted the propriety of the present motion; it was on a ground which was known to all the world, on the situation of things as they were, such ground making it evident that this country ought to have a large peace establishment, either to prepare for war with new vigour, if that should become necessary, or to preserve peace with security and honour.

Mr. CANNING said, he felt himself called upon to deliver his opinion, though, had a judicious inquiry taken place, this debate never would have occurred. It seemed strange to him that the questions of his Right Hon. Friend should have been considered as injudicious or extraordinary; and the point of which he complained most justly warranted his censure—why force of such description should be called for without any explanation of so unusual a measure at such a period. Not that he entertained any doubt of the necessity of the measure; but the emergency of the times and the critical situation of the country were truly alarming, and seriously portentous. But was that the respectful method which should be made use of towards Parliament? Was it decorous to introduce a novel measure with so little reserve, and without a single declaration of its necessity? "What!" (had his Noble Friend exclaimed) "was it unusual to state the estimates of navy and army?" Undoubtedly not. The country had his concurrence; but it did not apply to the present instance; the point of complaint was, why an augmentation in time of peace was to take place, and when, at the same time it was allowed that communications were necessary, but not one word had been delivered to Parliament. It had been asserted that the speech from the Throne had given sufficient intimation of the military establishment; but he contended that it did not specify that a military establishment would be necessary, and an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox), on a former night, had declared, that he thought he should not disagree with the measure, yet he should not pledge himself to the support of the extent of the measure. If, then, that resolution was justifiable, and from the tenour of the speech it must be so, the necessary grounds should be explained before Parliament should be required to give it its sanction upon the expediency of large establishments. To the circumstances attending the arrangement of these estimates, he was a stranger from his

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tuation; but when he had the honour to act in political affairs, they originally were voted for 3 months—a circumstance deserving approbation, as it might be presumed, that, in voting a large establishment for such a time, there might be some negotiation pending, which this armament might help considerably towards hastening to a conclusion, and enforce the final arrangement in that period. But was this the case now? Could those hopes now be entertained? were they not completely blasted, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer changes, of his own accord, the usual times? If changes of circumstances had taken place since the time that a Right Hon. Gentleman moved, in a Committee, the estimates of the navy for 3 months, and the day after the Chancellor of the Exchequer should, in the space of one day, prolong them for the service of a year; how great must be the fluctuation of the affairs of the kingdom, and what we are to think when Parliament is held in total ignorance? He admitted, with his Noble Friend (Lord Hawkesbury), the policy of large peace establishments, as being most likely to render the efforts of the country, in case of animosity, effectual; but at the same time he approved highly of the inquisition of his Hon. Friends who had instituted it; he approved of the provocation of the debate: it was essential that the nature of the measure should be explained; but it was more prejudicial to state the country in a less degree of danger, and to represent its situation as less critical, than to over-rate its difficulty. He agreed with a gallant Officer who spoke before him, that we were to increase our exertions by degrees; that, had we known nothing of the power, the exertions, the enormous increase, the perfidy of France, the necessity of keeping up the spirit of the nation, as well as its energy, would be obvious; but, with such a country for a neighbour, vigilance and exertion were doubly necessary. What were the means adequate to that purpose, it had not been in his power to give any opinion of; those to whom his Majesty's councils were confided were the judges of that measure. On one particular he had agreed, and felt complete satisfaction with his Noble Friend, and on another point he felt dissatisfied; he could not help admiring how boldly he set out by declaring his intention in rising to answer an Hon. Baronet in an observation he made relative to Switzerland, and how very dexterously he had slided through his speech without saying a single word upon the subject; he had listened with a great deal of anxiety for the explanation, but nothing whatever had transpired. On this subject he could not take upon him to say how far the interference of this country would be prudent in the cause of an oppressed and outraged nation; he had heard that a communication on the subject had taken place; but, if any had, he hoped that it would be made known to the House, and he could also wish to know when. This question had been pressed upon the first night of the session, and now on a question when we are preparing the means of war in so unusually an extensive manner, it seemed as anxiously to be avoided. The question then appeared to be, that at a time when we are called upon for a large establishment, unusual, and differing from the former mode of delivering and conducting those statements, why no grounds had been declared to Parliament, no communications made. It was *prima facie* evident that unexpected occurrences had taken place, and the House was ignorant how far the honour of the country had been committed. He was concerned to find fault with his Noble Friend; but he was happy to acknowledge, that although there may be errors in his department, yet that he was not answerable for all of them. The case was different when he was in office, but he hoped no misconduct had taken place to prevent the communication of any thing essential; and greatly changed must he be indeed, if the honour of the country should be reduced through him. His respect and esteem were built upon too sure a foundation; but he must conjure the House to uphold the spirit of the nation, not to let it sink into a depression, from which, when occasion might call for it, it might be found hard to animate and to raise it; that, as the danger was pressing, the efforts should be great; and as the Hon. and gallant Officer had said, that means of keeping up the honour of the British name should be the principal object in the direction of their measures; that the inquiries of his Right Hon. Friend were necessary and wise; and though the measure did not meet with any disapprobation from him in any degree, except, perhaps, merely to the extent which he might wish to have augmented rather than diminished; yet he must think, that the forbearance of his Majesty's Ministers from any communication of their reasons, was highly disrespectful and indecorous to Parliament.

The Attorney General said, it was most extraordinary that persons of the sentiments which had been professed to-night, and on former occasions, should have accompanied those sentiments with the observations he had heard to-night. A compliment was expressed by the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, to his Majesty's Ministers, for the vote which they proposed now to the House, and yet he censured them for observing a perfect silence and reserve, or rather concealment of the reason they had for proposing such vote; which reason, when given, was that which was perfectly notorious, so that Ministers were censured for being silent on what had been already spoken, reserved on what had been already communicated, and for concealing that which was already notorious; namely, that they proposed this vote on the state of things, as known already to every man in the country. This was certainly very curious; but who

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were they who complained upon this occasion? Not those, who, by their former declarations, had given them to understand they expected the peace establishment to be reduced, but those who agreed in the vote, and thought it came at the present time with peculiar propriety. If Ministers came and proposed 50,000 men, without any thing extraordinary to require it, then some explanation might reasonably be required; but to require explanation of that which was notorious, and to censure those whose measures were approved, was a novelty. At the commencement of the session the House heard a speech from the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, an able and an eloquent speech, representing, in warm language, the dangers of the situation of this country, and the necessity of vigorous measures on our part, and applauding the address then proposed; and yet now Ministers were to be censured. Here the House was assembled on a question in which there was no difference of opinion, and yet there appeared to be much discontent. One would suppose there was something proposed which called forth the real indignation of some Members; and yet what was the end of it? Why, truly, that the measure now before the House was just what they themselves would have proposed, if they had had an opportunity of proposing it; which proves to my mind, said the Learned Gentleman, that if they had an opportunity of proposing it, you would not have heard of their opposition: it is not then to the proposal that they object, but to the man who proposes. It has been stated with great candour to-night, that if Ministers were removed, every thing would go on very well; so that, after that, there was no mystery in Gentlemen appearing to censure Ministers, though, in their consciences, they were bound to applaud their measures. Ministers say, "We do not think it advisable to "commence hostility at this time."—"So do "I," says the Right Hon. Gentleman. Ministers say, "But it is proper that we should "be prepared for the alternative, if hostility "should become unavoidable."—"So do I," says the Right Hon. Gentleman; and yet, by his manner, one would suppose he held a contrary opinion. The Learned Gentleman concluded with expressing a wish that while Gentlemen's votes were for Administration, their manner should not appear to be hostile.

Dr. LAWRENCE expressed his dissent from the sentiments of the Learned Gentleman. It was the mere artifice of an orator to take off the attention of his audience from the question in debate, to individuals who took a part in it. He maintained that Ministers had not laid before the House proper information preparatory to this vote. He censured the practice of voting any thing upon the rumours of newspapers; they were not authentic sources of information fit for the proceedings of the House: they ought to vote nothing but on official information. He did not object to the vote, but he feared it might be found too small. He then took a view of political events upon the continent; hinted that France was increasing her strength with the most alarming vigilance, while we had been neglecting ours, &c. for which he disapproved of the conduct of Ministers; and expatiated on the above topics at considerable length.—All the resolutions were read and agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 8TH DECEMBER 1802.

Peace Establishment.—On the motion of the Secretary at War, the House resolved itself, pursuant to the order of the day, into a Committee of Supply, and there were referred to the said Committee the army estimates laid before the House on the 1st December, and the ordnance estimates for Great Britain, presented the 3d December.

The SECRETARY at WAR.—"I rise, Sir, to propose the establishment of the army for the ensuing year; and before I enter into the particulars of the statement, as to the extent, the nature, and the distribution of the force proposed to be kept up, I beg leave to offer a very short general view of the motives and circumstances which induced his Majesty's Ministers to require such a force. The estimates now on the table exceed in number and expense any thing that this country has known in any former period of peace, and upon this different opinions have arisen. The main question for the decision of the House is, whether the circumstances of the present times be such as to render such a force as is now proposed necessary; and if this should be decided in the affirmative, it will then remain to determine whether the division and description of the force be the most eligible, and whether its distribution be such as is best accommodated to the exigencies of the public service. That at the present time a larger force is necessary for the security of Great Britain than at former periods of peace, it is hardly necessary for me to waste time in attempting to prove. The circumstances of Europe at large, and the relative situation of this country, are too obvious to escape the observation of any thinking man. The overgrown power of France, arrived to a magnitude beyond that which the ambition of Louis XIV. projected; the menacing attitude of that country, the ambition and enterprise of its present government, have not only brought these feelings home to every British spirit, but have also impressed them deeply on every rational mind in Europe. The state of the question has already been distinctly laid down, as to the conduct we are to pursue under these circumstances; to maintain the present peace as long as we can with honour; to fulfil the conditions of it, as far as depends on us, with exactness and good faith; to abstain

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m all irritating language, but to resist all
itile aggression. It is our duty to be well
pared, and our preparations should be
ong, as well on land as at sea. Our navy
ne, however great, is not sufficient to guard
whole extent of our possessions, widely as
y are spread through every quarter of the
be. It will be sufficient to remind the Com-
ttee, that France is now in possession of the
therlands, of Holland, of the course of the
use and the Lower Rhine, and the fortresses
the banks of these rivers. This is the first
e that Parliament has been called upon to
e a peace establishment under such circum-
nces, and therefore I was much surprised
en I heard a Gentleman (Mr. Fox) maintain,
t there was no reason why a larger esta-
hment than usual in former periods of peace
uld be maintained in Great Britain; and
f there were reasons why even a smaller
ce would suffice every where but in the
st Indies, for there even he did not think
increase unnecessary. Let the Hon. Gen-
man consider, that in the last peace Holland
s friendly to us; the Netherlands were un-
the dominion of Austria; and the course
the Rhine, down from Alsace, was in the
ds of friendly powers. Another circum-
nce material for consideration, is the actual
litary state of our neighbour, and his per-
nent establishment, of which I will take a
rt view, not with a design to excite any
a of keeping up a proportionate establish-
nt here, but merely to shew that there is a
ssity for making some increase, if we wish
provide for our own security.

e French military establishment for
he present year consists of 84 regi-
ments of cavalry, consisting each of *Men.*
four squadrons, at 150 men a squa-
dron - - - - - - - 46,350
Demi-brigades of the line, and 130
of light infantry - - - - - 341,000
Demi-brigades of veterans for gar-
risons - - - - - - 13,160
tillery - - - - - - 26,600

aking a total regular established
force of - - - - - - 427,110
d if to these are added 27 legions of
gendarmerie, and other persons in
arms, and liable to be called out,
the French government has at com-
mand - - - - - - 929,900

ch being the geographical position, and such
e military power of France, no man can deny
e necessity of an increased establishment on
r part. I have been long adverse to the
rsimonious system of peace establishments.
m satisfied, that though no considerable evil
s befallen this country in consequence of the
allness of its armed force in times of peace,
uch mischief might have befallen, and our
fety might have been much endangered, if the
terprise of our rivals had been proportioned
the hatred by which they now shew themselves actuated towards us. No hope can be entertained of enjoying repose without a just sense of national security; nor has any nation a right to expect that it will remain unmolested, unless it possesses such means of defence as render it dangerous for any rival power to insult its honour or to invade its rights. Without these means of defence no treaty is secure; but with such means, any treaty whatsoever may remain inviolate for a number of years. The maintenance of standing armies is generally censured as being attended with certain expense, and being eventually dangerous to the constitution; and unquestionably the smallest standing army is so, unless constitutional, authorized, and established. But we know very well that ever since the Revolution, and in the best administered times of our constitution, such armies have been admitted and maintained. It has been said by an ancient writer, that good laws must be maintained by good armies, and good armies by good discipline. In these times it is impossible that laws or constitutions can be maintained without a force capable of protecting and securing our independence by sea and by land. I do not see how any objection can be made to the increase now proposed, and I go on this ground merely, the absolute necessity of such an augmentation; for if this augmentation be not necessary, then there is no need of any augmentation at all. But if it was deemed necessary in times of no danger to keep up 24,000, 30,000, and 40,000 men, surely it will not be deemed unnecessary, unadvisable, or unconstitutional, in these times of danger and difficulty, to maintain a greater number. It has been said, that armies cannot be subsisted in times of actual war, but by husbanding the means of their support, and carrying the wealth and credit of the country to the highest. I am ready to allow that the credit of the country ought to be maintained, and its wealth augmented as much as possible. If we omit to provide a military force proportioned to the urgency of occasions, our honour is compromised, and we are left exposed to danger without a resource. For when, according to the best information that can be collected from the most authentic sources, 100,000 men are the number sufficient for the security of the country, and fewer are deemed insufficient, the Hon. Gentleman cannot mean that the maintenance of that number is impolitic. Wealth, in my opinion, however it may be increased, cannot be deemed secure without a respectable military force. Money has, it is true, been called the sinew of war; but that sinew cannot preserve its tone, without a body, and the body here is an army ready to be resorted to without loss of time. I have to mention Ceylon and Trinidad, newly added to our dominions, require an increase proportioned to their extent and importance, an absolute increase without any relative consideration of times or circumstances. It is meant to keep up 3 regiments of horse guards, and 27 of

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dragoon guards and dragoons, on the same regulation as in the last peace; the 27th regiment to be kept up, because the 5th has been discharged. The general division is to be 8 troops in a regiment, each troop to consist of 60 rank and file; of these, 10 to be dismounted. The dismounted men will be disciplined like the others, while they afford a saving to the public of 50,000*l.* a year; and at the same time can occasion no material delay, even in case of urgency, as horses are much more easily procured than men. The foot guards, as usual, to consist of 3 regiments, 1 of 3 battalions, and the other 2 of 2 battalions each: 75 men to a company, as the other regiments. The total of cavalry 17,250, total of foot guards 6060; 102 battalions of foot, consisting of the numbered regiments up to the 93d, with 2 battalions of the Royals, the 2d battalion of the 52d, a very fine corps, 5 battalions of the 60th, and 3 battalions of the 94th, at 33 rank and file a company, with the exception of those on India service, which were to have 75 men in a company, for the purpose of keeping up the numbers in that distant station. Six West India regiments, 6 of the 12 kept up last year having been reduced. These troops, consisting of men of colour, are found useful for many services in the West Indies, which Europeans cannot perform, and, when mixed with Europeans, form a very respectable force in the field: the 6 regiments consist of 4158 men. To these are to be added the foreign corps, consisting of the King's German regiment, Stuart's regiment, which distinguished itself so much in Egypt; 3 Swiss regiments, those of Meuron, Rohan, and Watteville; making all together 3532 men. The staff corps, consisting of 4 companies, and the corps of waggoners, which had been found extremely useful. The total of this force, including the regiments serving in India, and counting officers, is 128,909. I now come to the distribution. Sixty thousand rank and file, including 15,000 cavalry, are to serve as guards and garrisons in Great Britain and Ireland. A body of 30,000 men for the plantations, and the remainder of the force to be employed in India. I will now state, particularly, the force in India, which consists of 3 regiments of dragoons, and 14 British regiments of foot, consisting of 16,100 men, and the regiment of Meuron, consisting of 1150 men. The troops now in India cannot come home till late, and it is, therefore, difficult to give a precise statement respecting them. There are now 17 battalions there, and it is intended that 14 shall be kept there. The total expense of guards and garrisons, and the plantation estimate, including India, will be about 4,015,000*l.* (Here Mr. Fox asked across the table, whether the garrison battalions were included in this calculation? He believed that with them the whole force would be above 130,000 men.) The Hon. Gentleman is right. I did omit the garrison battalions, consisting of 5000 men. It has been found expedient to form seven new garrison battalions on a better foundation; they are on a plan likely to prove more efficacious than the former, which rendered this force by no means adequate in service to the expense with which it bore upon the country. It has been thought expedient to abolish the name of invalids, to which contemptuous ideas were attached, as if of a man walking on a crutch, and unable to manage a musket or a bayonet. It is intended that they shall be effective men, and they are to have a board of officers, by whom redress of all complaints is to be made. The difference of expense between these and the invalids is about 5000*l.* the difference between them and troops of the line is between 35 and 40,000*l.* The clothing for these corps is this year to be issued out of the King's stores, and consequently there are to be no charges incurred this year for clothing them. These battalions are able to occupy garrisons, and to do service in several posts which would otherwise be maintained by regiments of the line, consequently these regiments will be at liberty for other services. I am now to notice to the Committee the mode by which this plan is more economical than keeping up a smaller proportion of officers. First, the battalions and squadrons are really capable of service, without waiting to recruit, and admit of increase, without breaking the hearts of officers in the beginning of a war, by raising new corps, and bringing men into the field who had seen no service. The addition of 1 lieutenant and 25 men to each company in the cavalry, gives an addition of 5000 in the infantry; 1 lieutenant and 25 men for each company gives an increase of 250 rank and file in each battalion, and a total addition of 25,000 rank and file, with 1030 lieutenants. The whole addition thus made is 30,000 men, with the expense of only a few additional officers. By the addition of one company to each regiment of cavalry, and two to each regiment of infantry, there is a farther increase of 20,000 men. I shall forbear to enter further into the particulars of the organization, as every Gentleman is in possession of the abstract; but I am ready to answer any question that may be put to me. All the services in the army department will amount to 5,270,000*l.* and all those annexed expenses not in the paper, including the half-pay to reduced officers, and the out-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham (the expense of the garrison battalions I cannot yet exactly tell), will not exceed the similar expenses in 1801. The expense of the military column is 7000*l.*; and it is for the pleasure of Parliament to grant a sum for the support of the military. The total of the military expense will be about 5,500,000*l.* This expense is certainly great, but it is less than that of last year by 2,270,000*l.* and less than that of the last year of the war by 10,130,000*l.* A difficulty arose, from the army proposed to be kept up last year, but to which, in fact, we

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could never arrive. There is an increase of 8525 men this year, and an additional expense of 65,000*l.*: there has been, at the same time, a saving in several items. The expense of barracks is less by 300,000*l.*; and in the half-pay and other items there has been a proportionate diminution. In mentioning the increase of force since last year, I must notice a charge made on his Majesty's Ministers of having hastily, improvidently, and unwisely reduced the armed force of the country, when, as those persons themselves admitted, the increase now demanded was not too considerable. I will now proceed to shew that these charges were without foundation. On the 1st October 1801, there were under arms 250,000 men of all descriptions; of these, 123,343 men of all descriptions have been reduced. 1st, The cavalry amounted at that time to 25,000 men; a force not thought necessary, and for that reason, as well as because it was the most expensive, the reduction commenced with it, and 10,493 men were reduced. The militia of Great Britain and Ireland were discharged to the amount of 71,000 men. It is understood that the militia is always to be called out at the commencement of a war, and discharged on the conclusion of peace; but the fencible regiments come more strictly under this description, and were therefore immediately disbanded, to the number of 20,679 men. The invalids, to the number of 5172, were reduced, because it had been resolved to form the out-pensioners into a more effectual force. The foreign corps were reduced to the number of 8945 men; a force which we were glad to spare, and which, when any reduction was necessary, we thought it most politic to reduce; for when British troops were disbanded, who would think of maintaining foreigners, unless they were in situations where we could not dismiss them? All other descriptions of men dismissed amounted to 7025 men, which number alone constitutes the strict and regular difference between the British infantry, then and now. And if it be considered, that of these 7000, some had enlisted to serve for a limited time, and though they were not strictly entitled to their discharge, yet as the act of Parliament is so drawn as to give them reason to think they were entitled to it, and many of them were induced to enlist, by having it so explained; it seemed inconsistent with that good faith which the Government should always maintain with the people, to refuse to discharge them; but I can assure the Gentlemen who brought those charges, that no exertion was omitted to induce them to enlist regularly in other corps, and so many did enlist, that 19 or 20 battalions were filled up, while the reduction did not take away more than 6 or 7. Of these 7000, many were discharged from the hospitals, and many were discharged for infirmities, on their return from long foreign service. This is the only foundation on which the charge of improvident reduction rests. But look at the force kept up, and the picture now afforded by the British army. This army was never more respectable, never in better subordination, never in better order than now; it was never composed of more able and efficient men, never actuated by a nobler military spirit, with a number of able, experienced, and brave general officers, many of them in the flower of their age, uniting the vigour and enterprise of youth with the temper and wisdom of more advanced years; regulated by a Prince possessed of an uncommon understanding in military affairs, indefatigable in his attention to business, and eminently just in discharging the duties of his office. For this respectable army, and the facility of augmenting its military force, the country is partly indebted to the Hon. Gentleman on the other side, who is entitled to the praise of having given us the command of such a force, with the facility of making an addition of 30,000 men; besides an easy resource in the militia of Ireland of 20,000 men more, exclusive of the yeomanry and volunteer corps, who have agreed to continue their services. Of these last, 8000 rank and file have been already enrolled in Great Britain, chiefly cavalry. In Ireland the enrolment has been above double that number, amounting to 10,000 cavalry, and a still greater number of infantry. Putting all together, we have a total force of 200,000 men, exclusive of the army in India; a force of such a magnitude, and of such a description, as to present no very alluring prospect to any foreign power that may be disposed to attack us. I conclude, Sir, with moving the first resolution, That 66,574 men be voted for guards and garrisons in Ireland, from the 1st of Dec. 1802, to the 1st Dec. 1803."

Mr. Banks.—"Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who has just spoken, has said nothing which does not to me appear, if properly considered, to have the weight of a strong reason against that increase of our military establishments, which his estimates propose. It is *because France is now more formidable* than at any former æra in her history; because her rivalry against this country is now more than ever inflamed by inordinate ambition, and exasperated by deep resentments; because the arms of her political influence are, every where on the continent, multiplied an hundred fold; *because she menaces this country* from many more points than before the revolution; because the very spirit of the whole nation breathes only war and conquest; because its leader reigns over his own people, only by exciting them to trample all others under their feet: it is *expressly for these reasons* that I should wish anxiously to spare any unseasonable waste of the national resources, and lavish on the apparatus of war nothing but what is indispensably requisite to render that apparatus fully efficient for the country's safety. The Right Hon. Gentleman tells us, that the military establish-

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ment of France consists, at this moment, of very little less than 500,000 men. But, has it not been always the policy of France to maintain an army out of all proportion greater than any that we could oppose to it, if it had been even the opinion of our ancestors, that, to be secure against French invasion, they must have something like an equality of military force at all times ready to defeat it? The military peace establishment of France, under its monarchs of the House of Bourbon, was not less disproportionately greater, Sir, than that which it has been during these two last centuries usual for the English government to maintain, than would be the French standing army under the First Consul, in comparison with such a military peace establishment for Great Britain as it was, before the war, the policy of our government to keep on foot. But if we must have a great military establishment during peace, are there no means of answering all the uses which can be proposed in it without withdrawing 110,000 men so entirely from all the services of productive labour? It has been usual in the military establishment of Prussia, and others on the continent, to *dismiss the soldiers to the labours of husbandry* for the greater part of the year; and might not such an arrangement, in our present circumstances, be advantageously adopted in Britain? or, is there no possibility of modifying the volunteer, the fencibles, or the militia service, in such a manner as to answer any use of a great standing army, without exhausting by such an expense, and by devoting to idleness, so large a proportion of those who might be the most beneficially employed in that industry which sustains the whole?"

Sir W. W. Wynne complained, that Ministers had made the reductions in the army with inconsiderate haste; had disbanded corps formed out of the Irish fencibles, which had no right to claim their dismission on account of any thing in the conditions on which they were enlisted; had subjected the officers of the disbanded corps to undue inconveniences; and had, in general, acted in such a manner as to evince, *that they were unfit to be trusted with the force of which they now made a demand.*

Earl Temple.—"I do not now rise, Sir, to move the Committee in opposition to the estimates. So far as any thing like energy can be, by the endeavours of me and my friends, communicated to the *feeble* measures and *spiritless* counsels of the present Administration, I shall, for the sake of my country, rejoice to support them; and if it were possible to conceive, that by their hands this country can, in the present crisis of its fate, be saved; if I were not convinced that Buonaparté has no other object so much at heart as the entire subjugation of this empire; and that by every measure, whether of concession, of connivance, or even of remonstrance, which those now at the helm of our affairs may be pleased to t... in regard to him, the consummation of ... dearest purpose is, to our confusion, ... sanally advanced; if I could suppose, th... trusting to them such a military force, we ... more than put the military powers of the ... try into hands in which they must be ineffic... and ridiculous, I should have been well ... tent to give them my vote, upon this occa... without thinking it necessary to make a... marks on the conduct of men, whose me... I do not directly oppose. They have af... to talk with a ridicule, of which the co... and pointlessness were alien equally to the ... vivacity and fire of wit, and to the discr... of sound wisdom; they have affected the ... talk of the strangeness and harmlessne... those opposition arguments which lead to ... government votes. But this is an anom... which no common share of weakness, irre... tion, and confusion of head in an admini... tion, could reduce the friends of their cou... Abilities less than theirs were unequal to ... achievement. And to what purpose put ... their hands so powerful a military force? T... be again reduced as soon as it shall have be... voted? The Right Hon. the Secretary at W... would persuade us that no part of the ar... was disbanded, except some battalions, wh... particular engagements to the soldiers, or the... feebleness, wounds, and disease, made it im... possible to keep longer together. But the fa... is, that *one half of the army, both cavalry a... infantry, was dismissed*, dismissed at the ve... time when it should have seemed the most p... proper to lay down any arms which we yet m... tained in our hands; when the ruler of Fra... was making, amid an ill-preserved semblan... of peace, acquisitions more valuable than ... that he had gained by the war. A numbe... battalions were entirely disbanded; in other ... the number of the companies was reduced fro... 12 to 10, or 8, and the number of the m... each company from 100 to 60. This reduc... tion pervaded the whole army, cavalry a... infantry. The more boldly Buonaparté ... on to set at nought the substance of the co... ditions of the peace, the farther he advanc... to menace the actual safety of this country, ... much the more haste did Ministers make ... divest themselves of every means with wh... they might have dared to set bounds to ... ambition. It appeared as if they were impa... tient to put it, as soon as possible, out of the ... power to come to blows, however insulte... and abused. Such was their wise contriv... for keeping the peace. In June, July, Aug... September, down even to a considerably l... date in October, they continued to disc... At last, when the spirit of the country wou... no longer bear with their pusillanimity; whe... they dreaded to meet a Parliament to w... they could not venture to suppose that Eng... honour was not still dear; when they saw th... even a little temporary forbearance from Bu... naparté was not to be conciliated by all the...

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servility of submission; when *they had made England cheap and vile in the eyes of all Europe;* then, at last, they bethought themselves of *plucking up heart,* and making as if they would yet *act the man.* But what an occasion, what a season did they choose! Why, of all things in the world, should the fate of Switzerland be the first to provoke *their mighty minds* to rise into opposition to the fiat of the First Consul? Was Switzerland a country having any near relations, local or political, to this country? Were the Swiss a people who had never before lived under the influence of France? Was there any decisive, conspicuous act of the First Consul, in regard to the Swiss, that evinced an hostility to this country, keener and more formidable than he had before, without scruple, displayed? Had they in their hands means of serving the Swiss more effectively than they could have acted in any previous case of interference to check Buonaparté's ambition? No, no; nothing of all this was the case. But, to shew that they were not utterly without spirit, that they were still not unwilling to take an interest in the affairs of continental Europe, they would choose an occasion beyond all others, absurdly unseasonable, to embroil themselves with a man to whom they had so lately bowed the knee. For this grand purpose, Mr. Moore was dispatched to Constance, and held conferences with the chiefs of the Swiss insurgents, of which God knows whether they may not have tended to mislead some of those unfortunate patriots to their ruin. It is when I see a train of conduct like this, Sir, that, though I vote every supply to Government, I am concerned to think to what hands such supplies are to be committed. Yes, Sir, while I oppose not the measures, I cannot but loudly declare my disapprobation of the men. There is but one man, on whom the wishes and hopes of the nation are fixed: he only is, in the present crisis, equal to save his country. I vote for the establishment proposed in the estimates: I wish that I could with a vote add to his Majesty's service Ministers fit to make a right use of it."

General MAITLAND said, the Hon. Gentleman who immediately followed the Secretary at War, had adverted to the practice of our ancestors, and to the wisdom of their practice. He was very far from denying the constitutional spirit under which they acted; but before we concluded upon that subject, we ought to consider what it was likely our ancestors would have done, had they been placed in our circumstances: he was warranted in saying, that if our ancestors had been surrounded with the circumstances which now surround us, they would have at least made as much preparation to meet any possible event, as we are now making; he said he was judging of what they would do, by looking at what they had done; and he would add, that all which had been said by the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Banks), on the subject of our security being in economy, that economy did not apply to our situation at the present moment. But now he would take a short view of the speech of the Noble Lord who had just sat down, who had said that Ministers had not offered any argument for the establishment which they now proposed. To this he would answer, that arguments were unnecessary; if there were any who really wanted arguments upon the subject, he would begin with them, by asking what they thought of the present situation of Europe, whether that was enough to justify the vote now proposed? He would not now go over the state of all the powers of Europe, but he should just entreat the Committee to look at the present state of France; her power for offence and defence; and that, without any other consideration, although there were many others, would be a sufficient cause for the vote now before the Committee. He desired to look at the temper and condition of the governor and governed of that country. He was confident of this, that the most judicious men in France, as well as the rest of Europe, were convinced that at this moment the leading, ruling passion of the people of France was military enterprise; that the government of that country at present was the government of the sword; and that the person at the head of it was, if not the greatest or the first, the most ambitious general in Europe. Was there not something to be added to this? Our feelings were not hostile to France upon principles of general rivalship; but the rivalship of France towards us arose from the jealousy they felt at contemplating the happiness of this country, and they envied our constitution. With regard to Switzerland, he would only say that he agreed with the Secretary at War, as to the propriety of abstaining from the use of irritating language: but on that subject he would not venture to give a name to his feelings. If ever there was a breach of trust solemnly reposed, and shamefully violated, it was to be found in the conduct of France towards Switzerland; but what lesson did that teach him? that France having proved herself to have the will, we ought to take care that she shall not have the means to offend us. He looked at their preparations for sea and force by land, with great anxiety; although he had great pleasure in reflecting, that we had voted 50,000 seamen, and that 48,000 of them might be ready in a few days, if necessary; but whatever might be done by our navy, and every thing would be done that a navy could do, yet we must also have a considerable army; and under the auspices of its present illustrious Commander in Chief, every thing might be expected that a great army could accomplish. The Noble Lord had declared the incapacity of the present Ministers. Now, if they were to be removed, the question was, who was likely to succeed them?

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The Noble Lord could not think of the Hon. Gentleman below him (Mr. Fox); he could not think of wishing to see at the head of his Majesty's councils a man who had contributed to seal the death-warrant of his country, as the Noble Lord called the treaty of peace, for that Hon. Gentleman had always most decidedly expressed his approbation of the peace. Another Hon. Gentleman on the same bench with him might perhaps suit the disposition of the Noble Lord better (Mr. Windham we presume): he had declared that he should be rather for war than peace; or, if we tried to preserve peace, we should soon be forced into a situation of war, and then we should have to regret that we did not enter into war sooner, a distinction the General looked upon as being without a difference; but such men could not keep peace with France if they were ministers at the present moment, and that he was aware would not be acceptable to the people of this country; so that the Noble Lord and his administration would want that confidence, without which no administration in this free country could be permanent.

General TARLETON expressed his surprise at the opposition language employed by those Gentlemen who yet professed their intention of voting for the proposed establishment; for his part, he rejoiced at the conclusion of the war, because, among other reasons, it gave an evidence of our pacific disposition, and obtained us that character throughout Europe which we did not possess before. He was proud of the resolution which seemed to be implanted in the minds of the people, a resolution which would enable us to meet any attacks that the restless spirit or mad ambition of any enemy should venture to make. However, from the state of Europe, he saw the necessity of a large establishment for this country. France at present had subject to her power no less than 40 millions of people; and according to the French newspapers, two out of every three effective men were now raising as conscripts for the army. For what purpose is this large force to be placed in the hands of a man, certainly of the most transcendent abilities? a man, whom he would not abuse. He would not call him the disciple of Mahomet, for he recollected that the Koran was struck from his hands by a Member of that House (Sir S. Smith); but he must remark, that from the number of means France had to annoy us, it behoved us to be on our guard; for it would be absurd to rely, that such men as Buonaparté, Massena, and Berthier, would give up their favourite pursuit, would become pacific and mild individuals, inclined only to run a race with us in commerce and agriculture. He could place no confidence in that idea, for he believed that Buonaparté's pretensions to the character of a warrior could only be equalled by his rooted antipathy to this country, and we must therefore beware of his purpose and views.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT observed, that however unequal the present Ministers might be considered, he should regret to see them superseded by those Gentlemen who sat on the opposite bench (Mr. Fox's friends), between whom and the opposition on the other bench (Mr. Windham's), he said there was this material distinction, that the former continued throughout the whole course of the last war to throw every possible obstacle in the way of Administration, to propose every measure that could tend to embarrass Government; while the sole object of the latter obviously was, *to serve and to secure the country*. With respect to a Right Hon. Gentleman who had been alluded to in the course of the debate, whom all loyal men must respect, he did not understand that that Right Hon. Gentleman had manifested any desire to return to power. It had been said by an Hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House, that talents were of no use to a minister; certainly they would not, but be rather dangerous, if with them were connected such opinions as had been mentioned, respecting the pacific dispositions of France; opinions calculated to lull this country into a reliance that might be fatal; opinions which favoured more of confidence and attachment to France, than was consistent with a fair attachment to England: *if the object was to serve France, no other language could answer that end so well.*

Mr. WHITBREAD declared his full and complete concurrence in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Banks, that it would be much better policy, with a view to our defence, in case of any dangerous attack, to propose *a smaller establishment*, and to husband our resources. He could not approve the fluctuating judgment of Ministers. The estimates both for the army and navy were now much greater than were originally proposed. Why this change in their plans? He believed that the best safeguard for the country would be a fixed and steady system of policy, incapable of frequent wavering. Ministers should not suffer themselves to be driven from their purpose by the mere assertions or insinuations of a party. Why should the Right Hon. Gentleman raise his demand for the navy from 30,000 to 50,000 men? or why, though in the first instance stating that the army estimates would be necessary only for three months, come down again after a few hours consideration, and state that he thought proper to move the estimates for twelve months? He wished to know from the Right Hon. Gentleman whether he meant this proposition for the permanent peace establishment? and whether, if circumstances should alter, it was his intention to reduce that establishment? He desired to hear in what state

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things stood. Were the people really to enjoy the advantages of peace? The amount of the army of France, he contended, should not be adduced as any model by which we should square the number of our force for defence. If the state of the present French army, however, was to be compared with that kept up in time of peace by the former French governments, and we take into account the vast extension of French territory, it would be found that their number was not such as should excite alarm. If Gentlemen would only apply the common rule of "Do as you would be "done by," to the proceedings of the French government, many of their apprehensions would vanish. What had been our own conduct? Immediately after peace was concluded, the Right Hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) applied himself diligently to the settlement of our finances, and the Noble Earl at the Admiralty has been some time actively engaged in putting our navy in a state of preparation, and in prosecution of his purpose has visited all our dock-yards, giving orders for repairs, and making reforms in almost every department. We are to have so many ships ready for sea on any emergency; yet France feels no alarm at this. We call them only mere measures of precaution. Why ascribe different motives to Buonaparté's visit to Boulogne, where the men are said to work by torchlight, and not unfrequently they are at a stand, if reports were correct, for want of money to pay them? Was that a just ground of alarm? Should it induce an apprehension that Buonaparté meant to break the peace? or should we be disturbed about Dunkirk, a place that, from the experience of the last war, it was manifest was of very little consequence to this country whether that port was fortified or not; quite as little as the importation of hemp into France, which excited so much the jealousy of some Gentlemen? Whatever his wishes might be as to Switzerland, he could not approve of any interference on our part in the affairs of that country; for we could effect nothing material with any force we possessed. There could be but one opinion as to the invasion of that country by the French troops; but he should imitate the Hon. General's (Maitland) promise, to abstain from stating that opinion, and he would do more than the Hon. Gentleman did—he would keep his promise. If, however, it shewed the ambition of Buonaparté, were his predecessors of the Bourbon family not liable to that charge? If there was perfidy in it, were not the Bourbons also guilty of perfidy? The Noble Secretary of State had stated on a former night that a former French government was, at the very time it was concluding a treaty of peace, occupied in framing new plans of hostility. France was not now, in fact, worse in any point of view than in former times, particularly with respect to ambition. Returning to the motion before the Committee, he mentioned, that, as France was not more powerful now than in June last, there was no ground for this high establishment.

The Right Hon. D. Ryder said, that he had no occasion, and therefore felt very little disposition, to reply to any attacks that might have been made upon Mr. Pitt's character; for the experience of nineteen years of an active political and useful life, must ever ensure him the gratitude of his country; neither did he see that it required to be added to the discussion which took place upon the navy estimates, nor could he expect any difference of opinion, as this vote was evidently founded on the same plan as the increase of 50,000 seamen. *If the increase, however, did not take place, he much feared that this country may bid a long adieu to all its greatness.* But it seemed that there were some Gentlemen inclined to think navies useless, armies something worse, and even *all continental alliances of any kind absolutely detrimental*. These alliances were even decried in such a manner as, perhaps, to render the formation of them impossible, or at least extremely difficult. When we behold the subjugation of the Swiss, and the progressive aggrandizement of France, was it proper language to say, "Let us sit still, and suffer France to de- "vour all the rest of Europe, contented at her "forbearance in making us the last whom she is "likely to snap at?" According to the observations of one Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox), we should remain quiet, in hopes the First Consul would in time remit his anger against us, and be satisfied with the punishment we had already suffered; but the same Hon. Gentleman in this afforded us but little consolation; for, in his opinion, we deserved that punishment, and the war ought to have terminated *gloriously to France* and *ingloriously for this country*. Thus after all we saw of this formidable rival, both before and since the termination of the war, we were advised to sit still, like patient plodding merchants, calculating how much more we could sell, and considering whether the ware of Stafford might be able to vie in the market with the manufactures of Sevre. For his part, instead of blaming his Majesty's Ministers for not having prefaced the motion on the navy estimates by any speech, he should have thought it perhaps better if they had not, on this occasion, stated with so much precision the grounds which constituted the necessity of an increase. The thing was of itself so obviously plain, as to require neither arguments nor any statement of facts. The demand was for a military establishment, ready for any emergency that may arise, and not perhaps so much called for by any subsisting differences, but such as would place us in a situation to assist others; and, perhaps, in some not very far distant day, opposing a barrier to the encroachments of our aspiring neighbours. It was true, that heretofore we had always peace establishments comparatively small; but at no former period were we ex-

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totally destitute of all continental alliances and connexions.

Mr. SHERIDAN.—"Sir, being in the situation alluded to by the Right Hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, of not being able to agree precisely with any of those that have preceded me, yet of being, at the same time, unwilling to give a silent vote upon the present occasion, I rise with some sentiments of reluctance. There is one thing, however, in which we all coincide; it is, that the present is a crisis so full of importance, and so perilous, that the House has a right to know the sentiments of all its members.—Sir, one of the circumstances I most regret in this debate is, the references that have been made to the characters and abilities of persons supposed to be fit to fill particular offices.—I feel this as a subject of regret; and feeling so, I am sorry that my Hon. Friend near me made any allusion even to one man, whom *of all men upon earth I most love and respect*, because I do view the crisis to be one of such moment and peril, and because, if ever there was a time in which we should prove to the people of England that we are above all party feelings, that we are above all party distinctions, that we are superior to any petty scramble for places and power, that time is the present. Sir, in speaking upon these topics, I do find a disposition in some Gentlemen to rebuke any man who shall deliver any opinion with respect to the First Consul of France. One Hon. Gentleman who rebuked an Hon. General that spoke before him, declared that he would not give his opinion with respect to the conduct of France to Switzerland; and what does his rebuke amount to? He confesses that upon that subject there can be but one opinion. Why then, Sir, he either adopts the opinion of the Hon. General, or not. If he does adopt it, he gives as strong an opinion against the conduct of France as can possibly be given. If he does not adopt it, why then all we can say is, that there are two opinions. But what, he asks, has Switzerland to do with the question? It has this to do with it—The Hon. General introduced the subject in this way—He contends that a power which is capable of such unprovoked aggression, and such perfidy, is the power that ought to be watched. But the Hon. Gentleman goes on to assert, that we have nothing to do with the case of Switzerland—nothing to do with France—nothing but with her power—nothing but her power? as if that were little. He asks too, Where is the great difference between France under the Bourbons and under her present ruler? Why, Sir, the Hon. General inferred, from the conduct of France, that with her growing power she had a growing disposition to do mischief. But is that power, demands the Hon. Gentleman, greater now than it was last June? Perhaps it is not, Sir. But her mischievous disposition is greater; and if I am asked to bring a proof of the truth of my assertion, I must bring the case of Switzerland. Sir, if I see a purposed contempt of the independence of a nation, if I see a perfidious disregard of the faith of treaties, if I see a power withdraw her assistance, only to return and entrap a country of freemen with greater certainty, why then I say there has been a change, and a great change too, and that such a power we have a right to watch. But, says the Hon. Gentleman, we have no right to make use of invectives against the First Consul of France. I will abstain, if I can—I say if I can, because I feel that even a simple narrative can be construed into invective. With regard to the general question of a disposition to peace or war, I for one declare, that I am as strongly and as sincerely for the preservation of peace as any man, and that I do not consider war as any remedy to the evils complained of. If a war spirit be springing up in this country, if a chivalrous disposition be observable, if a sentiment of indignation be rising upon the subject of the treatment of Switzerland, I for one shall contend that the treatment of Switzerland is *no cause of war*. I would therefore say, preserve peace if possible. Peace if possible; because the effects of war, always calamitous, may be calamitous indeed, buckling, as we should be forced to do, all our sinews and strength to that power in a contest with her upon such grounds. I repeat, therefore, peace if possible; but I add, *resistance, prompt, resolute, determined resistance to the first aggression, be the consequences what they may.* Influenced by these sentiments, I shall vote cordially and cheerfully for this large peace establishment; and it is because I shall vote for it that I think myself bound to state my reasons. Sir, some Gentlemen seem to consider what they advance as so many axioms too clear to need explanation, or to require defence. But when I vote so large an establishment, I think myself not at liberty to bind such a burden upon my constituents, without stating the grounds upon which I act, and the principles by which I am prompted. Sir, I have listened with all the attention I am master of, to the different arguments that have been advanced in the present debate. One Hon. Gentleman, who spoke second, appears to be a decided enemy to a great establishment; and the reasons he gave for his opposition, I confess, perfectly astonished me. He says, if Ministers had openly said to him that danger existed, he would in one have voted for the force proposed. Does he doubt the danger? He complains that his Majesty's Ministers do not state it precisely. But does he pretend that he does not see and feel it? Can any one look at the map of Europe, and be blind to it? Can any one have a heart to resist apprehended injury, and say that we ought not to be prepared? But he asks, Why raise only 110,000 men? You can never equal the military power of France, and as you cannot, why stop at 110,000? Why

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not raise 120, 130, or 140,000? If this argument be worth any thing, it applies equally to our raising only 1000. Why, if we can never be equal to France, raise a man? Another Gentleman, who spoke last, has alluded to alliances, and I agree perfectly with him in what he advanced against making any pledges. He has alluded to the fate of the pledges made in the War of the Succession, in the war of 1741; but if he meant to be impartial, he need not have gone back so far—he need not have travelled beyond the last war—he might have mentioned the pledges then given—he might have recollected the pledge of never giving up the Netherlands—he might have recalled to our minds the pledge of obtaining indemnity for the past, and security for the future—he might have dwelt upon the pledge of exhausting the last drop of our blood in the contest for religion, order, and civilized society—the *toto certatum corpore regni*—he might have reminded us of all these pledges made, and of all of them having been abandoned. He confesses his warmth of friendship for the late Minister, and he certainly never shewed it more than in stopping so short with his historical narrative of pledges. The next excellent reasoning of the Hon. Gentleman who spoke second, against the proposed vote, is, that the first year of war there will be an immense army drawn upon the opposite coast, and therefore now it is not necessary to be prepared. When the army is upon your shores, when the trumpet of the enemy sounds at your gates, then it is time to be prepared. Appearance of security, he contends, gives, often, the effect of security. If we have large armies, France will think we raise them through fear; if we do not have them, she will think that we feel ourselves perfectly secure. I have heard instances, Sir, where mounting wooden guns upon a fort has produced the same security as if there had been real ones. But unluckily in this instance for us, by our constitutional form of proceeding, our whole force must be known: we cannot pass upon an enemy wooden guns, and an army at Brentford. If we vote no force, an enemy will know we have none. But have no arms, throw away your guns, is the advice of the Hon. Gent. Sir, when every house in my neighbourhood has been attacked and robbed by a gang of ruffians, how my having no arms is to save me from a visit from them, I must leave the Hon. Gentleman to explain. His next argument is, that it is unreasonable in us to believe that Buonaparté wishes to be at war with us; for he thinks the French have nothing to gain by invasion. Nothing to gain? What else have they to lose but that of which it has been said they have so much to spare? and what have they not to gain? Sir, I cannot but think this as unbecoming a sentiment as ever was uttered. But it is unreasonable to think that the French wish to meddle with us. Why, I protest I cannot explain. If, as has been said, they have felt our arms, they who have been every where else successful, cannot but view the only power whose arms they have felt, with feelings of warm resentment, and with sentiments of mortified pride. But look at the map of Europe; there, where a great man, who, however, was always wrong on this subject, said, he looked for France, and found nothing but a chasm. Look to that map now, and see nothing but France. It is in our power to measure her territory, to reckon her population; but it is scarcely within the grasp of any man's mind to measure the ambition of Buonaparté. Why, when all Europe bows down before him—why, when he has subdued the whole continent, he should feel such great respect for us, I am at a loss to discover. If then it be true, as I have stated, that his ambition is of that immeasurable nature, there are abundant and obvious reasons why it must be progressive—reasons much stronger than any that could have been used under the power of the Bourbons. They were ambitious, but it was not so necessary for them to feed their subjects with the spoils and plunder of war; they had the attachment of a long-established family applied to them; they had the effect and advantage of hereditary succession. But I see in the very situation and composition of the power of Buonaparté a physical necessity for him to go on in this barter with his subjects, and to promise to make them the *masters of the world, if they will consent to be his slaves.* I see then, I repeat, this strong reason for his pursuing this system of policy. If that be the case, must not his most anxious looks be directed to Great Britain? Every thing else is petty and contemptible compared with it. Russia, if not in his power, is at least in his influence—Prussia is at his beck—Italy is his vassal—Holland is in his grasp—Spain at his nod—Turkey in his toils—Portugal at his foot; when I see this, can I hesitate in stating my feelings, still less can I hesitate in giving a vote that shall put us upon our guard against the machinations and workings of such an ambition? But it has been said that it is possible he may mean nothing more than rivalry in commerce. Happy, Sir, shall I be if such an idea enter into his head at all, much more if it form part of his plans. But I confess I cannot see that it does. I mark him taking positions calculated to destroy our commerce, but I do not find him doing any thing for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. I see him anxious to take possession of Louisiana, and to use the ports of St. Domingo to carry our West India and Jamaica trade. I can conceive a possible case, in which such positions might be taken as to force us to surrender our commerce without a stroke. An ignorant observer may see two armies, and may say there is no war, because there is no battle; yet one of them may make such movements as to compel the other to surrender without striking a blow. Of the commercial talents of Buonaparté I can be supposed to know but little; but bred in camps,

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it cannot be imagined that his commercial knowledge can be very great; and, indeed, if I am rightly informed, he is proceeding in the old plan of heavy duties and prohibitions. But he would go a shorter way to work with us. The old country has credit, and capital, and commercial enterprise; and he may think, if he can subjugate us, that he can carry them off to France like so many busts and marbles. But he would find himself mistaken; that credit would wither under the gripe of power; that capital would sink into the earth, if trodden upon by the foot of a despot; that commercial enterprise would, I believe, lose all its vigour in the presence of an arbitrary government. No, Sir, instead of putting his nation apprentice to commerce, he has other ideas in his head. My humble apprehension is, that, though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about *cashiering the King of Etruria*; yet that the whole text is occupied with the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning—this is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet; to the Goddess of Battles, or to the Goddess of Reason. But, Sir, the only consolation is, that he is a great philosopher and philanthropist. I believe this hyper-philanthropy has done more harm than ever it did good. He has discovered that we all belong to the *western family*. Sir, I confess I feel a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race.—*To this family party I do not wish to belong.* He may invite persons if he please, to dinner, and, like Lord Peter, say, that this tough crust is excellent mutton. He may toss a sceptre to the King of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; he may have thought at first his Cisalpine republic a fine growing child, and may have found it a ricketty bantling; but I feel contempt for all this mockery. Let us, Sir, abstain from invective, only let us speak the truth. Why, Sir, what I have said, is nothing but the truth. Let us be *visiting acquaintance*, but I do implore him not to consider us as one of the family. Perhaps, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to state any more reasons for voting for this large peace establishment. All I desire is, not to have it understood that in stating my fears I speak from a well-informed judgment. On that account it is that I say, Do not go to war; on that account it is that I state my apprehensions as rational grounds for great vigilance, and for strong preparation. Sir, there are two other points pressed by several Gentlemen, to which I beg leave to refer: I mean the fitness of the persons in power, and the spirit of the people. The power of the country consists in its army, its navy, and its finance, in the talent and integrity of its Ministers, and, above all, in the spirit of the people. Upon this second branch of the question, though I have said some things which may be considered as grateful to that party which may be denominated the war party, yet I fear I shall be compelled to state by and by some circumstances that may not be quite so agreeable to them. It is a matter of no importance to the House perhaps to know why I was absent on the first two days of the session, I was anxious to hear the part which men would take, and I do confess I never felt so much disgust at any circumstance as to find on the first day of the session, instead of an unanimous vote for vigilance and preparation, a call from some to give us back our places. The Noble Lord's friends may be divided into two classes—those who call for a change of Ministers, and for war. And here I must say, that I thank them for their frankness in stating what they have done, because their frankness is an antidote to the fury of their counsels. The Noble Lord says, We don't want to go to war; we only wish to have other persons in power; the Noble Lord deals with the ingenuousness of youth, as I say; with the inexperience of youth, according to others. But what should we get by this change? Would those persons he recommends have acted differently from the present Ministers? Would they have gone to war for any of the events that have occurred since the peace?—for the annexing of Piedmont to France?—for the Cisalpine republic?—for the invasion of Switzerland?—No, for none of these. They would have done as Ministers have done, but more vigorously—they would have shewn more grumbling patience—they would have made wry faces—they would not have stood with their hands before them—no, but with their arms a-kimbo. What would they have got by this? Would they have obtained any thing more by all this grudging and wincing? Would such a mode of conduct have become the character and dignity of the country? Sir, it is not to be inferred, because the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite me did none of these things, that he felt no indignation. I learn from his Majesty's speech, every word of which I approve, that his Ministers are determined not to be shut out of the continent. I say, Sir, I approve of the speech, because it satisfied me that a sense of wrong, and a resentment of injury, may live under moderate language. But these Ministers, it seems, are the incapable Gentlemen. Will Gentlemen shew us any act of base submission on their part? If they can; if they prove that they did any act with respect to Switzerland, and meanly retracted it afterwards, I will be the first to inveigh against them. But, these Gentlemen shew us no such acts; they act as if they considered Ministers, now the drudgery of signing the peace is done, as *functi officiis*, and as if they ought to go out; as if one was a mere goose-quill, and the other a stick of sealing-wax, which are done with, and ought to be thrown under the table. We

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mow that Touchstone says, as a good ground f quarrel, "That he don't like the cut of a certain courtier's beard."

"Non amo te, Sabide, nec possum dicere quare;
"Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te!—"

The English parody may be more applicable to hese Gentlemen:

"I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
"The reason why I cannot tell;
"But this I'm sure, I know full well,
"I do not like thee, Dr. Fell"

t is fair, Sir, to say, that this English parody, o unfavourable to *the Doctor*, proceeds from he mouth of a fair lady, who has privileges to ike and dislike, which would ill become a Member of this House. Sir, I contend that o solid reason has been offered to be urged gainst these Ministers. How, I would ask, as the Right Hon. Gentleman forfeited the onfidence of the people? And why are we old that there is but one man alone that can ave the country? But it seems, and I must rankly confess that I was utterly astonished when I heard such an assertion made use of, hat his Majesty's Ministers assumed the reins f government at a most inviting period. Sir, I defy any man to shew me a period of greater lifficulty. The Right Hon. Gentleman who, n the chair of this House, had so amply deserved and secured the respect of every Member in it, could not but have quitted it with eelings of regret. But the expeditions to the Baltic and to Egypt were prepared—true: yet was success certain? Was it not the act of chance, and the great skill shewn by the Noble Admiral (Nelson), that brought the expedition o the Baltic to a favourable issue? Did the late Ministers conceal their fears with respect o the expedition to Egypt? That it was most glorious in its event, and that the country ought to bind the brows of the meanest soldier engaged in it with laurels, I am ready to allow. But it cannot be denied that after the expedition had been off the coast of Italy, and was n Marmorice Bay, orders were sent to stop he expedition altogether. With respect o the negotiations for peace, their predecessors knew that the present Ministers would have to deal with men who, it might be supposed, would be glad of an occasion to retort he insolence of Lord Grenville's letter. If he enemy had parodied that letter as their only answer to us, if they had said, We will wait for experience and the evidence of facts with respect to the new Ministry; if they had said, Restore that old Whig constitution, which the former Ministers have so impaired—we might have thought such conduct trifling, and beneath them; but we could not have questioned its fairness. Sir, though his Majesty's Ministers must have been prepared to expect humiliation; yet they made peace, I will venture to say, on terms comparatively more advantageous to the country than those that were offered at Lisle. Of these Ministers, Sir, I know also that they have not renewed any of their predecessors' oppressive acts—But this, some Gentlemen will contend, is a proof of their weakness and unfitness. Never too, Sir, did the Treasury interfere so little in the general election. This again may be advanced by some as an instance of their incapacity. Nay, the North was left almost to a Member of the late Administration. When, therefore, Gentlemen talk in future of Mr. Pitt's being the fittest person to save the country, they ought to add also the name of Mr. Dundas. But what did these Gentlemen expect from the present Chancellor of the Exchequer? We treated him, when in the chair of this House, with the respect he merited. He has, I believe, Sir, over our present worthy Speaker, the advantage in attitude; but did they expect that when he was Minister he was to stand up and call Europe to order? Was he to send Mr. Coleman, the Sergeant at Arms, to the Baltic, and order the Northern Powers to the bar of the House? Was he to see the powers of Germany scrambling like Members over the benches, and say, Gentlemen must take their places? Was he expected to cast his eye to Italy, and exclaim, that strangers must withdraw? Was he to stand across the Rhine, and say, The Germans to the right, and the French to the left? If he could have done all these things, I for one should always vote, that the Speaker of the House should be appointed the Minister of the country. But, the Right Hon. Gentleman has done all that a reasonable man could expect him to do. Sir, I confess I wish to know what Mr. Pitt himself thinks. I should be glad to hear what his sentiments are of the call made for him, and loudly made too in another place by a vigorous statesman. I well remember, Sir, and so do we all, the character he gave of the present Administration. The justice of his character of the First Lord of the Admiralty no man can question. Of the accuracy of his judgment with respect to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, it does not become us to entertain a doubt. The Noble Secretary of State was better qualified for the situation than any man in the country, with an exception made, I believe, in favour of my Hon. Friend near me (Mr. Fox). Does Mr. Pitt mean to retract that character? I cannot suppose he does. I must believe that he left in his judgment the best Administration that could be left. I have heard some Gentlemen attach to the present Ministry the appellation of *a mawkish mixture*; but if I were to compare them to any thing, I should say, that Mr. Pitt and the Ex-Secretary of War acted as men fond of wine (which I certainly do not mean to impute to them as a fault), and drinking a bottle of Tokay. Though you may take what appears to be the best, and have only what seems to be the lees, yet if you only pour a bottle of good white wine upon them, you have as good a bottle of Tokay as ever. Sir, I think the mixture as good and as wholesome to the constitution as it could have been. I am

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sure I hear with joy that it is not on account of ill health that the Right Hon. Gentleman to whom I have alluded is absent. I repeat, Sir, when I see so many persons anxious about that Gentleman, I am glad to hear that his health is re-established. But how, I would ask, can we, with any consistency, turn out the man who made the peace, to bring in the person who avowed his approbation of it? Sir, it is since that peace was made that Gentlemen have voted a statue to Mr. Pitt; but whenever they erect that statue, let them cover it with laurels so as not to shew its nose; yet still a piece of the olive must go with it, for he approved and supported the peace. Sir, I cannot persuade myself to think he is playing a double game, or that he has retracted the opinion he has delivered in this House; but every thing should stand plain, every thing should be explicit. I have heard of one person playing two different games of chess for two different persons at the same time, but I never heard of a person playing one of his hands against the other. I suspect, therefore, there has been some mistake in the telegraphic communication—that the political Philidor's game has been misunderstood—that his friends have displaced a knight and a castle, when they should only have taken two pawns—that they have made an attempt to checkmate the king, when they had no instructions for doing it. Sir, I cannot forget the period when the august personage of the Sovereign was held up as the only man who was against extending privileges to the Catholics of Ireland; and I cannot, therefore, brook the idea of calling that Right Hon. Gentleman back to power, and forcing him upon the Crown. I expected when I came into this House to hear much said against Buonaparté, but I had not the slightest expectation of hearing any thing against the prerogative of the Crown. Mr. Pitt the only man to save the country! No single man can save a country. If a nation depends only upon one man, it cannot, and, I will add, it does not deserve to be saved: it can only be done by the Parliament and the people. Sir, I say, therefore, I cannot believe that there is a back and a fore door to this Egerian grotto. We have all heard, I dare say, of a classical exhibition in this town, the Invisible Girl. Here, however, I hope we shall have no whispering backwards and forwards, no speaking through tubes, no invisible agency. I hope too, that we shall have it declared, as it ought to be, that these opinions, which have been rumoured about, are unfounded. I shall now address a few words to those Gentlemen who would hurry us into war; and here, Sir, I must say, that, of all persons living, the Ex-Secretary of War is the last man who can consistently call out for war. He despised the warning voice of my Hon. Friend—he turned a deaf ear to his predictions, that we should only consolidate and strengthen the power of France. His answers always were as if he should despise the power of France, could he but see Jacobinism destroyed.—Is it not destroyed?

"Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear;
"The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger—
"Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
"Shall never tremble."

The Right Hon. Gentleman's wishes are gratified; Jacobinism is killed and gone, and by whom? By him who can no longer be called the child and champion of Jacobinism; by Buonaparté. I remember to have heard Jacobinism compared to Antæus, who gained strength at every throw; but Buonaparté proceeded like Hercules; he gave it a true fraternal hug, and strangled it. Did the French annex Piedmont? did they enter Switzerland with the Rights of Man? did they talk of those rights when Buonaparté told the people of Italy they were a set of dolts and drivellers, and unfit to govern themselves? But now the Right Hon. Gentleman seems in a greater fright than ever. He seems as if he had rather have the old ghost back again. Most whimsically he wants to unite all parties against France—

"Black spirits and white,
"Blue spirits and gray,"

all are welcome to him. The moderate Jacobins he takes to his bosom; they were only misled by their feelings. The violent Jacobins he appeals to as men of proud spirits. He wishes to sing *Ca Ira* to them, and to lead them all. But on what principle would they carry on the war? If they were able to curtail the power of Buonaparté, would not their views increase, and would they ever stop without making an example of the regicide republic? If they will speak out fairly, will they not confess this? Will the country, then, for such a purpose consent to turn out the present Ministers? Sir, upon the spirit of the country I wish to say a few words. I have heard from one Noble Lord, with regret, what I hope was but a slip, that the spirit of the country is worn out. I think the Noble Lord must retract that idea. Sir, I certainly looked to the rejoicings at the peace as an unmanly and irrational exultation. Do I rebuke the people for rejoicing at the blessings of peace? No, Sir, but for rejoicing without asking about the terms. Did they rejoice that we had gained Trinidad and Ceylon? Sir, one of the disadvantages attending the present Administration is, that they will not turn, when they are attacked by the last Administration. They are hampered by the votes they gave for the war. But from the period of the allegation that it was a war for the Scheldt, I assert that it continued to be a war upon false pretences. The people were told that it was a war for religion and good order, and they found that peace was ready to be made at Lisle, without any reference to those causes. The Right Hon. Gentleman says, What baseness, what meanness, while religion was a

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eir mouths to consent to steal a sugar-island? is true, Sir, though it comes a little extraor- narily from that man who was one of the Ca- net Ministers at the time of the negotiation Lisle. It should appear as if there had in- ed been great discord in the cabinet; there er was greater, says the Hon. Gentleman. ey acted merely not like men in a boat, row- different ways, but like men in the boat of alloon. Up the Ex-Secretary of War was ending to the clouds, whilst Mr. Dundas s opening the valve and letting out the gas descend—while one was throwing out bal- to mount to the most chivalrous heights, other was attempting to let drop an anchor m a West India island. Each of these nisters was suffered to have his favourite n. The Ex-Secretary at War was allowed nibble at the court of France—the War Se- tary of State to make a descent upon a sugar- nd; and thus they went on till the letter n Lord Grenville, that letter never to be gotten, and, I will add, never to be forgiven, le its appearance, and the people took a p and settled disgust. Why did this not ear? and this, Sir, ought to be a lesson to The mouths of the people were shut and ged, and the Government was acting with- knowing any thing of their sentiments. in such circumstances, the integrity of r minds was disgusted, and they were glad et rid of the war at any rate. Upon this sub- I have dwelt the more particularly, because ish Buonaparté not to mistake the cause of joy of the people. He should know, that if ommits any act of aggression against them, are ready to enter single into the contest, er than suffer any attack upon their honour their independence. I shall proceed no her. I perfectly agree with my Hon. nd, that war ought to be avoided, though loes not agree with me on the means best ulated to produce that effect. From any nion he may express, I never differ but with greatest reluctance. For him my affection, esteem, and my attachment, are unbound- and they will end only with my life. But ink an important lesson is to be learnt from arrogance of Buonaparté. He says he is nstrument in the hands of Providence, an oy of God. He says he is an instrument in hands of Providence to restore Switzerland appiness, and to elevate Italy to splendour importance. Sir, I think he is an instru- it in the hands of Providence to make the lish love their constitution the better; to to it with more fondness; to hang round ith truer tenderness. Every man feels n he returns from France that he is coming a dungeon to enjoy the light and life of ish independence. Sir, whatever abuses , we shall still look with pride and plea- upon the substantial blessings we enjoy. hat aggression be made, my Hon. Friend , I am sure, agree with me, that we ought neet it with a spirit worthy of these islands; that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has achieved such greatness, has no re- treat in littleness; that if we could be content to abandon every thing, we should find no safety in poverty—no security in abject sub- mission: finally, Sir, that we ought to meet it with a fixed determination to perish in the same grave with the honour and independence of the country."

Mr. CANNING said, that something had been said of Government votes and Opposition speeches, as a practice not only unusual but unfair. In the case of the Opposition to the late Administration, the body was marshalled, and opposition to the men and to their measures accompanied each other; but it did not follow that the contrary practice involved any incon- sistency. It was preposterous to say that an approval of the measure implied an approval of the person proposing it, and upon that ground he rested the defence of himself and those who entertained the same sentiments with him. He thought that the House had reason to complain of the want of explanation. It was the more necessary because different views were given by different Gentlemen of our situation. According to one, we were to sit down in flowing felicity, mending each other's stockings; and according to another, instead of a navy and rearing a hardy race of sailors on board our ships, it were to rear them upon our canals and duck-ponds. He wished that the speech he had just heard had been made by any of the present Ministers; Ministers who had conceded without conciliat- ing, who had missed opportunities of alliance, and courted opportunities of disgrace. He would not pretend to say what were the mo- tives that induced them to accept their places; but when his Right Hon. Friend, then absent (Mr. Pitt), was attacked, he should be the most ungrateful and abandoned of men, if he did not support him with his best abilities. He never had, however, mentioned his name ex- cept when provoked by an attack. This was the case in the present session. He never had urged a wish for the return of his Right Hon. Friend to office, though he might have enter- tained it; but if he was driven to the point he must say, Away with the measures, and give us the men. It is not the harness but the horses who draw the carriage; and if ever there was a time that required great abilities, it was the present. What made France? A man. —France had the elements of strength in her- self, no doubt; but look to her situation at the time Buonaparté assumed the government, and compare it with her imposing attitude now. What has produced the mighty differ- ence? The genius of a man. If pressed, then, he had no hesitation to acknowledge his wish for the return of his Right Hon. Friend to office. His Right Hon. Friend was incapable of playing so dishonourable a game as that to

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which the Hon. Member (Mr. Sheridan) alluded. No man was ever less likely to furnish, by his conduct, any grounds for such an imputation. Never did young ambition labour so much to attach popularity and power as his Right Hon. Friend had laboured for two years past to detach them. He had, in that period, laboured not for fame but for obscurity; but much as he had laboured, he could not succeed, for he could not withdraw himself from the notice of a people whom he had saved. Neither was there any ground for the imputation, that he keeps at a distance, and guides measures for which he is not responsible; but on this point he hoped Ministers would do him justice. Where there was no power there should be no responsibility, and where there was no responsibility there should be no power.

Mr. WILBERFORCE wished to consider the present question as one resting upon the confidence of Ministers. They were the best judges of its expediency, and were responsible for the public safety. At the same time he should give his assent with some unwillingness, from the apprehension that these 50,000 men would be looked to for our defence, instead of exciting the spirit and energies which would afford better means of safety. The country ought to have a strong government, that possesses the hearts of the people, *and it has so.* As such, it ought to be supported. An author says, the "Athenians know what is right, "but the Lacedemonians practise it." His Right Hon. Friend alluded to (Mr. Pitt) followed the example of the latter. Of all the acts of magnanimity which he had performed, the greatest was the support he had given to the present Administration. This was a circumstance that stamped his character for true greatness. Another circumstance also characterized him as one of those men whom Providence raises up for the government of a country. It was the declaration which he made of his sentiments, when he stated that if the object which he thought best was not practicable, then he should be content to adopt the next best; a declaration which shewed that whatever might be his private views and wishes, and whatever the pain he should feel to abandon them, these were circumstances which had no influence upon his conduct, and that he looked only to what was good for his country. He admitted, that he felt more anxiety in voting for an increase of the army than of the navy. A great army was, in its physical operation, a great evil, while a navy increased our resources; but, at present, an army was necessary, and we must support one.

Mr. FOX.—"At so late an hour, I should not have offered myself, were it not for the turn the debate has taken: and I therefore feel it a duty I owe not only to myself but to my constituents and my country, to say a few words. The Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) has attempted to answer some part of what I said on a former occasion, by totally misrepresenting it; and that part of it which he does not misrepresent, he does not attempt to answer at all. Now this is rather wonderful, considering that the Right Hon. Gentleman is not deficient in abilities, and certainly not in readiness. He need not, therefore, have waited for the assistance of newspaper misstatements, or any other species of assistance, since he might have replied on the spot to that which he censures. He begins by saying that the power of France is now 'confessed' by me. 'Confessed' by me! 'And was it necessary that the Right Hon. Gentleman should now for the first time find out that this was 'confessed?' Did the Hon. Gentleman never hear me most distinctly charge it upon his friends, the late Ministry, that by their misconduct they contributed so much to the aggrandizement of France? But he complains that I have not proposed a remedy for the evil that is confessed. But has the Hon. Gentleman himself proposed any remedy? Some say, and that but few, Go to war. The Hon. Gentleman does not say so. Yet what remedy has been proposed, except the high tone and fine words on which so much reliance seems to be placed, I have not yet heard. It is not said that the conduct of France to Switzerland, in the German indemnities, and other articles of complaint against France, are singly grounds of a new war; nor is it said, that, taken together, they amount to a cause of war; for if they do, in the opinion of the Right Hon. Gentleman, why does he not state it as a specific charge against Ministers, that they do not advise his Majesty to declare war? If he does not think that we should go to war, where do he and I differ but in the efficacy of fine words and the high tone? If he does think war the remedy, I am ready to join again with him on that ground of argument. But let him speak out. One Hon. Gentleman said, that if there was a person in this country, the agent of France, he could not do better than by holding such and such language. He seemed to say, that he might have supposed that those who held that language must be the agents of France, if he did not find that language used by Mr. Banks, whom he cannot suspect of being an agent of France. I wish Gentlemen would speak out. Do they believe that I stand up here as the agent of France? Do they think me actuated by hatred against my own country, or bribed to betray its interests? I have been in Paris lately, on pursuits foreign to the House, though much connected with my private occupations. Would it be strange, think they, if going to Paris to read Barillon's Dispatches, and find out who were the pensioners of France in Charles and James's reign: Odso! no bad opportunity to get a pension for myself! If any think so, I shall not take the trouble to undeceive them; but if they do so, it is a more rational sort of charge than the common-place reproach, that I am the apologist of France. That has

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of topic may do very well for those who use it, the places where it is used, and those it is intended to please: but I should expect something better here. The apologist of France! And is not this the reproach that is used in every war, the grounds of which are at all disputed? If this be a war not only with France, but with Russia, (perhaps that may be a case in which in a former war I did receive a bribe!) those who think that other countries are not so much in the wrong as to justify a war, must lay their account with being exposed to the hackneyed charge of being the apologists of enemies. Differing from those who are for large establishments, I hope it will not be expected that I should clear myself of a design to invite the French to invade this country. Now, as I have no opportunity of swearing that I do not intend to invite the French to invade this country, I hope Gentlemen will take it on my word. To come to the question of the establishment of the army, it may be considered, whether a small or great army be best suited to the defence of the country. I find it said, that, as formerly, alliances superseded the necessity of large establishments, now, having no alliances, we should have a large army. Now, I believe the argument in former times to have been directly the reverse. It was because we had connexions with the continent, and not for our own defence, that standing armies were proposed; and this the preamble of every mutiny bill, since K. William's reign, states. But how does the argument apply? What are the most glorious wars in which this country has been engaged for the last century? They are those that are called the War of Succession, and the Seven Years War. Now it is certain, that, previous to these wars, our peace establishment was lower than the peace establishment previous to other wars in which we were less successful. The peace establishment after the peace of Utrecht, a period of the longest cessation of war, was likewise very low. But it may be said, that the establishments of France were even proportionally low. If relative proportion be made the rule, it will not be easy to apply it satisfactorily. The truth is, that the power of France is different in its principle from the power of Great Britain, and hence arises a necessary variation in the principle of our offensive and defensive wars. It is not a ratio of 30, or 40, or 60,000 men, to any given number in France, that will enable us to judge when our establishment is adequate. An Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Banks) alluded to the establishment in 1763 and 1783. Of the latter, which out of doors was styled a scandalously low establishment, I, as one of the advisers of it, am willing to take the responsibilty. It was mentioned by the Secretary at War, that then we had not Holland against us. But in fact, at the time of that establishment, Holland was as much in the hands of France as she is now. In effect, France, who had her colonies, made the peace for her; and under the influence of France, Holland remained till the events of 1787 overthrew it. We now come to the power of France—and really I am doubtful whether those who speak of that power in the most exaggerated terms, are not in fact speaking what is more agreeable and more useful to the French government, than those who talk of that power with greater moderation. I maintain that the government of France is less in a situation than formerly to make any attempt upon this country; if it be by invasions that we are to be menaced, and if it be against invasion that a high establishment is intended. If we consider the state of the French navy, compared with our own, we must see that for this species of attack there cannot, for several years at least, be any well-founded alarm. The acquisition of Switzerland has been insisted upon as shewing a hostile spirit. But is this the first time we knew that the government of France, past, as well as present, were actuated by ambition? But it is admitted, that the conduct of France to Switzerland, which touches the feelings of all so much, and of which no man can entertain a stronger sense than I do, does not form an aggression against this country. Why then should it be an argument for adding 20 or 30,000 men to our establishment? How is the danger of our situation, which my Hon. Friend, as well as others, laboured by admirable powers of declamation so much to exaggerate, increased by that measure? Is 20,000 men added to our expenses, a remedy against the French attack on Switzerland? Brave words are easily spoken, and prove no courage. "He did speak prave words in the preach," says Captain Fluellen, in Henry V. of Pistol, who imposed on the honest Welchman with fine words. But instead of augmenting our army now, might not, upon the old foundation of our army, as many more troops be added in a short space as any emergency might require? Is the danger of invasion to be feared? In 1779 and 1780 I was apprehensive of invasion, because the superiority by sea being then doubtful, the French having landed an army, might have been able to send reinforcements, and compel us to sustain a war upon English ground, though I have no doubt but the spirit and courage of the country might have finally prevailed. But now our superiority by sea is unquestionable, and must so continue for at least some time. The French then must evade our fleet. They might, perhaps, succeed in landing an army, and the possession of Belgium certainly gives new facilities. But then if an army were landed, all succour would be cut off, and the whole must be either taken or destroyed. When I hear it said that we know not what so desperate a people may do; in the first place, *I do not see that the French do such desperate things.* In all the last war, when they may be supposed as desperate as they ever were, *they never did*

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think seriously of an invasion. The expedition to Egypt was not a desperate enterprise—for till the glorious victory of Lord Nelson, the French thought they could cope with us in the Mediterranean. They would do mischief; but surely ten millions of men attached to the constitution, and all are so, would have shewn, that, whatever mischief they might do, they could not subject us. Those who choose to exaggerate the courage, strength, force, genius, or desperation of the French, cannot think there is any danger that we should finally be subjected by any force the French could steal over to this country. Do they really believe, as has been said to-day, that there is any danger of seeing the tri-coloured flag flying on the Tower of London? Is it possible that a people so numerous, however dastardly, could be subdued by 40,000 men—the greatest number that could be conveyed over to this country in the relative state of the navies of France and England? Indeed those who paint our situation and our prospects in the most gloomy colours, do not want good humour enough to enliven the canvass with many ludicrous touches—so that if they describe us as ruined, it is in the temper of the man in the play, who is told, 'if you are an undone man, you really are the 'merriest undone man in Christendom.' But an invasion, though it would neither destroy our laws, our government, nor our constitution, might do serious mischief, I confess. It would perhaps destroy or suspend that credit and that wealth, of which some Gentlemen speak so contemptuously, in comparison of guns and bayonets. But if we are not vulnerable by invasion of the soil of Great Britain, there are vulnerable points in our situation. Are we not vulnerable through our finances? Might not the French think that to harass this country by expensive establishments; to divert in useless and cumbrous forces the resources that might be employed in accelerating the extinction of the national debt, was no very unsuccessful way of carrying on war with us? It was lately said, that the greater part of the population of Ireland was disaffected; but, without ascribing great effects to the Union, nay, unless we suppose the Government outrageously bad, the people of Ireland must, in a few years, be much less disaffected than they now are. Thus a few years of peace and moderate establishment would enable us to throw off a considerable part of that debt, which in war was called the best ally of France; while peace would equally tend to fortify us in Ireland, a point where it is evident we now are vulnerable. Is not France then much more likely to direct her efforts against our finances than to invasion, in which, at any time, there is so little prospect of success, and in which, for some time, there can be no prospect of success at all? The funds, by the late war, fell from 97 to 47—50 per cent. They again have risen to 67; but supposing a new war to take place, what would be the consequence of the funds losing 50, or even 30 per cent. on the price of 67? Instead, however, of such a loss, if peace is preserved, and our resources, increased by economy, be applied to the extinction of the public debt, I am almost sure that the funds would again rise to 97. I have already remarked that the strength of France and England is different; their offensive and defensive systems are different. The credit of this country is a main spring of its greatness and of its wealth. In France there was no great deal of credit before the revolution, but the utter destruction of it by the war, and the events of the war, though it spread much misery through France, did not unnerve that country. It rather contributed to swell the armies of the republic, and to the conquests they made. In England the destruction of credit, though it would not be attended with the loss of the independence of the country, for we might still possess men and arms, yet it would spread infinite misery over the land. Let us therefore ward off from our finances and from our credit every danger; because, though not fatal to our existence, their overthrow would be fatal to our well-being. High establishments would form no security against the danger which has been held out to us. Wise economy is the resource from which we shall draw the means of defending ourselves against every danger. If we have 25,000 men less, we shall in return in a short time have 25,000,000 more to apply to our defence, and to enable us to repel any aggression. Hitherto I have argued the question upon the ground that war was an event which we might expect in no very distant period. But I do not think that we are obliged to anticipate a speedy war. I must declare it to be my opinion, that it is for the interest of the French nation, of the French government, that it is their wish to cultivate peace, and that with good management, without any particle of submission, peace may be preserved. The question of the navy establishment has been mixed with the consideration of the army; and I think strangely. It seems to be taken as a matter of course, that you must have a large army because you have 50,000 seamen. Now it appears to me, that the conclusion should be directly the reverse. It operates two ways. You need employ fewer soldiers for your defence, because you have augmented your navy; and the additional expence by sea, is an argument for additional economy in the establishment of land forces. There is a way, too, in which a large army establishment may be raised; and it is hitherto unnoticed. Is there no constitutional consideration arising from a large standing army? A standing army without consent of Parliament is illegal; with the approbation of Parliament it may still be dangerous. I do not mean to say that the officers of the army are not friends to the constitution of their country. But consider the source of influence which the army affords; there is scarce a Gentleman in this House, but by himself, or some relation, has some to look to in the army. I do not

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y, that this influence is pushed to carry particular vote; but its effects in procuring general support to the measures of Administration are obvious. I would not, however, clude officers of the army from sitting in rliament: that would render the evil worse, cause it would too much separate the chacter of soldier and citizen. How is an army be viewed, as soldiers distinct, or as citins forming a part of the country? In the e case they may have no sympathies with the ople; in the other, they may in the exercise civil privileges give a dangerous prepondence (in an election, for instance) to any side y might espouse; but in fact they are to ny purposes already, and wisely so, put der a control different from their fellow-subts. To these remarks, however, the naval ablishment is not subject, and for that rea I agree with the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. ilberforce), that the naval establishment is that account less liable to objection, while ffords us all the security we can have against danger, magnified as it has been. There nother view of the subject which, though avowed, is perhaps entertained by some. nay be thought right to have a large estahment, in order to go to war immediately, very soon; certainly, if we were to go to in a month or two, it would be idle to re-e our establishment. The Chancellor of Exchequer, if I rightly understood, said a nights ago, that he saw no danger to the ce of Europe at present; and the Secretary War to-day spoke out distinctly, candidly, laudably. He said it was our business to armed against any danger. He and I differ o the extent to which we should be armed; he says, that we should provoke no war, we should commit no aggression, that we uld execute the treaty of Amiens, and that should repel any insult or aggression with ness and dignity. This is my creed. Is it bable, then, that the aggression may come n France? My Right Hon. Friend (General tland) gave a very ugly reason why the e should be agreeable to the late Secretary War, because the spirit of the country was me warlike; whereas if the war had con-ed, the table would have been loaded with tions against it. This is rather a suspicious ment, because it seems to say, that we only got rid of the bad war which could be continued, in order to get another e acceptable. My Hon. Friend himself, I ure, rejoices in the peace, and does not to begin the war on a new score. But in every thing convinces me, more and more, the people are decidedly for peace. Gen-en, however brave and warlike in their uage, always conclude with saying, 'Ne-theless I am for peace!' They naturally to stand well with their constituents, they do not fail to utter a sentiment they will be agreeable to them. Much has said of the tone we ought to assume; but what is the object to which all this tends?—My Hon. Friend (Mr. Sheridan) with much humour alluded to those who, with their arms across or their arms a-kimbo, would sit stock still, notwithstanding all their complaints against France. Now whether my Hon. Friend could sit stock still, with his arms across or his arms a-kimbo, I cannot tell:—he does little more than leave the tongue at liberty, and recommends you to acquiesce in peace, after a bluster at proceedings with which we are not to interfere. It has been said, indeed, that a remonstrance has been presented respecting the attack on Switzerland. I know not whether in the precise circumstances or manner of that remonstrance it was proper, though I have no reason to believe that it was not. Remonstrances may be presented in cases where no war is deemed expedient, even if the remonstrance be ineffectual. This happened in the case of Corsica in the year 1769. As to philippics, sure we must have philippics to keep up the national spirit. I am very willing that they be taken into account as provision for our security, but I hope that 30,000 men will in lieu of them be deducted from our establishments. But if we are to have the 30,000 into the bargain, I do not see what benefit they will produce. If danger really did appear; if invasion actually were effected, every feeling would be absorbed in those of repelling the invader, from the sovereign motive of self-defence; so that all the declamation which was to nourish the spirit of the nation would be fruitless and unnecessary."

Mr. WINDHAM in a long speech animadverted on Mr. Fox's argument; and said that *ever since the commencement of the French revolution all his Anti-gallican opinions had been changed.* He was not merely *an apologist*, but *an economiast* of the French system, and saw neither mischief nor danger in their conduct. In 1787 he was an advocate for measures to preserve the balance of power, which was, in other words, that he was an advocate for interfering in the concerns of other powers. Then he saw danger arising out of the inordinate ambition of France; now he saw nothing to call for an increase of our establishment; but every thing was to lean to the side of our finances.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he would have thought a much higher establishment than ever we had heretofore necessary, if the war had even left France without having increased the limits of her territory; but increased as she was by the addition of the Austrian Netherlands, and by the influence which she had in Holland and Spain, as well as elsewhere, he should be insensible to his duty if he did not recommend a high establishment. Nor should he treat the Committee with candour if he did not say that circumstances had occurred in Europe since the con-

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clusion of the definitive treaty, which rendered a high establishment indispensable to our security. He had the most sacred regard to constitutional considerations. They were only exceeded, in his mind, by considerations of our safety. In the structure of the army, however, every attention had been paid by his Royal Highness to prevent the increase of influence. No more officers were to be provided for corps of 750 than were before for regiments of little more than half that number: so that the whole addition was effective force; and his Royal Highness had, with his usual spirit of national economy and attention to military claims, appointed no new officers, but had brought them in every instance from the half-pay, by which a very great saving had been made. He had also much pleasure in informing the Committee, that, if the revenue should continue as prosperous as it had been for the two or three last quarters, it would provide for an establishment very little short of that which was proposed this day.—He concluded with replying to the observation of Mr. Canning as to Mr. Pitt, that that Right Hon. Gentleman would not thank him, or any man, for vindicating him from an imputation so unworthy of him; or that he would shrink from the responsibility of measures which he in secret advised. His opinion, regard, and friendship, were unabated; but he should in future abstain from answering any observations of this kind made on the Right Hon. Gentleman in his absence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, DECEMBER 9TH, 1802.

Mr. ALEXANDER brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply; and on the question being put from the Chair, that the Resolutions be read,

Mr. T. GRENVILLE rose, and prefaced the observations which he intended to make with assuring the House, that after the late hour to which the discussion was last night protracted, and knowing, as he did, the unwillingness of the House to enter on any thing like an adjourned debate, he should not trespass long upon their patience. He felt that he owed to himself to take the earliest opportunity of explaining to the House the opinion which he entertained of the business now before them. Those who heard what he had advanced when the navy estimates were under consideration, he hoped would now recollect what were the grounds which he urged on that occasion. His assertion then was, the House had passed that vote with less information to guide them in the propriety of passing it, than ever was before submitted to Parliament on similar occasions. The answer given then to this observation by a Noble Lord (Hawkesbury) surprised him not a little; for that Noble Lord confidently asserted that there was nothing in the history of Parliament respecting the granting of the information required, that made the late proceedings of the House differ from those of former times. Till now he had no opportunity of hearing or answering these contradictions; but as the same objections forcibly applied to the business of yesterday, and to that now before the House, he would endeavour briefly to restate his objections. What is our situation, and what lights have we to enable us to judge of it? If we call for those lights, we are referred to the speeches of Ministers, which convey no information; and though they did, are such speeches, weighty and important as they may justly be deemed, as coming from persons in the highest authority, fit parliamentary documents to enable and justify the House in coming to a decision on matters of the gravest moment? Far different evidence should be adduced when the estimates and supply are to be determined upon; and if the House does not procure that evidence and those lights, they widely depart from the ancient and usual mode of parliamentary proceeding. He might firmly maintain that no one instance has occurred in the parliamentary history of the country, in which Ministers have come down after the signing of a definitive treaty of peace to call for supplies or large establishments, without having advised his Majesty to make some communication from the Throne, intimating the probability that the peace would be lasting, or that it might be precarious, or if any dangers of a fresh rupture existed, without alluding to, or even going into some detail of those dangers. He might challenge the industry of the Gentleman opposite him to produce a single instance to prove that the contrary was the usual practice of Parliament. A transient glance at the Journals would suffice to prove his assertion. The Hon. Gentleman then appealed to several speeches and messages recorded in the Journals, in corroboration of what he had advanced, but referred, particularly as a specimen of the practice of the Constitution, to one made to the House in 1714 by George I. He would refer them also to the years 1748, 1763, and even so late as to the year 1783; upon all which occasions communications were made from the Crown, delivering some opinion, more or less detailed, respecting the nature of the peace concluded, and the probability of what were likely to be its consequences. The notoriety of a fact did not form a proper parliamentary ground of proceeding. Parliament should have real, solid, substantial documents before them to judge by. The security of Parliament required it. They should look for communications from the Throne as the surest document, because they enabled them to form a proper judgment of affairs, and moreover gave them a pledge from Ministers, by which their subsequent conduct, and the nature of the system they pursued, might be fairly discussed and scrutinized. The want of such a document on the present occasion appeared to him

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to be a material objection, and a departure from the usual practice, dangerous to the essence of the Constitution. All the information Ministers now indulge the House with is confined to some general expression of force, vigour of preparation, &c. which should not satisfy Parliament. Should not the House know what garrisons are to be supplied by the sums now to be voted? It is true that Malta has not yet been evacuated; it is equally known that orders have been sent out to retain the Cape of Good Hope, in case of its not having been surrendered before these orders arrived. These were two considerable military points, and their fate should be known before an accurate judgment could be formed of the extent of the supply necessary. Questions respecting the fate of these places have been frequently put to Ministers, but as yet they have drawn no satisfactory answer from them. The Hon. Gentleman next proceeded to observe on the manner on which the business of the army estimates was yesterday opened by the Secretary at War. Nothing could be more clear, explicit, and manly than that opening: yet at the conclusion of his speech there were some expressions that called for particular attention, and which did not tally altogether with his opinion. The expressions he alluded to were these:—The object of Government in proposing to vote the present force, has two purposes in view, viz. to repel national insult and hostile aggression. He did not object to this use of the force. What he disliked was, that these expressions narrowed too much the use and effect which might be otherwise expected from it. Were we to vote 130,000 men merely for the purpose of sitting still till the French armies had actually invaded us? Too many of those who spoke on this subject seemed indeed to be of that opinion. Such, however, has rarely been the mode of arguing adopted by that House, nor could he well believe that the force now proposed would be limited to the sole and simple purpose of resisting the invasion of the enemy—*(a cry of Hear! hear! from the Treasury Bench)*.—The Hon. Gentleman professed himself happy in hearing that expression of approbation, as it led him to imagine that he had been taking too confined a view of the intentions of Ministers. He rejóiced to hear that their declarations were susceptible of a larger latitude. He hoped, therefore, they would avail themselves of the force placed at their disposal, to speak a language to Europe, but more particularly to France, which should have its due weight and impression. The present government of France, if such language was held out to them, would see and feel the necessity of avoiding what might be fatal to them; but to forbear holding a firm and determined language, was only inviting and encouraging the First Consul to persist in his present wild career of conquest and aggrandizement. He also felt much struck with the language held of late upon the subject of continental alliances. Were it the intention of Government to look for any alliance with any great power on the continent, if was no doubt their duty to examine how far such a power might be able or willing to co-operate with us effectually; and when the continental powers observed that we intended to concentre the whole of our force within the precincts of our own island, and merely for our own defence, what great encouragement could they feel to form an alliance with us? But his surprise was raised to an extraordinary degree indeed, when he observed a man (Mr. Fox) whose abilities he so much revered, and whose opinion must always have so much weight in the country, broach doctrines so novel on this topic, and so very inconsistent with his former sentiments. It was with reluctance, especially in his absence, that he now adverted to different expressions which had lately fallen from that Hon. Gentleman; but some of them were of a nature to be noticed without delay. When the fate of the King of Sardinia was introduced into a late debate, this Hon. Gentleman asked, whose fault it was that the King of Sardinia was not restored? Was it the fault of France? No; it was the fault of Austria, that opposed his restoration, lest it should be purchased at the expense of her Venetian territories. That such an assertion has any foundation he could never bring himself to believe. Did Venice belong to Sardinia? or rather, may not this be a story told to the Hon. Gentleman by the French Secretary of State in the Foreign Department? Talleyrand may have hinted that France would have given Piedmont to the King of Sardinia, if Austria would consent to cede Venice. But the Hon. Gentleman is pleased to ascribe the arguments urged by him and his friends to interested motives—that it is an object with them to renew the war. One of his Hon. Friends (Mr. Windham) is even accused of preferring war to peace, though that charge he has most solemnly denied. The next charge is brought against a Noble Relation of his (Lord Temple); the inadvertence, or the ingenuousness of his youth is said to have betrayed the secret we had in view, viz. to remove the present Administration. Could that be looked upon as a secret but by those who were scarcely ever present to hear the arguments upon which our views and opinions were grounded? But this charge is followed up by another—that partiality for the character and principles of a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) prompts him to wish and endeavour to place that Right Hon. Gentleman at the head of affairs. To this charge he was ready to answer, *Habes confitentem reum*. Indeed it was his conscientious belief, that, if the country were to be canvassed from one end to the other, 99 out of 100 would be found of the same opinion. For to the talents, the love of the Constitution, the splendour of character, the integrity of principle, which distinguish

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that great man, those 99 out of 100 look for the preservation of a country which the vigour of his abilities has already rescued from ruin. Were that great majority of the country to see him now placed at the helm, their apprehensions would soon vanish, and a new life, spirit, and vigour be infused into the nation. But the Hon. Gentleman accuses him and his friends of also wishing to get into place; he could only say that this was an insinuation unworthy of a mind so exalted, and he only wished for the strong language so often used by that Hon. Gentleman when accused of similar views, in order to be enabled to repel the insinuation with effect. A still stronger insinuation has even been hazarded elsewhere, he could not say by whom, viz. that he and his friends wished to replunge the country into war, in order to promote their own schemes of ambition. On such an insinuation he should only observe, that the man whose heart could conceive, or whose lips could utter a calumny so base and foul, could alone, in his opinion, be capable of harbouring such flagitious and profligate projects.

LORD HAWKESBURY said, the Right Hon. Gentleman had commenced his speech with the same attack that had often been made upon the King's Ministers, and which had constantly been answered, as often as it had been advanced, viz. that they had not brought the situation of the country fully before the House; that they had not explained that situation in the manner which they ought to have done; and that Parliament were called upon, without sufficient ground, to vote the naval and military establishments of the year. But he contended, on the other hand, that every part of the conduct of Government had fully explained the system which Government had adopted, as far as had been usual with regard to foreign affairs. The Right Hon. Gentleman might say, that he had heard of discussions between this country and France, the result of which had not been explained to him. He would undertake to say, that it was not consistent with the general practice of Parliament and of the Constitution, to bring the details of such discussions before Parliament, unless Ministers called for some vote or opinion of Parliament founded upon those details. He knew that it had been maintained, that even when a general case had been made by Ministers, without the production of the details, they had a right to call for the support and confidence of Parliament.—This was the case at the period of the Russian armament, and it was afterwards said, on the other side of the House, that while the question was in discussion they had not inquired, but that when Ministers called for a direct vote, they had a right to give the House full information upon the subject. He did not mean to contend that it was not competent for any Gentleman to move for such information, if he could state sufficient grounds for its production; he meant only to justify Ministers in the line of conduct they had adopted. With respect to the general system adopted by Ministers, it had been insinuated and asserted, that it was impossible to understand what that system was, as if Ministers had never explained themselves upon the general principle of their conduct to France and other powers. He ought, perhaps, upon this subject, to refer to authentic documents, such as the Speeches from the Throne, and the Addresses of that House; but from the nature of those records, and from the manner in which they were necessarily constructed, they must be taken subject to the explanation of his Majesty's confidential servants.—It must be obvious to every Gentleman, that it was impossible, in a speech or message from the Throne, to enter into such a minute detail as would be necessary for the full explanation of the subject; but he admitted, that in those documents the general principle of the measure proposed ought always to be found. He was ready to contend, that it was impossible to conceive (as far as the circumstance would admit) a more complete explanation of the system which Government had adopted, than was to be found in an amendment which he had moved to an address proposed last session by an Hon. Friend of his. He wished to ask any Gentleman the meaning he would put upon the words of that amendment. It contained two propositions, which he did not mean to say could be separated entirely, but which were, however, in some degree distinct. The Right Hon. Gentleman complained that Ministers had not explained whether they would interfere with the continental powers; his answer was, that that point was completely explained in the amendment he had read. He begged shortly to call the attention of the House to the late treaty, and to the address to which he had alluded. When other treaties of peace were concluded, this country negotiated for peace in conjunction with other powers; but when the last treaty was concluded, every power on the continent had been induced or compelled to make separate treaties of peace. We were by those circumstances insulated, and forced to make a separate peace, unconnected with any of the continental powers. His Majesty's Ministers rested the defence of that treaty upon the circumstances under which it had been proposed and concluded. They stated the line of conduct they had adopted in consequence of the unfortunate events which had happened on the continent; but they at the same time stated, that, so far from abandoning all continental connexions, it must always form a part of the system of this country. If he was asked for the application of that principle, his answer would be, that the application of it must depend upon circumstances and events; they had therefore engrafted that principle into the address to which he had alluded. That address, therefore, contained the system

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which the King's Ministers had adopted, viz. that they would defend our own empire against all encroachments, and look with vigilance to the state of the continent. They had not attempted to define minutely what that line of conduct would be, because it must always be governed by circumstances. If this record wanted any confirmation, he might refer to the King's speech at the opening of the present sessions of Parliament. This speech, he contended, was in every particular conformable to the address to which he had before alluded; it maintained the same principles, and held the same language. As far, therefore, as language went, the system of the King's government had been explicitly avowed. The Right Hon. Gentleman might assert, that Ministers had not acted upon that system, that they had gone beyond, or had fallen short of it. Such a charge was perfectly open to the Right Hon. Gentleman to make, if he could substantiate it; but he had no right to say that Ministers had not laid down any system, and that they had not avowed it. He should have thought, that upon the general principle of continental alliances it was almost unnecessary for him to make any profession. Whenever he spoke upon this subject, he uniformly maintained one opinion. It was a subject which had very early occupied his attention, and upon which he had given his opinion the first time he had the honour of speaking in that House. He recollected that upon that occasion a Right Hon. Friend of his had made a most able and ingenious speech, which contained the best case he had ever heard against the balance of power. But certainly that principle, like all others, might be pushed to an extreme. It appeared to him that it was one of those questions upon which there was great danger of our over-refining; and he thought it was the duty of Government to guard against the extremes which a degree of over-refinement might sometimes occasion. That the interests of this country were not materially connected with those of the continent, or that we could exclude ourselve wholly, or even in a great degree, from all continental connexions, it would, in his opinion, be absurd to contend. Our commerce, our wealth, our importance in the eyes of Europe, were such, that we could not pretend to say that we would entirely insulate ourselves. He knew it had been said upon this subject, that all continental connexions were in their nature dissoluble. This proposition was undoubtedly true; but was the consequence that was to be inferred from it, viz. that no human work was in its nature perfect, and that continental alliances, because they were liable to dissolution, ought never to be entered into? That those alliances often contained in themselves the seeds of dissolution, was true; but the question was, whether, with all their defects, we were better with or without them? This was the only practical way of considering the subject. If he looked into the examples contained in history upon this point, he was compelled to draw a very different inference from that which had been drawn by an Hon. Friend of his (Mr. Canning) on a former occasion. It had been asserted, that we had often bee involved in wars by continental alliances; but it remained to be proved, that any of the wars in which we had been engaged had arisen from these alliances. The fact was directly the reverse. In no war which we had undertaken since the Revolution, had we engaged in it in consequence of continental alliances, It might perhaps be said, that we entered into the late war in consequence of an engagement with Holland respecting the opening of the Scheldt; but it must be admitted, that that only formed a part of the general question. He therefore thought it important, that we should not suffer ourselves to be carried away by any general cry that might be raised upon the subject, without ascertaining the facts. But there was another point to consider, and that was a material one. He wished the House to recollect in what wars we had continental connexions, and in what wars we had not, and to compare the result. The only war in which we had been engaged since the Revolution, in which we had not had any continental alliances was the American war, and that was the only war in which we were not successful. It was true, that in other wars we had sometimes failed, as far as they related to continental objects; but as far as British interests were concerned, we had been constantly successful, except only in the case of the American war. With this view of the subject, he was not disposed to renounce the opinion he had formerly entertained upon it; at the same time he was ready to admit, that there ought to be great prudence used in entering into continental alliances, not only with respect to the connexions themselves, but to the engagements we entered into. We ought not to enter into engagements so loose and so generally worded, as might, in the application of them, defeat their own object; and he also thought, that care ought to be taken not to pledge the country too deeply, because circumstances were frequently liable to change. He had no difficulty in saying, that he should not think he should do his duty, if, maintaining the general principle, he should not endeavour to give it effect whenever he was able, according to circumstances, circumscribed by prudence and wisdom. Insinuations had been thrown out, that this country had met with nothing but treachery and breach of faith from our allies, and that assertion had been particularly exemplified in the case of Austria. If we were to look at that country throughout the whole course of the war, there were periods when that power not only displayed the most inflexible fidelity to her engagements, but the most heroic resolution. She did not conclude the treaties of Leoben or Luneville, till the very last extre-

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mity, and when she was prevented by the pressure and urgency of circumstances from sending a minister for the purpose of obtaining our consent, which consent, if she had asked, we could not for a moment have refused. Before the conclusion of the last treaty, she shewed a degree of fidelity to her engagements with us that never was surpassed; for after the battle of Marengo, she was strongly and repeatedly urged by France to conclude a separate treaty, and terms were offered much more favourable than she afterward obtained. Notwithstanding every effort on the part of France, Austria would not make peace till she was compelled by the fatal battle of Hohenlinden. All he had, therefore, to beg of Gentlemen was, that when they spoke upon these subjects, they would do it after some consideration, and not endeavour to make impressions in which they knew they were not warranted by the facts. He confessed that he felt such regard for antiquity, that, when he found that the best and wisest men for centuries had agreed in opinion with respect to the policy of such alliances, he should require very strong reasons, and a great deal of experience, before he would venture to say they were mistaken. An Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) seemed to think that no change which had taken place in the situation of Europe required an increase in our establishment. It could not be denied that the great extent of coast which France had now obtained, the number of harbours which she had acquired, must make a great difference in our relative situation. It had been said, that the House of Bourbon were actuated by the same motives of ambition with the revolutionary governments of France, and were as much disposed to violate treaties as any government whatever. This was true to a certain extent, and he was as ready as any man to condemn this part of the policy of the House of Bourbon. But it was necessary to consider not only their will, but their power to do mischief. The present government of France had the power of doing things which the House of Bourbon, whatever its disposition might be, had not the means to accomplish. A great deal had been said, at different times, about persons looking only at measures and not at men; he confessed he was very much inclined to consider this as mere cant and hypocrisy, or at least as proceeding from ignorance. In one sense, and to a certain degree, they must go together. If any Gentleman brought a charge against Ministers, it was absurd to suppose that a man could condemn measures, and not wish to remove the men by whom they were adopted. If that House were to agree in a resolution to censure the conduct of the King's Ministers, it ought to be followed up with a motion for the removal of those Ministers. Nothing, in his opinion, could be more absurd than to suppose, that the system of Ministers could be disapproved of, and yet that they ought to be kept in office, in hopes that they would adopt a line of conduct contrary to that of which they were known to approve. But this principle had been pushed a little farther, and to an extent to which he could not assent. If a Gentleman said he disapproved of the measures of Administration, and therefore he would, if possible, remove the Ministers, he could understand him; it was fair, constitutional language. The right of that House to address his Majesty to remove his Ministers, on proper grounds, was incontestable; but to suppose that the House had a right to remove Ministers without assigning any public ground whatever, was inconsistent with every principle of the constitution. It would take from the Crown the right of choosing its own servants, and make the office of Minister the subject of personal canvass. It is true, that in 1784 there was an address to remove Ministers, without any charge against their public conduct; but even in that case there was an allegation of their having come improperly into office, though that was found by no means to be the public opinion. He wished merely to be tried by his public conduct; and he could answer for himself, and he believed for his colleagues in office, that if Parliament disapproved of their measures, *they would not wish to continue one moment longer in office*. If their measures were not found to be consistent with the honour and interests of the country, they would not attempt to set up prerogative against privilege, in any case where the exercise of the latter was really constitutional. If the King had the nomination of his Ministers, Parliament ought to control them, to watch over them, and to examine their measures; and upon this principle the safety of the constitution depended. He hoped that Parliament would always endeavour to preserve to the Crown its proper place in the constitution, while they maintained their own privileges; and to the opinion of Parliament his Majesty's Ministers would always submit themselves whenever it was expressed.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—"Sir, a more important question than the present never came before Parliament. It is, whether you will agree to a peace establishment unprecedented in force, but alleged to be rendered necessary by unprecedented circumstances. An Hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. Grenville) has observed, that the forms of the House have been neglected by not giving any communication from the Throne upon the subject in question. I think the objection is founded in good sense, and I agree with him. He also says, that we should cherish continental connexions; and the answer given to him is not, that we should have no continental connexions, but that we should not be eager to make ourselves principals, which amounts to nearly the same thing. Now my objection to these connexions for maintaining the balance of power, is the opportunity which they afford Ministers to involve the

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ountry in wars without adequate cause or necessity. With regard, Sir, to the Right Hon. Gentleman who has been so much alluded to (Mr. Pitt), I shall say a few words. The country has been stated, by the admirers of that Right Hon. Gentleman, to be in the most gloomy and alarming situation. I agree that it is so; but when I think that the country has been brought into that situation by that Right Hon. Gentleman and his friends, I am extremely surprised at their conduct. They may say in their defence, that though they agreed on the means, they might have differed upon one point; but when I find that one point the principal, I leave them to reconcile their argument with their consistency. Now, Sir, with respect to the question of a large peace establishment: I admit that it is stated as a choice of evils, but it is a measure that becomes the more important because it is not a single one, but part of a system. If it came unaccompanied with barracks, and other sources of influence, it would be less objectionable; but that cannot be, as these are the necessary consequence. *When I look to your pension lists, which are kept full, and to the dock-yards, from which men are every day discharged and thrown upon the world, unable to earn their bread, I cannot think but this is to begin economy at the wrong end. When I read of fortunes being settled on noblemen's daughters, pensions settled on ministerial clerks' wives; and when I think of the late general distress, and of the many poor now destitute, an Englishman's eye must ache to look over these pension lists.* I cannot, Sir, conceive a situation more perilous than the present, and do think it one in which something more is necessary than a strong peace establishment."

Mr. H. Browne said, that when the Hon. Baronet took notice of the gloomy state of this country, and censured the late Administration as the cause of it, it did not occur to him to tell the House in what other country there was more general comfort for mankind. Did he think it was in Spain? Did he think it was in Italy? Did he think it was in the Netherlands? Did he think it was in Holland? Did he think it was in Switzerland? Did he think it was any where in Europe? Or did he know one spot on the face of the globe in which there was more general comfort to mankind than there was in England at this hour? Or would he point out to the House the spot which he would wish Great Britain to resemble? and then, when that question was determined, perhaps the other, on the true character of the late Administration, would not be difficult: for in discussing that matter, the question would not be, what we might have now of difficulty remaining, but what evils and horrors had we avoided, and for the avoiding which we were indebted very much indeed to the late Administration? The people of England, he believed, felt none of the indignation against the late Ministers which the Hon. Baronet apprehended; the people of England felt that they had a constitution, for the preservation of which they had not forgotten to whom they were so much indebted; nor did he believe they needed much persuasion to be convinced, that the measure now proposed was a measure for their general welfare; upon a conviction of which, he did not believe there would appear in them any deficiency of spirit, the more especially, when the excellent speech of the Secretary at War yesterday in that House came to be circulated over the country, which assuredly it would. The people of England were a commercial people, and therefore naturally loved peace; but they were likewise a warlike people, and knew how to act in war, if war became necessary. They were always true to others, and could be true to themselves. He did not mean to vote this force for the purposes of aggression, but in our own defence: it was not for invasion only that we were to be in readiness, but we must be ready to resist every infraction of the treaty of Amiens, or any danger to our own safety. With regard to what had been said on the subject of measures and men, he could not conceive how, in a political question, they could be separated. Had any Minister come to the House without any circumstances to justify it, and called for such a force as this, he should not have voted for it; but there was enough in the conduct of the Chief Consul of France to answer every thing on that head. He was pleased, however, to see in the conduct of Ministers, and in their language, every thing that led to the continuance of peace. He justified the peace of Amiens, on the ground, that, when it was concluded, things were in such a condition that nothing could be gained by the war; and as to Great Britain, not the least derogation of her dignity appeared on that event—on the contrary, it was highly to her honour. It was true, indeed, that at that period the situation of Europe was much to be lamented, but that arose from no fault in Great Britain. *With regard to the capacity of his Majesty's Ministers, he thought that their having been able to conduct the business of Copenhagen, and every thing which related to the complicated concerns embraced by the treaty of Amiens, their being able to satisfy the whole body of the House of Commons, with the exception of a few individuals,* by their speeches in that House; he owned these things put together appeared to him to give evidence of *very great capacity*. He concurred in this vote, not for the purpose of meeting war, but to preserve the honour of this country, and to maintain peace.

Dr. Laurence, in a speech of considerable length, condemned the system upon which Ministers acted; particularly in reducing the navy so much since the peace, and proposing to keep up a large standing army, though the

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former force was our natural defence, and the latter was ever an object of constitutional jealousy. He animadverted on the observations of the Noble Secretary of State, in this debate, on the subject of continental alliances and the balance of power, and compared them with his assertion on a former occasion (the Russian armament), that the capture of Oczakow, a fortress on the Black Sea, by the Russians, would endanger the safety of Europe. He reprobated the idea of abandoning that policy, with respect to the continent, upon which this country had acted for the last century and a half. He also reproved the practice of perpetually referring to the conduct of Ministers during the last war: of that practice the Hon. Baronet (Sir F. Burdett) and his friends appeared too fond. The House should not be so goaded. If Gentlemen wished to investigate that conduct fully, let it be brought forward in a grave and proper form, and solemnly discussed. Let it be contested, fact to fact, and point to point. Let the question be at once set at rest; for he was persuaded that while these allusions continued, the regular progress of debate would be interrupted, and there would be nothing but divisions and distractions in the House.—The Hon. and Learned Member expressed an anxious desire to have an explanation of what ideas were meant to be attached to national insults and hostile aggression. Ministers did not explain in what sense these terms were to be understood, and it therefore became necessary to attend a little to facts, so far as they might be useful in determining whether, on the part of France, there had been, since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, any acts with regard to foreign powers which this country would be entitled to make a ground of remonstrance. On this part of his argument he accordingly examined in detail the system of German indemnities, which he reprobated as subversive of the constitution of the Germanic Empire, and destructive of our influence on the continent. He touched, but more slightly, on the conduct of the French government to Switzerland, and the total subjugation of Italy to its will. On the subject of Holland he descanted with great energy, and pointed out the alarming consequences which French influence in that country presented in the event of a renewal of the war. On the importance of our connexion with Holland he believed that there was no difference of sentiment, and took particular notice of the opinion which an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had expressed on that subject. He described with great force the claims which the House of Orange had to our protection from ancient connexion, cemented by common friendship; and the more he considered the fate of this illustrious family, the more was he convinced of the inefficacy of the article in the definitive treaty, which professed to guaranty them a full and complete indemnity. After dwelling at length on these topics, he came to the more particular consideration of circumstances in which the honour of the country was more immediately connected. He called the attention of the House to the treatment which Capt. D'Auvergne had experienced in Paris, in consequence of orders issued by the French government. What he meant to state he did not pretend to state on authority. He was compelled to speak on the grounds of public notoriety, when he mentioned that this respectable officer, even under the protection of a British commission and a regular passport, had been arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and subjected to interrogatories of the most insulting kind. Such was the account given by public report, and he would ask, whether any thing could be reckoned an attack on our national honour, if such an outrage did not come under this description? There was another topic on which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman descanted at some length. He took occasion to allude to a prosecution now instituted against a foreigner (Mr. Peltier, author of L'Ambigu) for a supposed libel on the French government. He did not mean to give any opinion against the propriety of such a prosecution, but was very pointed on articles which had appeared in the French official journal, containing unbecoming allusions, and very indecent reflections on the character of our Sovereign.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that there seemed to be a systematic determination, on the part of some Gentlemen, to impress an opinion that his Majesty's Ministers had compromised the character and tarnished the honour of the country. He deemed it unnecessary at all to follow the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, the far greater part of whose speech referred to topics which had no manner of connexion with the topics under discussion. The Learned Gentleman had stated, in effect, that by the article in the treaty of Amiens respecting the indemnification of the House of Orange, the honour of the country had been committed, and that that pledge still continued undeemed. It was well known that on this point he had expressed himself far from being perfectly satisfied at what had been allotted as an indemnity to the House of Orange. However, with respect to that subject, he hoped before the recess he should have the honour of making a communication from his Majesty respecting the House of Orange, and which would manifest the feelings entertained by his Majesty for that illustrious House; and which proposition was grounded on reciprocal communications made between his Majesty's Ministers and persons in the confidence of the House of Orange: on this occasion the House would be afforded the opportunity of manifesting their sense of the transactions with regard to that House in a proper and correspondent manner. He could not then be more parti-

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ir upon this subject, but he would rejoice hen the day should arrive in which he should ave the opportunity of making the communiation. Another point adverted to by the earned Gentleman was, certain proceedings stituted in this country with respect to libelous publications against the government of rance. On this head he would only say, that he French government was entitled to that rotection in this country which the governent of every other country experienced: it as equally entitled to the same degree of proection, and neither more nor less. He deeply gretted that it was not then in the power of overnment *to produce those official documents hich would give the best and most decisive anwers to the imputations thrown out against Miisters,* for not holding that sort of language, or pursuing that line of conduct which the onour of their Sovereign and the character nd honour of the country demanded. With espect to what fell from the Learned Gentleman in regard to the affair of Capt. D'Auergne, he could assure the House the instant t was made known to the British Minister his elease was demanded, and that demand was mmediately complied with. How then could Ministers be charged with compromising the onour of the country? Not only on that occaion, but in any other instance, let any Hon. Gentleman lay his finger upon any circumtance that has occurred, or any sentiment ttered, that could justify such an imputation. They had spoken with regret of the increased ower of France, but had fairly contended, hat such a consideration would not warrant hem in acts of hostility.

Mr. Fox alluded to the representation given y the Hon. and Learned Member, of the reatment which had been experienced by a British officer from the French government. Admitting this representation to be correct, nd allowing that a remonstrance had been nade on the subject by Ministers, without btaining satisfaction, he had not the smallest esitation in saying, agreeably to the ideas of ational honour which he had often had occaion to express, that he should reckon this an nsult of such magnitude as to form a very legiimate ground of renewing hostilities. If Capt. D'Auvergne had actually been arrested without he smallest pretext, thrown into a dungeon, nd subjected to insulting interrogatories, as had een described; or if the French government efused to give satisfaction to the honour of he country, wounded in the person of a British officer; this would, in his opinion, be a ten housand times more justifiable ground of war han any thing drawn from the conduct of rance in the system of German indemnities, in he invasion of Switzerland, or any other act of surpation on the continent. Strongly disosed as he was for the preservation of peace, nd anxious as he was to prevent, by every xertion of his in that House, the renewal of war, he declared without difficulty, that war was an alternative ever to be preferred to insult and infamy. After a few observations on the influence which the state of the finances of the country ought to have in deterring us from hastily plunging again into war, the Hon. Gentleman vindicated the system he recommended with regard to continental connexions. Those who accused him of inconsistency on this point he could not allow to have just and comprehensive ideas of policy. Continental connexions were not to be estimated according to a general system. They were to be judged of by a consideration of the circumstances in which the country was placed. He was a friend to continental connexions when they could be advantageous; and at the commencement of the late war he had resisted our entering into them, because the manner in which they were formed was such as to promote nothing but disappointment and disaster. His opinion now was, that the war had left the continent in that state, that, if we had an opportunity of forming an *alliance with Austria, and even Russia, he should not think such an alliance justified by policy.* Gentlemen might ask, were we never again to form any continental alliances and connexions? To this his answer was easy, and it was, that this must depend on circumstances which might hereafter appear in the situation of Europe. He certainly would not say that such alliances might not be *hereafter* renewed with advantage, *but this was not the moment for such a renewal.* Adverting merely to the interests of Austria, he could not conceive it to be either fair or friendly in this country to seek the renewal of any alliance with that power, *when such an alliance might only have the effect of exposing her to attacks from France, which she was unable to resist.* No man was more anxious than himself to keep up a high spirit in the country, but the time for exerting that spirit was to be regulated by circumstances. What might be very wise and political under certain circumstances, might under circumstances of a different nature be ruinous to our best interests; and he thought, that to embark in foreign connexions *at this time, would be to expose ourselves to such consequences.* If the House and the country had acquiesced in the peace, and the unsatisfactory state of the continent on which the peace was concluded, the same acquiescence was demanded on every principle of policy and common sense. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman had been offended at charges produced against the late Administration, and had called an Hon. Baronet (Sir Francis Burdett), if such charges were to be persisted in, to come forward and produce the proof on a regular inquiry. He was really astonished to hear Gentlemen making use of such language. Had he and those with whom he had the honour of acting, been slack in demanding inquiry into the conduct of the late Ministers? Had they not from year to year proposed inquiry, and

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had not the friends of Ministers as generally resisted all investigation? With much more justice might this charge be retorted on the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, and his friends of the new Opposition. They were indeed liable to a charge of inconsistency, which they would not find it so easy to repel. Supporting every public measure, they still were dissatisfied with Ministers. They were perpetually accusing them of imbecility, and yet never had they the boldness and manliness to prefer against them a regular and specific charge. This plan of operation would not, however, suit the Hon. Gentlemen's views. They would not bring forward any charge, though Ministers were to be blamed by indirect accusations. They would not tell Ministers what their faults were, nor would they state what better plan of conduct they would pursue. Mr. Fox answered what had been said about no petitions being presented for peace at the time when the treaty of Amiens was concluded, which he accounted for from the circumstance that Ministers, at their entrance into power, held out hopes of peace, and the country waited to see the sincerity of their professions put to the test. He referred to the subject of the indemnities to the Prince of Orange, and argued, that in this point the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the objections made by the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, was in the mean time satisfactory. He was pointed on the subject of the German indemnities, which he condemned as a system of the most gross violation of all honesty and justice, and adduced this as an additional reason why, for the present at least, German alliances should be avoided. He should rejoice in any plan to reduce French influence on the continent, *but of this there was at present no rational prospect.*

Mr. WINDHAM considered the speech of his Learned and Hon. Friend (Dr. Laurence) as replete with enlarged views, with acute discrimination, with learning brought to the uses of practical wisdom, with that sound policy which constitutes a great statesman, above any thing which had been on either side of the House heard in the course of this protracted debate. It had been said to be long; but

"Haud sunt longa, quibus nihil est quod demere possis."

The Rt. Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had offered a reply to a few of those particulars which were urged by his Learned and Hon. Friend. But was that reply in any manner satisfactory? Was it even pretended that any satisfaction had been obtained for the injury offered to the honour of this country in the person of Capt. D'Auvergne? He was ordered out of the French territories in a space of time within which it was physically impossible for him to comply with the demand. He received this order so as to be hindered by it from prosecuting claims to a great amount in France. Concerning the Prince of Orange, nothing appeared, but that the indemnity stipulated for him by the peace of Amiens was likely to be paid at last in the hard guineas of Britain. The whole transactions of Ministers, and the hints they from time to time threw out in the House, afforded *prima facie* evidence of the truth of the charges against them. The Rt. Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer joined, by his own account, firmness with conciliation. But it had been said of a piece of fraud, that its fraud was to be seen, but not its piety: and *his conciliation was indeed conspicuous*, but not his firmness. Of each act they denied that it was mean concession; but they did the inhabitants of Essex tell you, in travelling through that county, that the unhealthy hundreds were still a few miles farther, till you might pass over the whole county, and beyond its boundaries, without ever coming, if you would believe the inhabitants, to those hundreds of which the air was infamously sickly. He had been accused of a wild passion for war: but his spirit was that of the captain of a merchantman, who would fight only for his owner's interest, not of the captain of a man of war, ready to fight for honour solely. He would ever defend the good faith of our continental allies; true to the spirit of that saying of the satirist, which blames alike, *absentem qui rodit amicum, et qui non defendit alio culpante.*

LORD CASTLEREAGH proceeded to show Mr. Fox's ideas of the establishment as too low, while Mr. Windham's were too high; and examining the conduct of France, he inferred the present establishment was necessary. The invasion was possible, he contended, and instanced the arrival of Hoche's fleet off Ireland, evading our fleet which had blocked up Brest, but was driven off by the weather. A storm alone prevented Hoche from landing. The hopes founded on the sudden arming or rising of the people in case of invasion were fallacious, as, however zealous and useful in annoying an enemy, nothing could actually oppose him but a regular force. There was no dread that the attempt were made on these countries the enemy would be repelled; but, though we might preserve our independence, public credit might suffer. The present establishment was the more necessary, as at the outset of a war we might be able to detach 10,000 men to strike a sudden blow on some distant point. His Lordship dwelt with force and surprise on the endeavours made to prevent continental alliances. Unfortunately, there was no chance of such alliances; but it was likely that certain powers might act in sympathy, wishing well to each other's support. Then why so much disparage alliances? The possibility of arranging them was not great at present; but why check the hope, why discourage foreign powers from looking to this country for assistance? More favourable circumstances may occur when alliances may be practicable; but we should not debar ourselves of the chances those circum-

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es may present. The charge of neglect- the interests of the Prince of Orange was unded. It was stipulated in the treaty of ens, that an indemnity should be provided im; and accordingly he had his portion in general distribution of the German indem- s; a portion, however, inadequate to his which it would be *for this country to endea- to repair in some other way.*

SE OF COMMONS, 10TH DECEMBER 1802.

This day the House resolved itself into a mittee of the whole House, and the CHAN- LOR of the EXCHEQUER entered into a TEMENT *of the* SUPPLY *for the year*, and WAYS AND MEANS for raising it; a COR- T ABSTRACT of which will be found in 778 of this volume.]

USE OF LORDS, 13TH DECEMBER 1802.

ARL SPENCER, on the question for the first ing of the Malt Tax Bill being regularly observed, that with respect to the course as about to adopt relative to the bill before r Lordships, a variety of precedents applied, reference to the Journals would evince: present was the first bill of supply which before the House the present session. It agreed on all sides, that the present crisis ffairs was the most critical and momentous known in the history of the country, and tever tended to its illustration, should be rded with the most anxious attention. He erstood it to be perfectly regular and parli- ntary to refer to those various branches of ice as matters of discussion, which had already voted, and which were to be co- d by the supply arising out of the bill in tion. The situation of the country ren- d it necessary that those advantages, for oses of discussion, should be resorted to. onsidering the general subject, the part h struck him as objectionable on the part linisters, was the total absence of that in- ation, which certainly ought to accom- a proposition to Parliament for such a t and unprecedented increase of the esta- ment. They were to consider, that the ntry was now in a state of peace, and that rt interval had elapsed since the conclu- of war. The House would also recollect the language of Ministers had been in for- discussions, and the hopes they held forth ie probable permanence and durability of e: under such circumstances, therefore, tak- hem on the grounds laid down by Minis- themselves, he would say, that the pro- d establishments were, at such a period, ly unprecedented:—and further, it would ar, from a reference to the Journals, that ch periods as the present no augmenta- was ever made to the military establish- ment without a communication of the causes thereof, in some shape or other. In every instance where such measures were resorted to, from the peace of Ryswick to the present moment, it was uniformly the practice. Of this the reigns of King William and Queen Anne would amply furnish instances: but he would particularly advert to a speech from the Throne, made by King George I. soon after his accession, it was no great distance subsequent to the peace of Utrecht, and particularly stated, that notwithstanding the favourable conclusion of that war, certain augmentations of the national force would be necessary, until some measures for the farther security of Great Britain and its trade should be adopted. This was a precedent he considered more than ordinarily applicable to the present situation of the country, and he thought that his present Majesty would be well warranted in so addressing his Parliament. The Noble Earl continued, that his objections by no means went to the extent of the proposed establishments; the manner in which they were proposed, and the circumstances attending the proceeding, was what he disapproved of. He thought the verbal declarations of Ministers no sufficient grounds for Parliament to proceed upon in the manner required; nor was there any thing in the addresses of the House on the occasion of the treaty, which he thought could justify such measures. When he considered the language formerly held by Ministers, he was induced to suppose, that some material change must have taken place in the state of affairs, respecting which Parliament were left in complete ignorance—but the House should consider what had been the practice on similar occasions in former instances, and act accordingly. In this part of his speech his Lordship alluded to the escape of a notorious traitor, respecting whom no vigorous or decisive steps were taken to bring him to well-deserved punishment, through the apprehension, as it would appear, of offending the French government. Nor was this the only instance in which Ministers had failed; the case of a worthy and distinguished naval officer, who had been recently ill-treated at Paris, furnished another; if what he had heard respecting it was true, he should be incapable of repressing his indignation. He held it his duty to impress upon the House the necessity of pausing at least until some satisfactory information was laid before them on the subject, and which, he trusted, would lead to distinct and regular communications to Parliament upon the subject.

LORD PELHAM did not feel it necessary to enter into any detailed observations on the topics adverted to by his Lordship. One or two points, however, he could not avoid noticing, one of which he hardly thought it possible a peer of the Noble Earl's candour would consider in the manner he seemed to do, namely, that Ministers in a particular instance could

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fail in their duty through any apprehension of offending the French government. Were the Noble Earl apprised of the circumstances of the case, he could not see it in the point of view he appeared to do. A considerable degree of misunderstanding prevailed with respect to that affair, and Ministers, under all the circumstances of the case, acted as they thought best became the honour and conduced to the service of their country; he was not then prepared to detail all the particulars of the case; but he was satisfied, that, upon inquiry, the Government would be found to have acted in the way he mentioned. With respect to the gallant officer, Capt. D'Auvergne, no possible imputation could rest upon Ministers. It was true that he had been arrested by an officer of the police, and for a short time confined in Paris; but the moment it was known to the British Minister, application was made to the Minister of Foreign Relations, and by that means he was instantly released. He thought it his duty to observe in this manner upon those two points.

The EARL of CARLISLE said it forcibly struck him, when he compared the present conduct of Ministers with the sentiments they formerly expressed, that some material change must have taken place in their councils—the proposed establishment could never be thought necessary after a peace which Ministers seemed to consider as well made; however, he wanted nothing extraordinary or particular from them, notwithstanding the acknowledged critical situation in which the country was placed, but merely to follow the rules laid down by their ancestors on similar occasions; and he would defy any Noble Lord to shew where it was proposed to incur any great additional expense, without accompanying the proposition by a communication from the Crown, in some shape or other. Speaking of the impolicy of the Ministerial conduct, he said, *their concessions, instead of securing peace, led to war.* The present intended augmentation in an early period of peace, was beyond all former precedent; 55,000 men for the navy, and 130,000 for the army, which together would involve us in an expense little short of ten millions. This would operate as a severe burden upon the country; and when asked as to the reasons of all this expense, Ministers made no answer, but referred to circumstances of alleged public notoriety. He observed, that no important change had taken place since the peace, which could not well and easily have been foreseen previously to that period; but it seems great stress was laid on the "tone" and "temper" in which the pacification was concluded on the part of our adversaries: this consideration was too futile to be seriously combated. In conclusion, he observed, that if it was with a reference to the apprehension of impending danger that those large establishments were proposed, let there be a regular and distinct communication made to Parliament upon the subject.

The DUKE of NORFOLK adverted to the notoriously increased power of France as ground for the justification of the present conduct of Ministers. He agreed with part of the conduct of Ministers with respect to Mr. Tandy, who, however, it was his opinion ought never to have been tried; and he disapproved of the circumstances attending his arrest, which took place in a small independent state, unable to oppose the will of belligerent powers. Upon the whole, he thought Government acted wisely in suffering him to go unpunished.

The EARL of LIMERICK expressed his surprise at the objections started by the Noble Lords. Their Lordships were not to be told, that the whole continent of Europe was in fact disjointed and new-modelled. Great Britain was the sole country which retired from the late contest with undiminished territories and an unimpaired constitution. Under these circumstances, he thought an adequate degree of confidence ought to be reposed in Ministers in proportion to the emergency. England, however, need entertain no fears, but should adopt a plan of prudent caution. A subject too contemptible to have many words wasted upon it, had by some means crept into the discussion: he alluded to the affair of Tandy; but what had taken place with respect to him had no sort of reference to any foreign power whatever. The House had heard what had fallen from the Noble Secretary of State. Tandy's rebellious attempts were well known; but he wished the subject had been entirely kept out of the discussion; it was too contemptible to have either words or time wasted upon it; and in the possible contingency of future operations, it would be rather advantageous to the French should employ so useless and insignificant a tool. With regard to the instance of Capt. D'Auvergne it was otherwise; but it was to be observed, that the moment his detention was known to the King's Minister at Paris, *application was made, and that gallant officer released.* He saw nothing in the national circumstances which should warrant desperate measures. With respect to his Majesty's present Ministers, in whom he had the highest confidence; they had made the best peace that could be obtained; they saw there was no salutary object to be attained by continuing the war; and they saved our finances from farther injury by pacification.

LORD GRENVILLE observed, that what fell from the Noble Lord (Limerick) should always meet with attention and respect—but before he proceeded farther, there was one point which he must observe upon, namely the impression what fell from the Noble Secretary of State made upon the House, and upon

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e Noble Lord in particular, respecting the fair of Capt. D'Auvergne: on this, however, d Noble Lords taken the pains to inform emselves correctly, the result would be dif-rent—and he was strongly of opinion, that e case merited further inquiry. With re-rd to the case of Napper Tandy, he felt it in-mbent on him to say a few words: he widely ffered from the opinion expressed by the oble Duke, and he must pointedly deny, that s apprehension at Hamburgh was at all con-ry to law; so far from it, the process was ictly conformable to the known laws of that y; and it was done principally to shew, that gland felt herself as much entitled to justice that quarter, and to the benefit of those laws, France experienced in other instances. ith respect to the question regularly in dis-ssion before the House, his opinion was, that, der all the circumstances of the case, the l ought not to be then read. It was the iform custom of Parliament, "*lex et con-tudo Parliamenti*," that no great supplies ould be granted, except for reasons distinct-assigned—this would appear on the Jour-ls, and he thought that the House should use, and follow the example of our ancestors all occasions of large supply; which, if for-r periods merited their laudable caution, at must one like the present do, which was owed universally to be so alarming and mo-ntous? He combated the idea that it was in-ded to force improper explanations from nisters—explanation from them was the esent object; a distinct and regular commu-ation from the Throne was requisite on such occasion; and speaking of the language ich had been used in the discussions of the neral subject, his Lordship made some allu-ns to what had been held in the other House Parliament, to shew the inconsistency of ose who maintained opinions contrary to ose urged from his side of the House. They l not now call on Ministers to justify them-ves; their observations tended to blame em for not advising a royal communication the occasion; and their object was, by a mporary delay of the progress of the bill, to ord them an opportunity of rectifying that ission. In thus observing, he wished it to understood, that he offered no opinion as the extent of the proposed establishments, e policy and wisdom of which was entirely lative: his opinions on this part of the sub-t he would reserve for future opportunities discussion; he would only observe, that if 0,000 men were deemed an adequate number hile we retained Malta and the Cape, it ould be redundant in case those possessions re given up. With respect to these, the nduct of Ministers was notorious; the Cape, rticularly, which they had determined on, d afterwards hesitated to surrender—at ngth the former measure was fatally deter-ined, and perhaps the last orders were ere ow executed.

The Lord Chancellor. With respect to the affair of Tandy, and to what had been said generally upon his case, he would remind the House that he had been legally convicted of high treason; and in considering that point, he must observe to a Noble Earl, whose high private character and worth will always cause what falls from him to be attended with respect, though he wished to make the observation in the most respectful manner possible, that the substance of his observation on the case of Tandy had a tendency to reflect upon the administration of justice in this country. So far from what he had observed being well founded, the Noble Earl might as well say, the advice he had had the honour of giving his Sovereign on Wednesday last, in reference to the disposal of some highwaymen, was influenced by the fear of the First Consul of France, as that the conduct of Ministers with respect to Tandy was so influenced. A great deal had been said respecting the late treaty of peace. On that head he, as well as others, felt like an old Englishman; but its merits had already been decided on: it was made according to the best of the judgment of Ministers. Under all the circumstances, they thought it their duty to conclude it; but was it not notorious, that the circumstances of the continent had been changed, and the power of France incalculably increased? These points should be considered. In reference to increased establishments, the immense line of coast possessed by France should also be taken into the calculation.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 15TH DECEMBER 1802.

The order of the day being read for going into a committee on the Malt Tax Bill,

Earl Spencer rose, and observed, that on a former stage of this bill, he had taken the liberty to offer his sentiments on one or two important points connected with the measure, and he had to return his thanks to the House for the very liberal indulgence with which they heard him on that occasion. In the present instance he rose in obedience to the paramount calls of duty, and to offer his opinions more in detail upon these and other points, which he deemed of the most momentous importance to the country. But first he should have to advert to what had fallen from a Noble and Learned Lord on the former debates, who seemed, by what he then said, to have entirely misapprehended his meaning. This misconception might probably be owing to his own inaccuracy of expression at the time; but he would now repeat his opinion, that with respect to the establishments he had no objection, as far as their extent was to be considered; that is, as far as they exceeded former establishments. Such was not his ground of objection, and for obvious reasons, as the opinions he entertained of

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the late treaty of peace were well known to be unfavourable to that measure, on the ground of its probable want of permanence and its insecurity. With respect to the measure more immediately before the House, and the several important points connected with it, he had three distinct grounds of objection: First, as to the manner in which the present supplies were proposed, which was different from any former precedent; secondly, as applicable to the proposed naval and military establishment; and thirdly, as to the probable use which may be made of the forces so voted. With respect to the first head of objection, as he had troubled the House rather at length thereon on the former debate, he should not trespass much on their Lordships' attention. After all that had been urged on that point, not only by himself, but more especially by those with whom he had the honour to act, he had no hopes of being able to induce Noble Lords opposite to him to alter their opinions on that part of the subject; however, after the best attention he was able to give to the point, and after the maturest reconsideration, he remained himself of the same opinion with regard to it. He was convinced of its importance with respect to the regularity and integrity of the proceedings of Parliament; and unless he should hear arguments advanced in the course of this night's debate to induce him to change his opinion, he should deem it his duty to record it on the journals of the House. With regard to his second head of objection, the nature and extent of the establishments voted, the Noble Earl observed somewhat in detail. The amount of the respective forces was, he said, for the land service 130,000 men, and for the naval 55,000. Parliament was without adequate or regular information as to the causes, the necessity, &c. of having establishments to that extent; they must therefore consider them as well as they could, and decide upon information from the best quarter they could get it. With respect to the land force, it had been, he conceived, voted on grounds which he knew not well how to describe; but he conceived it to be done on the idea of the strictest defensive system; that the situation of the country was such as to require a land force to that amount, either with a reference to home defence, or for services abroad. In regard to this, when he reflected on the considerable augmentation to the numbers he had mentioned, by the militia force and the volunteers, he saw no reason to object to the establishment on the ground of a defensive system. With respect to the constitution and arrangement of this force, he highly approved of it; it was well directed and appointed, and the plan did the highest honour to the illustrious Personage at the head of his Majesty's land forces. In regard to the naval establishment, he regretted that he could not say as much. He was sorry that the Noble Lord at the head of that department was absent, but duty called upon him to state his opinion upon a point of such importance notwithstanding. He by no means thought the naval adequate to the land establishment. He was aware it had been said, that at a short notice sixty additional sail of the line could be prepared and brought into service. He was glad to hear this, but at the same time was not quite so well convinced of its practicability, and particularly with respect to the manning of such a force. It was asserted that this could be effected in as short a space as a month; but he knew the nature of manning the navy too well to entertain such an opinion. That measure was dependent on such a number of extensive circumstances, some of which it was entirely out of the power of Government to control, that he was decided as to its impracticability within that space. With respect to the third head of objection, the use which would be made by Ministers of these powers, he had first to observe, that what fell from the Noble Lord on the woolsack the other night, as to the discretionary powers vested in Ministers with respect to keeping up, instead of removing, increased his objection in a considerable degree. He had always understood, that whenever a specific force was voted, there was a constitutional and implied engagement on the part of the Crown to keep up the stipulated force, and hold it in readiness to act when occasion required. In this instance, therefore, former precedents were departed from; and the line of conduct adopted by Ministers with regard to the establishments, strengthened his objections to the present arrangement. Three times in a former session did they come to Parliament with different estimates of forces. In June last particularly, 70,000 men were voted, of which it appeared that 20,000 were not long after disbanded. Such a practice might obtain in the present instance, and, consequently, no security could be had in the discretion of Ministers. The uniform tenour of the Ministers, at least since the peace, made him entertain apprehensions of that sort. He had no hostility towards any, and for some of them he entertained the highest respect; but considerations of duty superseded every other. The present crisis was such, as that on the conduct of its government must depend either the ruin or the salvation of the country; and in considering this part of the subject, it was in vain to keep out of sight the gigantic power of France, her extended empire, uniform system of aggression, and her late accessions of territory. The conduct of that power with respect to one part of the treaty of peace, he was of opinion, included a breach of stipulation: he meant that relative to the House of Orange, whose real indemnity it was not improbable would be ultimately furnished by this country. He then adverted to the accession of territory made by the French out of Europe, particularly the region of Louisiana; and it was understood to be in agitation, on the part of Holland, to surrender Cochin to the French government.

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is he conceived to be a most important con-
eration with respect to our Indian empire.
t he had no hesitation to say, that Ministers
mselves did not know what system they
re acting upon, or what line of conduct it
uld be preferable to pursue. Of this, their
duct respecting Malta and the Cape fur-
hed striking instances; their orders and
nter-orders respecting the retention or sur-
der of these settlements, and their conduct
h respect to the conquered colonies in the
st Indies. He however begged it to be un-
stood, that he disclaimed the idea of wish-
to urge Ministers to rush into a war. The
: of policy he endeavoured to recommend,
t of firmness and vigour, was the surest
ans of asserting the honour of the country,
l preserving the blessings of peace: but
en he considered the weak, impolitic, and
vering conduct of Ministers, he could en-
tain little hopes in these points of view.
the contrary, had they acted on the truly
e and energetic system laid down by their
decessors, and followed it up with vigour
l effect, he would have supported them with
ch more spirit and alacrity than he now felt
ecessary to oppose them. The resources
the nation he was well convinced were per-
tly adequate to the situation in which it
unfortunately placed by the conduct of
nisters—but then they must be directed by
er hands, and administered by men of su-
ior talents, spirit, and abilities, in order to
ng them fully into action; to extricate her
m her present difficulties, and to render her
e more great and glorious. A gun may in
ry respect be capable of performing ser-
e, but it must be directed by skilful hands
render it efficacious. A boat or ship may
in perfect order, but an able steersman
l expert mariners were necessary to render
f service. Upon the whole, and under all
circumstances of the case, he felt it his
y at present to object to their Lordships
ceeding to the order of the day.

The LORD CHANCELLOR observed, that the
stion regularly before their Lordships was,
ether they would read the order for going
o a Committee to consider of a bill of sup-
, which not only went to affect the military
ablishment, but even the civil existence of
country; it was a bill, which in that House
been regularly voted without opposition,
m year to year, and which they would bear
mind, not only regarded the naval and mili-
y, but the civil establishments of the coun-
. In the course of what had fallen from the
ble Earl who spoke last, some observations
been made which he felt himself imperi-
ly called upon to answer. They regarded
t part of the conduct of the late Administra-
n, which related to the measures adopted by
m, against those who were endeavouring,
means of sedition and treason, to destroy
government, and to subvert the constitu-
n of the country. The guilt of those mea-
sures, if guilty they are, lay as much on his
shoulders as on those of any member of the
late Administration; and he would agree that
their successors may well be deemed weak and
void of energy, did they hesitate a moment,
in case of necessity, to tread in the steps of
their predecessors in that particular, and tem-
porarily to supersede the liberty of the coun-
try, in order permanently to secure it; and
should they hesitate upon such salutary and
saving measures, he would no longer form a
part of that Administration; but the reason
they were not resorted to was, simply because
they were not necessary. He would not follow
the Noble Lords in those points which were ir-
relevant to the subject in discussion, nor par-
ticularly the last Noble Speaker, through the
whole conduct of the late Ministry. With re-
gard to them, however, he was aware, that no
set of men could more fully maintain the ho-
nour and preserve the happiness of the country
in a greater degree than they did; and he sup-
ported them through the whole of their ad-
ministration with all his heart and soul. He
would put it to the heart and feelings of the
Noble Earl who took the lead in this debate,
if the tendency of his arguments did not
amount to this—that they ought to refuse
their assent to the bill of supply before them;
not because the establishments to be provided
for by it were unnecessary or excessive—not be-
cause the situation of the country did not obvi-
ously require them—but because those in whose
hands their application was intrusted, could
not make a wise use of them? He had had the
honour of fighting side by side with that great
Minister so often alluded to in recent debates;
and he would ask, would that great person re-
fuse to assent to such a bill as the present, at
a moment when the circumstances of France
rendered it necessary that the country should
be, not certainly with a drawn sword, but in
a state of readiness to recur vigorously to de-
fensive measures, should the conduct of the
former render it necessary? Such would not
be the conduct of that great man. And, with
respect to the insinuations of charges against
his Majesty's present Ministers, the language
of the person he alluded to on former occa-
sions was emphatically, that those who urged
addresses for the removal of Ministers, should
boldly state the specific causes upon which the
proceeding should be founded. Were con-
trary principles acted upon, the circulation,
the vital blood of the country would be stop-
ped. If Ministers were to be removed, let it
be on distinct and express grounds; and here
his Lordship having occasion to recur to the
conduct and principles of the great Minister
before alluded to, spoke of his character in
strains of the warmest eulogium, as one whom
the bounty of Providence, with a reverence
to his transcendent talents and virtue, caused
not his equal to be born in the course of cen
turies. He knew that great and virtuous man
to be grossly abused and libelled, while the ob-
ject of his measures was alone the preservation

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of genuine freedom:—to that end, he well knew, the thoughts of that person were anxiously directed. Never yet did any man more richly deserve the applause of the virtuous and the good! Recurring then to the subjects in discussion, the Noble and Learned Lord observed, that, in arguing the question, those in opposition uniformly occupied the "vantage ground:" they had referred to the consideration of alliances, and their effects, without seeming to consider how far that Administration, of which those Noble Lords so worthily formed a part, was implicated in those measures; how many were signed by the late Noble Secretary of State, and were necessarily dissolved even during his continuance in office! The present Ministers had been repeatedly censured for reducing the forces of the country; but it was not considered that such reduction was necessary, and often one of the most desirable effects of peace. It was unnecessary now to enter into a vindication of that important measure; he would only fervently pray to God that it may not, as the Noble Lords had augured (his hopes and convictions were otherwise) turn out prejudicial to the country; but, at any rate, the present vote was not to be decided by that measure. With respect to the Noble Earl's first objection, as to the manner in which the present supply was proposed, it was then unnecessary for him to answer it. In regard to his second point, the details of the establishments, it was some satisfaction to him, that the Noble Earl did not object to them on the score of extent. He did not profess himself to be adequately conversant in those subjects, but he could not refrain from observing again, that the Noble Lords took the "vantage ground," in not considering these establishments with a reference to the naval and military faculties of France; and in this point of view he doubted not they would be found well apportioned, and commensurate to the circumstances and necessities of this country. In arguing these points, his Lordship displayed much ability and information; and concluded with a reservation, that it could not fairly be said, that the day may not arrive in which these forces may be consistently and safely reduced. But were the question to be decided on the grounds urged by the Noble Earl, it were impossible the funds and forces of the country could be turned to a wise or salutary use. If such were the Noble Earl's real sentiments, he would put it to his justice, whether his motion should be directed not against the bill of supply, but for the removal of Ministers? Upon such principles he had always acted with the great man before alluded to, with the Noble Lords themselves, and with the ancestor of a Noble Lord on the bench with them. (We believe the Noble and Learned Lord alluded to Lord Kenyon, who was present.) With respect to the peace, and the important circumstances connected with it, he felt like an Englishman all over; there were many points connected with that, but more especially with the present subject, which he should think himself very unworthy of the situation he had the honour to hold, if he were weak enough to enter into a discussion of at present. He spoke his sentiments on this head, with the feelings of a man who humbly hoped that those who went before should not have to reproach them with such a dereliction of duty they would act upon the same great and leading principles, and they would strive to preserve the peace, and endeavour to save the country.

EARL SPENCER observed, that the Noble Lord had misapprehended the object of his argument when he supposed it was to suspend the progress of the bill until the present Administration was removed; if he should have said any thing to that effect, it was not his intention to have said it.

The EARL of CARLISLE observed, that what had been so misconceived was not the object of Lords on his side of the question; their wish was only that the House should pause until Ministers would condescend to tread in the steps of their ancestors upon similar occasions, and conform to the established practice of Parliament. In every former instance they required information, and adequate explanation as to the reasons and causes always accompanied the requisition. As things stood, they were abandoned entirely to conjecture; and they might be strongly inclined to think that some material change had taken place, when they recollected what was passed about the close of last session, as an adequate establishment, and compared it with what was demanded at present. The Noble Earl then adverted to the recent occurrences on the continent, the acquisitions to the territories of France, and the affairs of Switzerland, respecting which Ministers left the House in complete ignorance. He repelled the idea that the object of the present conduct of the Lords who acted with him was a change of Ministers: neither was it a part of their views to urge them to a war; such insinuations were unfounded; their real objects were, the honour and security of the country. In the present instance he insisted it would be right to afford time to Ministers to follow the example of their ancestors upon similar occasions.

The EARL of DARNLEY expressed his apprehensions in strong language at the increasing power of France, which, conjoined with Russia, he was of opinion, could give law to the whole world, Great Britain excepted. He would support Ministers as long as they upheld the national honour, and provided for the security. At the same time, he could not withhold his tribute of applause to the ch-

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racter of the great Minister so often alluded to of late. His abilities, integrity, and, above all, his firmness, spirit, and courage, were beyond any thing he could express. He then recurred to the situation of France, and the character of the person at the head of its government, whose ambition he considered as far from being satiated. One great object of his ambition seemed, he conceived, to be the subjugation of this country. He longed to break open the doors of the Bank of England with his legion of honour, and to plant the republican standard on the Tower of London. He would freely speak his sentiments independent of ministerial considerations—he deemed large establishments requisite in the present state of the country, and as such approved of the bill before the House.

Lord Hobart affirmed, that the honour of the country had not been sullied by the conduct of his Majesty's present Ministers: not one of them would continue in office, were they necessitated to submit to any act which tended to sully the national honour. With respect to the subject in discussion, he must express his surprise at the perseverence of Lords in opposition, after the very candid and satisfactory explanation given by his Noble and Learned Friend on the woolsack, in the last debate. He contended, that the causes for the establishments thus called for were of sufficient public notoriety for Parliament to proceed upon. Nor was that all; he could as effectually contend, that the measures now under discussion were duly and adequately adverted to in the speech from the Throne. In illustration of which position, his Lordship read several striking extracts; and it was to enable his Majesty to give effect, in case of necessity, to the language so delivered, that the augmentation in question was deemed necessary, and for which, he must insist, the Royal communication had laid an adequate foundation. The charge of the Noble Lords, therefore, that the whole proceeding was rested on the ground of public notoriety, was unfounded. Upon those principles, it would be necessary that his Majesty's Speech should be accompanied by a geographical description of France and its territorial acquisitions, and also by a schedule of her military establishments. When the Noble Lords admitted they did not object to the extent of the establishments, upon what solid or substantial grounds then could they advance? The establishments existing in France were matter for serious consideration in the discussion of the subject before them, and for the information of the House. His Lordship read some extracts from a recent publication (we could not collect the title), wherein the the land forces, &c. of France were specified; their power, by one statement therein, was estimated at 495,000 men; and he argued, that this, joined to the other considerations advanced in the course of the debate, were ample grounds for assenting to the supplies already voted by the House of Commons. His Lordship then slightly adverted to some occurrences which took place about the period of the resignation of the late Ministers, and argued therefrom in favour of his general conclusions. He was duly convinced of the delicate situations in which Ministers were often placed—situations which sometimes rendered it as necessary to withhold explanation, as it may be proper to give it in others. After adverting to some points connected with the general subject of discussion, in some degree of detail, he drew inferences therefrom, and adduced additional arguments in favour of the immediate progress of the bill.

Lord Carysfort objected that there had not been sufficient information laid before the House, to authorize them to vote for the supply demanded, until more satisfactory statements were made on the part of his Majesty's Ministers. His Lordship discussed at some length the topics which have been already repeatedly urged respecting the relative situation of the country, and observed that he could not help doubting how far his Majesty's Ministers were entitled to confidence, when he considered the dangers to which the country had been exposed during their administration.

The Duke of Norfolk said, that his Majesty's Ministers made a peace, which, if it was not exactly what was wished, he was certain that it met with the concurrence and approbation of nine tenths of the people of this country—of all, in short, who were not led away by motives of private interest to wish for a continuance of the war.

Lord Grenville said, that there never had been a greater perversion of the line of argument adopted by his Noble Friends, than the statement which had been unintentionally, no doubt, made by his Noble and Learned Friend (the Lord Chancellor). It was never the intention of himself, or of his Noble Friends, to oppose the supplies, but it was merely a question as to time. The opposition was merely to the order of the day being now read, in the hope that some communication might in the mean time be made from his Majesty, with respect to the motives upon which they were called upon to vote the supplies. His Majesty's Ministers had not thought proper to advise his Majesty to make any specific communication as to the particular circumstances of the country; all the information they had upon the subject was ambiguous and unsatisfactory. He had taken some pains to search the Journals of the House for a century back, and he had found it had been invariably the practice, with the exception perhaps of a few instances, which would make little in favour of his Majesty's Ministers, that some specific grounds had been stated to Parlia-

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ment as to the particular line of conduct which they were called upon to pursue. After the treaty of Lisbon, the peace of Utrecht, the treaty of Paris, and other events of a similar nature, some information was imparted, which served as a clue to guide the Legislature with respect to the relative situation of the country. In the memorable speech of George the First, immediately after the accession of the House of Hanover, it was stated, that the peace was insecure, and that it was necessary to cement continental alliances. In the present case, however, all the information given was vague and unsatisfactory. He did not wish hastily to oppose his Majesty's Ministers, but he could not help thinking that the return of the Right Hon. Gentleman to power, who had so ably presided over the late Administration, was wanted, and that those who opposed his return were guilty of a deep injustice towards their country. Large supplies were called for, but what was the difference in the situation of the country? The hostility of France towards this country was the same, whilst her power was increasing; and if that was the case, why should it have been stated, as it had been at one time since the peace, that an establishment of 30,000 seamen would be sufficient, when at the present moment a larger establishment was called for? The military and naval establishments now called for, were, it was stated, as great as the faculties of the country were enabled to provide for; but it should be recollected, that proposing these establishments was like erecting a dam, which was not to exceed a certain height, against a torrent which was continually increasing; the dam might be able to stem the stream to-day, but to-morrow the torrent would increase, and its impetuosity receive an additional force. We were called upon, it was stated, to execute the treaty of Amiens, whilst France had acted in defiance of it: surely, however, it was necessary to pause before we delivered up the Cape and Cochin, which were the keys of the East Indies; and Malta, which was the key of the Mediterranean. The Cape and Cochin had, it seemed, been already surrendered. As to Malta, information was still wanted, whether it was retained as a matter of policy with respect to the general relations of this country, or whether only until certain stipulations, agreed upon in the treaty of Amiens, were fulfilled; stipulations which, he contended, ought never to have been entered into. He could not conceive, however, that Malta ought to be the subject of a separate and distinct question; it ought only to be comprised in the general question respecting the relations between this country and France. He had the highest respect for his Noble and Learned Friend (the Lord Chancellor), but he was fully aware, that the numerous avocations of his Noble and Learned Friend, precluded him from attending very minutely to the political situation of the country: he could only in this way account for the opinion delivered by his Noble and Learned Friend, which he considered as very fatal to the country, that we must have large establishments, in order to be upon our guard against the designs of France; and that we must trust to time for an amelioration of our situation. He well knew, that much was to be allowed to events; but he could not help observing, there was not much probability at present that the power and predominance of France would decrease; and when it was stated that the establishments now required were as great as the faculties of the country could bear, it was informing France of the extent of our resources, of which she might with facility take advantage. He wished it to be thoroughly understood, that he had no desire for war; he only wished for a firm and vigorous conduct on the part of his Majesty's Ministers.

LORD PELHAM said, that as to what the Noble Lord (Lord Grenville) had advanced respecting Cochin, that Noble Lord might be in possession of some information upon the subject, but certainly his Majesty's Ministers had received no intelligence of its surrender. *He disclaimed the opinion advanced by the Noble Lord, as that of his Majesty's Ministers, that they intended to trust merely to time, as it was certainly their intention to take advantage of every circumstance upon the continent, which could contribute to the security of this country.* The Noble Lord had alluded to a supposed misrepresentation of the sentiments of the Noble Lord's friends in the course of the night, as if it had been stated that they wished to refuse the supplies; he confessed he could not see much difference between stopping and arresting the supplies. It had been observed by the Noble Lord, alluding to a statement made in another place, that a much smaller peace establishment had been originally mentioned, than that which was now called for; but it would be recollected that the statement alluded to only implied, that the number of seamen wanted would not be less than 30,000, not that they would not exceed that number. The Noble Lord had expressed much friendship for his Majesty's Ministers; but certainly whatever might be the expressions of the Noble Lord and his friends, the effect of their opinions went to the removal of those Ministers; and if the Noble Lord and his friends really held those opinions which they had advanced, it was certainly their constitutional duty to endeavour, according to the forms of Parliament, to procure the removal of those Ministers, a step which he should certainly take if the Noble Lord and his friends were in office; and he held the same opinion of them which they seemed to entertain of himself and his Noble and Hon. Colleagues. With respect to the call made by the Noble Lord for the return of a Right Hon.

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lentleman into office, he should only say, at neither himself nor his colleagues opposed y obstacle to that return.

OUSE OF COMMONS, 29TH DECEMBER 1802.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose; d moved that the House do now adjourn ntil the 3d day of February next; upon hich

Mr. ELIOT said, that he could not help expressing his decided opposition to the motion ist now made by the Right Hon. Gentleman. was universally known and acknowledged, at the country was at this moment placed in state of unparalleled danger, in a state such required the most anxious caution, the most remitting vigilance. Indeed, after the varis deliberations that had already taken place on this serious and important subject, how ould he help being filled with surprise on obrving that a motion should be made for the ouse now to adjourn for five weeks, without linisters having condescended to afford any ing like parliamentary information respecting e present perilous posture of public affairs? there any man now so sceptical about the ews which France is pursuing, as to doubt as she is actuated by a most dangerous spirit ambition and aggrandizement? or can any an who observes that spirit, observe it with- it painfully feeling the imminence of the rils to which our present situation is exsed? When we observe the workings of at spirit, what do we behold? Do we not e, that, instead of endeavouring to avail herlf of the advantages of peace, France is comrting herself as if under the uncertainty of armistice? Instead of reducing, is she not larging, the scale of her establishments? Is e not increasing her forces both by sea and nd? Is she not replenishing her arsenals, d multiplying every possible mean of agression? and, with all these symptoms of eparation before us, is the House to separate d retire without obtaining the least informaon respecting matters of such weighty imrtance? It is known that we are still in ssession of Malta; but whether we still re- n the Cape of Good Hope or not, is doubtl. It does not appear that Alexandria has t been evacuated; neither is it explained y so long a delay has occurred in evacuating Whether we are to retain or surrender ese possessions, or when the different condions of the treaty of Amiens will be fulfilled, points respecting which the House was left mpletely in the dark. There were also other ports of an alarming nature abroad: Cochin said to be delivered up to France; the same ts likely to be the fate of the Floridas. All ese things are said to be going on; yet at the me time it appears we are to be dismissed without obtaining the least information respecting such momentous interests, without being able to say to our constituents whether there was any foundation for such rumours or not. The House is likewise left uninformed whether any attempts have been made at establishing any commercial intercourse with France, or with the allies of France; or what may be the consequence of not having revived the former existing treaties. Upon all these topics, so closely connected with the vital interests of the country, no light whatever was afforded, and in that state of ignorance were Members sent back to their constituents, wholly unable to satisfy them for what purposes such large establishments have been voted; wholly unable to tell them what they may have to hope, or what to fear. France, meanwhile, continued to infringe on the rights of almost every surrounding nation, without its being determined whether the conditions of the peace were fulfilled, or when they would be fulfilled. Under such a doubtful aspect of affairs, it could not be proposed to adjourn the House, unless Ministers were prepared to give some satisfactory information respecting the state of the country, which state was surely more perilous than at any other period when such an adjournment was ever before moved. Such a motion he, for one, could not agree to; for he was satisfied that it must tend materially to affect the interests of the country, and let down the dignity of Parliament.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER began by observing, that the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, seemed to contend that on all hands it was admitted that the country was in a state of unexampled danger. He must beg leave to say, that he for one could not accede to such an admission; and he might, perhaps, with equal confidence assert, that if the opinion of the majority of the House, and of the people, were taken upon this question, it would be found that they were no parties to such an admission. He must also beg leave to remind the House, that he never had underrated or disguised the danger that might be apprehended from the spirit of aggrandizement which seemed to actuate the French government; on the contrary, it was always his wish that the most unwearied vigilance should be kept up; that the utmost caution should be observed; but, at the same time, he could not help being struck with those gloomy insinuations in which the Gentlemen opposite to him were so prone to indulge (without the least bad intention, most undoubtedly, on their part), but which, however, must have a strange effect in the eyes of Europe, by continually holding out this country as placed in a situation of unexampled danger. If any such danger existed, Parliament had already wisely provided the means of meeting and averting it; and that precaution of their wisdom in pre-

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paring every means of defence and security, fully justified him in making the motion to which the Hon. Gentleman thought proper to object. Besides, if those Gentlemen were so anxious to obtain the information they now call for, was it not rather strange that they should have deferred calling for it till the last day before the recess? The day on which the House was to adjourn was universally known; and when he himself made the motion for postponing the Committees on Undue Returns till the 8th February, he upon that occasion gave notice that it was intended that Parliament should adjourn till within a few days of that day. Parliament had, however, continued to sit longer than it was originally intended, yet no question was put, or no motion made for producing the information now required, until the very last day. Yet the greatest surprise is expressed, that the House should adjourn for five weeks without all this information being produced. In the first place, the vigilance and foresight of Parliament had already adopted such measures as fully secured every mean of defence; and in the second place, if any emergency should arise (which he, however, did not foresee) that should call for the advice of Parliament, was not his Majesty empowered, by a late act, to call his Parliament together within fourteen days? But the Hon. Gentleman says, that in a situation of such unexampled peril as the present, there was no instance of an adjournment being proposed. What the Hon. Gentleman strictly meant by unexampled peril, he should not pretend to determine; but in his opinion the close of the year 1799 was a period of greater danger and difficulty, and yet at that time Parliament was adjourned from October to January; and the proposition for the adjournment was made by men who were well known anxiously to weigh the dangers of the country, and to be equally solicitous to provide for its defence. Indeed an adjournment at this season of the year was usually looked for; it suited the avocations and convenience of individuals, and could be of no detriment to the public service. Even this year Parliament had already dispatched more important public business than perhaps had ever yet been gone through before the Christmas holidays. Even should Parliament now continue to sit, what could they have to do that was not already provided for? He was, therefore, at a loss to see what real foundation there was for opposing the motion of adjournment.

Mr. ELIOT said a few words to explain what he meant by an unexampled state of danger.

Mr. WINDHAM approved of every thing that had fallen from his Hon. Friend, and expressed his surprise at not having received an answer more congenial to his feelings. He should not now enter at any length into the question before the House, because he saw the House was not prepared for the discussion. He must, however, contend that the country was in an unexampled state of danger, and that in the strict and literal sense of the word. Indeed, that the country was in danger, was assumed and allowed by almost every Gentleman who had spoken upon that subject; and the very measures that have been lately adopted, abundantly proved that something more unusual must have called for them. For his part, he always was of opinion that the country was threatened with the most imminent danger, and he begged to be understood not to have abated one jot of that opinion: though Gentlemen might view that danger in different lights with regard to its extent, yet it was so generally acknowledged to exist, that some more precise and specific information should be given besides what could be gathered from the measures already adopted by the House. The House should have communicated to them which might be communicated without danger; and there must surely be some intermediate mode between telling every thing and telling nothing. The state of our establishments fully proved that we were in a state of portentous peril; and that whatever preparations may have been made, yet that state could not be converted into a state of security. The measures that have already been taken are merely intended to frustrate attempts at invasion; defensive armour is only to be put on to resist any sudden attack; but are there no other dangers? Is not France roaming all over the world? Do we not seem to say to her, Do what you please, go where you please, so that you keep your hands off us? This is a state of danger against which the defensive armour we have provided will prove of no avail. Nine months had now elapsed since the signing of the definitive treaty; yet the House was still ignorant whether its main provisions were carried into effect or not. Nothing was definitively known respecting the Cape; but the Cape was of more importance than ever since the surrender of Cochin to the French. Under all these circumstances, he must think it improper for the House to separate without obtaining the required information.

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*The Empire of Germany divided into Departments, under the Prefecture of the Elector of *****. To which is prefixed, a Memoir on the political and military State of the Continent, written by the same Author. Translated from the French, by William Cobbett.*

Preface of the Translator.—Of the *importance* of the subject treated of in this work, no one can doubt, when he considers that it contains an account of the transfer of whole states, from the hands of one sovereign to those of another; and of the utility of the work itself to the world, the anger which it has excited at St. Cloud is perhaps the best possible proof. It had been published but a very few days; it was hardly known in London, when its existence was proclaimed to the world, and when a most false and scandalous libel was issued against its supposed author, through the columns of the Moniteur*, the official gazette of France, that infamous gazette, in which the sovereign of Britain has been styled a rewarder of assassins.

I had seen the work before it was noticed in the Moniteur, and I was not a little pleased to find in it that information which I had elsewhere sought for in vain. All is now changed upon the continent of Europe; so that the statistical works and maps, published only a few years ago, are of very little use. Besides, those works are too bulky, and deal too much in minute detail, for the purposes of a politician, who is desirous of forming a correct, comprehensive view of the present state of the continent, and of the probable consequences of the alarming changes which have taken place. To furnish a guide in this pursuit, required not only a considerable store of knowledge in general politics, political economy, geography, and military affairs, but also an intimate acquaintance with all those branches of science, as applicable to each individual state of Europe, and as applicable to the whole of them, considered in relation to each other. A mass of information, made up of materials so various, and absolutely demanding many years of personal experience and local observation, is rarely to be met with in the mind of one man, but which seems to have been possessed by the author of this excellent work.—A work which gives us pleasure we naturally wish to communicate to others; and this desire becomes a sort of duty, when, as in the present instance, such a communication appears conducive to the maintenance of the cause of justice and honour.—To the translation of *L'Empire Germanique*, &c. I have thought it useful to prefix a *Memoir on the Political and Military State of Europe*, which I have translated from a work of the same author, published some time ago. The two tracts serve to elucidate each other; and are, indeed, in some sort necessary for that purpose. WM. COBBETT.

London, 18th Jan. 1803.

A Memoir on the Political and Military State in which Europe will be placed, relative to France, by the continental Peace. Written in January 1801, *and translated from the French, out of the Journal de M. Peltier.*—The governments of Europe are at length acquainted with the terms on which Buonaparté is willing to grant them a prolongation of existence, or rather a suspension of the sentence of destruction, so often and so solemnly pronounced against them by the revolutionary faction, of which he is the head.—It is impossible to dissemble the fact, that, unless assistance be afforded the emperor to repel the peace that has been imposed on him, it will prove as completely binding on the other powers of Europe as if they had consented to it. Let those who doubt this assertion call to their recollection, that Tuscany was lost by the last armistice; and that the disarming of Austria caused, in the course of one twelvemonth, the overthrow of the states of Venice, Genoa, and Rome, together with the kingdoms of Naples and Piedmont, and the republics of Switzerland, Malta, and Egypt. Let us leave to cowardice and infamy the absurd and wicked task of applauding the "moderation" of the laws dictated by Buonaparté; let us examine them with impartiality, and discuss them with moderation, that we may know their immediate tendency, and discover their remote and inevitable consequences, in order to prevent or moderate their fatal effects.—Their immediate consequences are these: the French government remains absolute master of the whole of ancient France, of the Pays-Bas, Holland, Germany on this side the Rhine, of Switzerland, Piedmont, Genoa, the Dutchies of Milan and Modena, the best part of the States of the Church, and of Egypt (the English have lately torn Malta from them, and when peace is restored, I imagine they will give up their infamous conquest of Tuscany†). The name of republic, which is still kept up in Switzerland, Holland, and some parts of Italy, cannot, I conceive, impose on any one, as to the pretended independence of those countries.—Spain, at a distance from all foreign supplies, without internal strength, isolated and cut off from the whole world by the very enemy that is gnawing her vitals, and waiting for the moment when she may devour her at her leisure, is under the absolute control of France; and no sooner will peace be signed, than the French government will have it in its power to conquer and revolutionize both Spain and Portugal whenever it pleases. The news of this conquest will reach Vienna and Berlin before the armies of these two powers can have marched for the purpose of making a diversion; and were they even to set their armies in motion, by what means could they succeed in snatching them from the hands of the conqueror? Even supposing a cordial co-operation between Austria and Prussia possible, what motive could sufficiently interest in the preservation of a monarchy so distant, two sovereigns, one of whom has been a tranquil spectator of the overthrow of the king of Naples, and the other of the stadtholder? The south of Italy entirely laid open, bereft of the support of the emperor, driven beyond the Adige, torn to pieces by internal dissentions which surpass the horrors of the Guelphs and Gibelins, waits only for the presence of a French army to submit to the yoke without a struggle. The loss of these two rich and extensive countries, at a period more or less distant, is then a necessary consequence of the proposed peace; unless, indeed, we look for salvation from the "moderation" of the conqueror.—This immense power, which at no former period has had its equal, contains a concentrated population of more

* A translation of this article will be found in "COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER," vol. iii. p. 6.

† The fact has proved, that the author relied too much on the "moderation" of Buonaparté for this restitution.

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than *forty* millions of souls*, of *fifty-two* millions, if we include Spain, and of *sixty*, if we reckon the south of Italy. It is entirely in the hands of a government vigorous, united, and (by the single clause which makes the suspension of established laws to depend on the will of one man) invested with more authority than any human government ever possessed. It reposes on a soil endowed with all the gifts of nature, made fruitful by industry and commerce; and, beyond all comparison, richer, both in natural and acquired productions, than any other spot of the globe of equal extent. I imagine the strongest national prejudice will not deny these advantages to the vast extent of country bounded from Embden to the mouths of the Po, by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and Adriatic, and from the mouths of the Po to the Dollart, separated from the rest of Europe by the Lower Po, the Mincio, the Rhine, and the Ems. The *French empire* (for the future I shall make use of this expression, to avoid the terms *monarchy*, *republic*, *league*, &c. terms which are equally inapplicable to France, and to the various nations she has subjugated)—the *French empire*, including the kingdom of Portugal, which cannot long survive the continental peace, is surrounded by the ocean from the Dollart to the Straits of Gibraltar; from Gibraltar, by the Mediterranean Sea, to the Gulf of Spezzia, supposing for a moment the independence of southern Italy; and by this sea and the Adriatic, as far as the mouths of the Po, on a contrary supposition, which appears far more probable. This vast extent of coast brings France nearer to the three other parts of the globe than any nation of Europe.—The frontier of the French empire may be divided into several lines, each of which we will separately examine. Generally speaking, the Zuyder Zee and the Rhine, as far as the upper extremity of the Lake of Constance; the Alps of Appenzel, Glaris, the Grisons, the Valteline, and Upper Bressan; together with the Lake of Guarda, the Mincio, and the Lower Po, as far as the sea, may be said to separate France from the rest of Europe.—To enter into a more minute detail: the *first division* of this frontier is the Zuyder Zee; the *second*, the Rhine, in all its ramifications, as far as the fortress of Schenck; all the strong places of the Lower Meuse, and of Holland. The portion of the United Provinces beyond the Zuyder Zee is relatively of little importance; confined by the Dollart, the Northern and the Zuyder Zee, it is only accessible to the enemy by a marshy frontier, which adds to its defence. To use a military expression, it is an exterior work, difficult to take, difficult to keep, and useless for penetrating still farther.—The *third division* is the course of the Rhine, from the fortress of Schenck to Coblentz, where it receives the Moselle. During a course of fifty leagues this river has, it is true, no fortresses; but it is every where very deep, and from three to four hundred toises in width. Behind, the Meuse, with its fortresses of Grave, Maestricht, and Namur, together with the fortresses of Juliers and Luxembourg, the course of the Moselle and Mentz, form before the ancient frontier of France a barrier so formidable, that the coalition, at the period of its greatest strength, and of the relative weakness of France, and after its most brilliant successes, was scarcely able to carry, and that but for an instant.—The same river, from Coblentz up to Germersheim, where it enters Alsace, forms, during the course of thirty-six or forty leagues, the *fourth division* of the frontier. Nearly in the centre stands the vast fortress of Mentz: Coblentz and Germersheim defend the extremities of the line. The fort of Cassel and the citadel of Coblentz (Ehrenbreitstein) open two entrances into the interior of Germany; the first, by Frankfort and the course of the Meine, into Franconia, Saxony, and even towards Egra, in Bohemia; and the second into Hesse, with the advantage of surprising the troops coming from the north to the relief of the south of Germany. At the back of this line of defence, is the ancient frontier of France, supported by the citadel of Luxembourg, which all engineers agree in considering as the strongest fortress in Europe.—The *fifth division* of the line is the ancient frontier of France, in Alsace, extending from Germersheim to Basle: its strength is well-known. It is now considerably augmented by the possession of Switzerland, which affords the advantage of taking in the flank and rear the troops threatening Alsace from the Brisgau.—The Rhine, from Basle to the lower extremity of the Lake of Constance, covers the *sixth division* of the frontier of France. This river, it is true, is much narrower in this part than it is lower down, and is defended by no fortress. But to remedy this deficiency, Switzerland presents a succession of excellent positions; and, without entering into details that would render this Memoir purely military, in order to shew the strength of this position, it will be sufficient to call to our recollection how slowly, and through what torrents of blood, the Austrian army, every where victorious, superior in numbers, and under the command of a prince adored by his soldiers, penetrated, in the campaign of 1799, not into France through Switzerland, but merely as far as the Lake of Zurich, which includes, at most, the fourth or fifth part of this country.—The *seventh and last division* of the frontier of the Rhine, is the Lake of Constance, which may be looked upon as impenetrable.—Above the Lake of Constance, to the country of the Grisons, the Rhine forms, indeed, the limits, but not the barrier of the *French empire*, though it tends to increase its strength: the real barrier is the Alps of Appenzel, Glaris, the Grisons, &c. This conducts us to the second of the three grand divisions of the frontier of the French empire, viz. the enormous Alps, which, for a space of more than fifty leagues (twenty-five to a degree) measured in a direct line, extend from the head of the Lake of Guarda above Salo, across Upper Bressan, the Valteline, the Grisons, the countries of Sargans and Appenzel, as far as the head of the Lake of Constance, near the mouth of the Rhine.—It is extremely difficult, but at the same time highly important, to form a correct idea of the nature of this frontier. None of the political divisions formerly existing can furnish us with a comparison. We can easily conceive, for example, that the Alps, from the environs of Nice to Mount Cenis, separated Provence and Dauphiny from Piedmont,

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* Ancient France 25,000,000
Pays-Bas, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland 7,500,000
Piedmont, Savoy, and Genoa 3,000,000
Cisalpine republic 4,000,000

Total 40,000,000

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covering by their flanks a considerable portion of the surface of these two countries to the right and left: the vallies to the east and west of the central chain were respectively occupied by the two states, which generally extended as far as the summit of the upper chain. All the difficulty of penetrating from one of the two countries into the other, consisted in forcing one of the numerous but difficult passages leading to the summit of the upper central chain of mountains, in order to descend again afterwards. All the roads communicating to the two countries were generally in this direction; and the two powers stretching to the common summit had only the first difficulty to overcome before they opened, after two or three days march, on the flat country.—But here the Alps are not interposed between Austria and the French empire, as they were between ancient France and Piedmont; but run, as it were, from one country into the other: they no longer resemble the Rhine dividing Gaul from Germany, but the Danube entering Germany by Hungary.—The chain of the Alps may be considered as a vast current, a river of mountains and of vallies, whose *central chain* indicates the course of the water, whilst its flanks and *collateral chains*, with their vallies to the right and to the left, represent the two moieties of the river. The breadth of this current of mountains varies from thirty to forty-five leagues, and in length it runs an uninterrupted course from Nice and the Var, with a variety of inflexions similar to the windings of a river, between Provence, Dauphiny, Savoy, Switzerland, the Grisons, the German Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniole, &c. on one side, as far as Turkey and the mountains of Thrace, formerly called Rhodope and Hæmus, &c. and on the other side, between Piedmont, the Milanese or Lombardy, the Trentin or Italian Tyrol, the provinces of Venice to the north of the Gulf, &c. This river, the head of which may be considered as rising from the extremity of European Turkey, enters into the states of Austria, through which it travels as far as the angular line I have just mentioned, by which it passes entirely into the territory of the French empire. This angular line extends from the Lake of Guarda, between Bresciano and Trentin, to the springs of the Oglio, for the space of forty-five miles; from the springs of the Oglio, through those of the Adda and Adige, it enters the Valteline and the Tyrol, crosses afterwards the river of the Inn below the Engadine, and continues by the chain of Mount Rhætico, and the Alps of Sarganz and Appenzel, as far as the Lake of Constance.—The third grand division of the frontier of France still remains to be examined. It extends from the head of the Lake of Guarda to the mouths of the Po; and may be divided into three parts: the *first* is the Lake of Guarda, which no army can cross over; the *second* is the course of the Mincio, supported in an extent of twelve leagues by the two fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera; the *third* is the Lower Po, from Borgoforte to the sea. The Po, in this part of its course, is deep and rapid, varying in width from four to six hundred toises; and in its approach to the sea divides itself into several arms, enclosing between them a vast extent of territory, intersected by canals, covered with marshes, and consequently impassable. This river is, therefore, the most powerful barrier that France could possibly desire for covering Italy, whose only defence against all the powers of Europe is reduced to a line of fifty leagues; forty of which consist of the course of the Po, such as I have described it, and the other ten, of the course of the Mincio, covered by two powerful fortresses*.—Hitherto I have only considered this frontier as defensive; if we examine it with a view to its means of aggression, all the advantage remains on the side of France. For, beyond the Mincio, there is not, if we except the Adige, any military position as far as the frontiers of Carinthia and Carniole: the small rivers in the state of Venice, viz. the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the Izonzo, are not even powerful enough to arrest an army unsupplied with pontoons. The Oglio, the Adda, the Tesin, the Sessia, and the Doria Baltea, on the contrary, are wide and deep rivers, difficult at all times to pass over, but more especially so for several days after the great falls of water. Such is the insurmountable barrier which, for an extent of three hundred leagues, from the Zuyder Zee to the mouths of the Po, and consequently in a much less compass than the frontiers of any of the great states of Europe, defends France and the countries she has conquered from the combined forces of the continent!—The French, not content with having secured their frontier towns against all foreign invasion, have contrived, by the destruction or conquest of all the fortresses before their country, to increase the facility of penetrating, without molestation, into the neighbouring countries. Not to include the strong places of Holland, they possess Juliers, Luxembourg, Ehrenbreitstein, and Mentz:—Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, might, indeed, have arrested their progress—but they are destroyed! They have secured Mantua and Peschiera; and it may reasonably be presumed, that the possession of these places was the cause of the failure of the negotiations between France and the Emperor. All the fortresses that protected Piedmont against the preponderancy of France have been demolished; and although a barrier against the attacks that France might have to fear on the side of southern Italy is superfluous, they nevertheless possess that barrier in the Po, from Borgoforte to Voghera; whilst from Voghera to the Gulf of Genoa, the excellent fortresses of Tortona and Alexandria, with the castle of Gavi, and the heights of the Appenines, from Gavi to the Gulf of Spezzia, form a frontier which could easily be defended, supposing (what is almost chimerical) the forces of the east coming down to the support of a direct attack made by the forces of the north.—But what, above all, affords to the French empire the means of aggression, is the political and military situations of the neighbouring countries. From the German Sea to the Gulf of Venice, it is only contiguous to one great state, viz. Austria, from the Lake of Constance to the mouths of the Po. The other territories bordering on the new frontier of the French empire, from the head of the Lake of Constance to Embden; that is to say, the extensive and fertile country hemmed in by the course of the

* The importance of this frontier was so sensibly felt by the Roman emperors, that it was the principal cause of their changing the seat of government from Rome to Ravenna, in order that they might at all times be ready to defend the only frontier through which the barbarians (that is to say, the nations of Europe) could penetrate into Italy. The same motive engaged them to dwell sometimes at Milan.

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Rhine, from the Grisons to the sea, and afterwards by the Inn, by Austria to the north of the Danube, and by Bohemia, Electoral Saxony, the Weser, and the ocean; this territory, I say, including the circles of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, the greater part of the circles of Westphalia and the Upper Rhine, with a portion of the circle of the Lower Rhine, is divided into more than two hundred states; without arsenals, without fortresses, and almost without troops. The different sovereigns, divided among themselves by reciprocal jealousies, and distrusting the fidelity of their subjects, whose allegiance has long been shaken by the principles of philosophism and jacobinism, tremble at the bare idea of a French army, and at the remembrance of the calamities of the war, which for nine years has pressed so heavily upon them. This vast territory, which, united under one sovereign, would form a most powerful kingdom, will henceforth oppose to the arms of France, I will not say a vigorous resistance, nor even an easy conquest, but a complete, unqualified submission to its will. In fact, during this whole extent of country, and even as far as Magdeburgh and the Elbe, there is not a single place capable of arresting the progress of an army of thirty thousand men, even for three days! —From the above sketch of the actual state of the continent, it evidently follows, that a peace with France, in her present situation, must inevitably tend to confirm her conquests, to consolidate her government, to reanimate, in some degree, her drooping commerce, to moderate the intolerable exactions that weigh down her subjects, to extinguish internal dissentions, not only in France, but (by destroying the hope of regaining what has been wrested from them) in the conquered countries also; and, lastly, to unite in one body, by the force of custom, education, and necessity, so many nations, differing so widely in their manners, politics, and religion.—Europe (I confine myself to the continent) has only three powers which can be opposed to France: these three powers are Austria, Prussia, and Russia.—Austria contains, at the highest calculation, nineteen millions of inhabitants, viz.

	Souls.
In Italy, from 1,500,000 to	1,800,000
In Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniole, and the Austrian Tyrol.....	3,600,000
In Bohemia and Moravia.....	2,800,000
In Poland	3,600,000
In Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Illyricum, &c.	7,000,000
Total about	19,000,000

Prussia*, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts of her population, contains no more than seven millions; and we have shewn, that whenever a war takes place with France, her possessions in Westphalia and Franconia, amounting to one million, will instantly fall into the hands of the French. We will, however, say 7,000,000

	Souls.
Carried over	19,000,000
Brought over	19,000,000

As to the population of Russia, the vast distance at which they are placed from the scene of our present inquiry, prevents us from including the numerous hordes inhabiting the immense deserts which extend beyond the Don, Moscow, the Lake of Ozero, the Ilmen, and the Neva: the provinces on this side of those boundaries contain from twelve to fourteen millions of inhabitants. We will say from 14 to 15,000,000

Total from 41 to 42,000,000

The actual population of these three states united, is, therefore, inferior to the French empire. What would it then be, if to the latter were added the population of Southern Italy? It would not amount to more than *two thirds*; and it is worthy of observation, that it is of a nature much less disposable, since it is scattered over an extent of country nearly *four times* as large as France.—The addition of the kingdoms of the north, and the northern states of Germany, would by no means compensate for this vast inequality.

	Souls.
Denmark contains, at the highest calculation, only.....	2,000,000
Sweden	2,500,000
The electorate of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and the other petty states beyond the Elbe	2,000,000
Total	6,500,000

The soil of Austria is, generally speaking, good; of Prussia, indifferent; and of Russia, bad. The personal and pecuniary riches of the three states, taken together, are not considerable; but England, by a union with them, would compensate for this disadvantage.—Austria and Prussia are situated between France and Russia; and the distance of the two last-mentioned powers from each other is so great, that it is scarcely possible for them to be at variance, without the mediation of both the former: Russia, therefore, can never have so near an interest in a war of this nature as the other two powers. Besides this, her great distance from the scene of action will ever prevent her from interfering, but as an auxiliary, and with a relatively inconsiderable portion of her disposable forces. Her revenues will not permit her to maintain her armies out of her own territories; and the immense trains by which those armies are followed, added to a defective discipline, and a total want of military administration, would speedily exhaust the countries through which they would have to pass. Now, from the distance and the defensive power of France, the consumption would necessarily fall on the subjects of the two other allied powers, and the most brilliant victories of the armies of the league would not procure them an entrance into the German territories, condemned to a passive neutrality, till after the French had either exhausted or secured their resources.

The Prussian army is, indeed, numerous and well disciplined; but in spite of the most rapid

* The great Frederick asserts positively, that, in ascending the throne, he found only three millions of subjects. The acquisition of Silesia gave him an addition of 1,400,000, and the reunion of the margravate of Franconia 300,000: total 4,700,000. When we consider the state of population of that part of Poland united to Prussia, it is impossible to reckon it at more than 2,300,000; making a total of 7,000,000.

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economy it absorbs, even in time of peace, more than one half of the revenue of the state. The Prussian government, sparing of its expenses, and drawing from its subjects a revenue greater, in proportion, than that of Austria, can, nevertheless, barely maintain its peace establishment: add to this that it has no credit. Where, then, would it be able to find resources for a war of so serious a nature; a war, on the success of which would depend its very existence as a nation?—In every point of view is Austria superior to these two powers. A fertile soil procures, at a moderate rate, a plentiful subsistence to her armies; her revenues are more extensive, and her people better treated. The subjects of this monarchy are happy, united, in general, by the same religion, and attached for centuries to the family and the person of their sovereign; and though her armies have been dreadfully thinned by so many years of war, Austria must still be considered as the principal bulwark of the expiring liberties of Europe: and I hesitate not to assert, that she could, to preserve those liberties, still call forth more effectual strength than both the other powers united. Hitherto I have considered the three great powers of Europe as cordially united, from the principle of self-preservation. But even admitting this supposition, what delays must inevitably take place in the formation of projects! what crosses and difficulties must attend the execution of them! While one man resolves and orders at Paris, in the same moment, without any other trammels than those of physical possibility; while his orders are dispatched on all sides, with the rapidity of lightning, and are no sooner received than executed; the three sovereigns, fettered by a thousand ceremonies, must separately deliberate at Vienna, at Berlin, and at Petersburgh; must communicate the result of those deliberations to each other, and agree upon a definitive plan of operation. To the above may also be added, the difficulties in the execution, arising from the rivalship of the sovereigns, as well as of their generals; the reciprocal antipathy of the nations composing the different armies; the impossibility of obtaining, at a given period, the necessary concurrence of means, prepared by independent powers, situated at so great a distance from each other: and the necessity of recurring, in times of great urgency, to the separate resources of the confederacy, all of which would inevitably tend to weaken that unanimity of co-operation, which could alone crown their exertions with the desired success.

The Empire of Germany, &c. &c.

That Austria, undiminished in her power and her influence, is absolutely necessary to the preservation of the liberty and happiness of Europe, has been most amply proved by the progress of the war, which the republican French have, for the last ten years, been carrying on against that liberty and that happiness, and which, every time that Austria has been compelled to lay down her arms, has enslaved some state or other of this now subjugated quarter of the world. Indeed, this power, in the hands of the illustrious house by which it is, as yet, possessed, has, for ages, been the guardian of Europe; and, as to Germany in particular, a bare reference to its history will convince us, that, since the middle of the sixteenth century, there has been no event, which has weakened the imperial power, and which has not, at the same time, overthrown several of the co-estates. While Charles V. was engaged in a struggle against the united efforts of France, the Ottoman empire, and a part of the princes of Germany, Henry the 2nd seized the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The thirty years war, occasioned by the refractory ambition of the protestant princes, assisted by France, England, Sweden, and incidentally by the Turks, severed Alsace from the Germanic body, transferred several of its states to the king of Sweden, and entirely destroyed the ecclesiastical principalities of the north. In these later and still more unfortunate times, the voluntary separation of the king of Prussia, and the general defection of the states of the north of Germany, have, finally, robbed the empire of all the immense possessions which it still retained on the left bank of the Rhine, and has completed the destruction of the sovereignty of all the ecclesiastical princes, and, with very few exceptions, of the imperial cities.—Seeing, then, that the Austrian monarchy is the principal bulwark of the freedom and independence of Europe in general, and of the Germanic Body in particular, and that the cause of his imperial and royal majesty is become the common cause of every European, of whatever nation, who wishes to avoid that insupportable yoke which an upstart of yesterday is preparing for him, it behoves each individual to endeavour to form a correct opinion of the tendency of the present proceedings in the empire, to consider well their dangerous tendency, to inquire what means of salvation there are remaining, and to lend, while yet there is hope, the utmost efforts of his hand and his heart in support of the cause of Austria, of justice, and of the freedom, the independance, the honour, and the happiness of nations.—The emperor has been treated by France, and (under her malignant influence) by Prussia, and by the princes dependent thereon, with less ceremony and respect, than the most petty baron of the empire would have received at the hands of his imperial majesty himself. France and Prussia (for, in reality, Russia has had little to do with the matter), by the means of a printed paper, and, which is still more unbearable, through the channel of a French gazette, have communicated a plan of partition of the states of the empire, prohibiting, at the same time, all remonstrances, and even discussion, on the part of those whose dominions are thus to be partitioned; they have suppressed several of the first constitutional dignities of the empire; they have created new ones; they have, without either right or reason, and guided merely by their rapacity, their insolence, and their caprice, seized, for themselves, the states of the unfortunate sovereigns, whom, to make use of a modern phrase, they have cashiered, or have parcelled out those states, together with their inhabitants, amongst other princes, by way of compensation to these latter for losses with which the dispossessed sovereigns had nothing to do, and which, besides, were in general no more than a just punishment for the weakness or the treachery by which those, who had experienced losses, had abandoned or betrayed their common country to its most mortal foe. The mere circulation of a plan like this, was at once an act of violence and insult against the Germanic body, an outrage upon his imperial majesty, and an evident infraction of his rights, as the first and most considerable of the co-estates, as the head of the two first colleges (of the electoral college, as king of

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Bohemia, and of the college of princes as archduke of Austria), and as also the head of the empire itself, in virtue of which last character, it is well known, that he has a deciding voice as to all the resolutions passed by the colleges, which resolutions are nothing more than the constitutional expression of the wishes of the co-estates of the empire, and not *laws* of the Germanic body, until the emperor has given them his assent. It is also well known, that it is the emperor alone who legally can, and who ought, to create any new dignity in the Germanic body. Such a creation, in favour of a state, may, indeed became an object of recommendation, on the part of those powers, who may take an interest therein; but, it never can be regarded as a fit object for the deliberations of the diet, which, though it may remonstrate against any new creation that militates against the rights of the co-estates, is totally incompetent to the granting, or even the proposing, of favours such as I am here speaking of, the prerogative of doing which is, by the laws and usages of the empire, placed exclusively in the hands of its chief.—So universal is the recognition of these principles, so strongly are they implanted in the minds of thinking men, in every part of Europe, that notwithstanding Tuscany had been erected into a kingdom, by the arrogant will of Buonaparté, even after this example of almost inconceivable outrage, the plan of indemnities, the *new* list of electors created by the successor of Barras, with precisely the same formalities that accompany his gift of a musket or drum-stick of honour, that is to say, by a simple notification of the fact in a French gazette called the Moniteur; in spite of the example of Tuscany, this last stretch of insolent authority did produce a general feeling of indignation.—But Prussia was not contented with proposing and circulating, through a vehicle so extraordinary, a project whereby she shares a considerable part of Germany with the creatures of Buonaparté, as ready as herself to abandon their country to the common enemy, in the hope of participating in a share of the spoil, as ardently desirous of invading those friendly states, in which their present sovereigns have all, without exception, rights more antient and more just, than those of the king of Prussia over a great portion of the monstrous amalgamation of states, acquired by every possible means, composing what is denominated the Prussian monarchy*. She has not been contented with making the fate of the plundered princes to depend on the decision of a commission, made up,

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* *Historical sketch of the various acquisitions of the house of Brandenburgh.*—About the middle of the fifteenth century, Frederick, the sixth burgrave of Nuremburgh, purchased of the emperor Sigismond, the electorate of Brandenburg, and paid the purchase money with a sum lent him by the city of Nuremburgh. The loan is generally better known than the time of payment, which, however, has *undoubtedly* been made. But this is easily accounted for: the result of the loan, was the acquisition of a distinguished sovereignty; the result of the repayment was only a liquidation of former accounts between the city of Nuremburgh and its burgrave, and therefore of no importance to the other powers of Europe.—A century after, Albert de Brandenburg who had been elected grand master of eastern Prussia, by the order of knighthood who conquered that province, made a conscientious scruple of taking possession of this principality, on account of his being a *religieux*. He, however, quieted his scruples by renouncing both his religion and the order. The sovereignty passed into his family, and, of course, became *temporal* by his abjuration. A zeal for the reform of abuses in the catholic religion, and a desire to restore it to its primitive purity, have peculiarly characterized the house of Brandenburg. These pious motives have been crowned with their reward in this world, and have secured it the possessions of the principalities of Magdeburg and Halberstadt; two bishoprics in which the princes of this house were either bishops or governors when they were secularized.—The system of *expectancies* has been another source of aggrandisement for the house of Brandenburg. By this means it obtained at different periods, the duchy of Pomerania, and the principality of West Friesland, the sovereigns of which, undoubtedly, had no heirs. Objections were made, at the time, to the evident inequality in the reciprocity of these expectancies, and in the condition of the family of the two contracting parties. It was pretended that the fiefs of the empire, vacant by the defect of heirs or otherwise, devolved of course to the investiture of the emperor. It cannot be denied that such was then the established law of Europe, and of the German empire in particular. But there is no general rule without its exception; and probably the objections set up were merely specious.—The ancestors of the Great Frederick possessed, as vassals, some particular seigneuries in Silesia, and set up their claim to several others. The minority of Maria Theresa was favourable to the termination of this dispute. It was, in fact, settled to the entire satisfaction of Frederick; who from being a vassal duke over a small portion of Silesia, became sovereign prince and lord paramount of all this territory.—By the first partition of Poland, the abbey of Oliva fell into the hands of the king of Prussia. The abbot had various claims on the city of Dantzig; which claims, though feeble in the hands of an abbot, became so powerful when enforced by a monarch, that the free city of Dantzig, one of the Hanse-towns under the protectorship of Poland, became subject and manorial to the new abbot of Oliva. By this metamorphosis, the whole trade of Poland was dependant on Prussia: the north of Europe lost the freedom of its principal corn market; and since that time, a scarcity of provisions has been more frequently felt in the south than formerly.—The circumstances that led to the second and final partition of Poland, are well known. The Poles complained, to all Europe, of having been induced to change the form of government they had accepted under the guarantee of Russia, by promises which finally left them exposed to a power they were not able to resist, and which they had had the imprudence seriously to offend. Prussia, to put an end to the agonies of Poland, united herself with this power—and Poland shortly after disappeared from the list of nations!—This continued series of acquisitions, now encreased by the plan of indemnities, has raised stepping stones for extending the centre of the Prussian monarchy in every direction: towards Russia by the means of Memel; into the electorate of Saxony, by the possession of Corbus, Manfield, and Erfurt; towards Hesse, by Paderborn and

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in a great measure, of the plunderers themselves, viz. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, to which may be added Mentz, whose future destiny is in the hands of the Prussian party, and whose reigning prince, the baron of Dalliberg, is well known to be a creature of Prussia, and a disciple of the new philosophy. She has not waited till the commission appointed to settle the indemnities had commenced its sittings; until it had received the remonstrances of the *devoted* princes, and, shewing itself at least as humane as the hardened robber, who returns to the plundered traveller wherewith to proceed on his journey, had secured, out of their own personal effects, a comfortable subsistence to the unfortunate men who had suddenly been precipitated from grandeur and opulence to a state of the most abject misery; until the decision of the commission had been transmitted to the diet, and the chief of the empire had come to a resolution on the subject, far more effectual than any that has ever been taken by the Germanic body*, as if her individual desire for increasing her territory, countenanced by Buonaparté, were sufficient to create rights superior to all examination, Prussia and her allies have darted, like birds of prey, on the different states which they had previously carved and cut out for themselves. Nor have they respected the rights of the subject more than those of the sovereign; since in taking possession of these countries, no stipulations whatever were made for the preservation of the liberties of the former. Nay, to such a pitch was their rapacity carried, that villages have been seen bleeding under the respective pretensions of two branches of the same family, the Landgraves of Hesse-Cassel and of Hesse-Darmstadt.—If ever there was a formal, complete, and unprovoked revolt against the acknowledged authority of the emperor, it is surely this; for never did rapacity and injustice more openly shew themselves. At a moment when the peace of the empire was suddenly endangered by several of its members; when the established laws of the empire, as well as those of equity, were openly violated, the emperor could not withhold his powerful protection to the states soliciting it; he could not without acknowledging himself despoiled of the imperial dignity, abandon its functions in a moment of such pressing necessity. He could not, in short, without dishonour, tolerate or encourage by his silence, a conduct so directly opposite to the principles of equity, the laws of the empire, and the positive and indisputable rights of its supreme head.—But let us turn, for a moment, from the barbarity, injustice, and illegality of this transaction, to inquire into its immediate consequences, as far as regards the empire and its chief.—The king of Prussia, previous to these new acquisitions, bordered on the Austrian dominions, from the conflux of the Bug and the Narew to Lusatia; an extent of more than 400 English miles. By the usurpation of Eichsfeld, Mulhausen, and the country of Erfurt, he communicates from Halberstadt with the states of Franconia on one side, and by the bishoprick of Fulda, which he has obtained for his protégé the prince of Nassau-Dillemburg, on the other, with the new states of his ally the elector of Bavaria, with whose prejudices against the house of Austria we are already well acquainted.—By this new disposition of his states, the king of Prussia surrounds more than three-fourths of the electoral and ducal possessions of the house of Saxony; and when we consider that in the center of Lusatia he possesses Cotbus, that the whole of the frontier of Saxony towards Prussia is open, while his frontier towards Bohemia can be protected against Austria (supposing her engaged in a war against the Prussian league) by the standing army of the elector of Saxony, we shall be convinced that this prince cannot, without subjecting himself to the most imminent danger, preserve in that case the neutrality so essential to his interests, and, consequently, that the king of Prussia will force the states of Saxony into the league against the house of Austria.—But her communication with Bavaria will prove infinitely more fatal to his imperial majesty: this circumstance places all the forces of Franconia, Bavaria, and of Upper Swabia, at the disposal of Prussia. It lays open the whole of the frontier of Bohemia, Upper Austria, the Tyrol, and the Vorarlberg, from Egra to the Rhine and the Lake of Constance. Henceforth Austria, menaced by the Prussian league from the mouth of the Narew to Switzerland, will not as hitherto be able to take the field with advantage in Bavaria, and the Margraviates of Franconia: these countries will, in future, be defended by a force far more considerable than the junction of the old Bavarian army to the handful of troops kept up by the king of Prussia in his Margraviates. The country of Hesse-Cassel and Fulda, bordering towards the north, on the great body of Prussian states, and almost surrounded by the Prussian possessions of Eichsfeld, Corvey, and Paderborn, are evidently in the power of Prussia, and can only be considered as vassals of that monarchy.—Even the possessions of the houses of Hanover and Brunswick are not less subject to the encroachments of Prussia; for by the seizure of the

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Eichsfeld; into Hanover, by Hildesheim; into Westphalia, which is now become a province of Prussia, and into Franconia which it divides with the elector of Bavaria. Nay, so great has been the foresight of the cabinet of Berlin, that by means of the *expectancy* of one or two abbeys granted to the stadtholder, it has laid the foundation of future acquisitions in Swabia. And do not all the princes of Germany tremble? And how is it they are not convinced, that their re-union might be a means of turning to their advantage those local conveniences which are necessarily reciprocal?

* The circumstance of preventing so many sovereigns and proprietors from perishing, strictly speaking, with hunger, does not seem to have been an object of sufficient importance to be taken into consideration in the first sittings of the commission. The *impartial deputies* did, indeed, venture a few propositions on the subject. The deputy of the Teutonic order (acquainted, no doubt, with the dispositions of the majority of those to whom he was speaking) thought he had done wonders, in proposing that the plundered sovereigns should be permitted to keep a town house, and some of them a country one, with a few horses from their own stables into the bargain. It has been generally reported, that one of the indemnified princes opposed the sale which a plundered sovereign wishes to make of his own wines: his cellar, as well as his principality belongs most undoubtedly to the former, since the "*envoy of God*, from whom all property emanates," has assigned them to him. This circumstance took place shortly after the signing of the treaty of Luneville.

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bishopric of Hildesheim, the king of Prussia possesses a standing army in the center of that country, within a day's march of the capital of Hanover and Brunswick. He surrounds them on the east by Alt-Marck and the principalities of Magdeburg and Halberstadt; on the south by Eichsfeld, and, in case of necessity, by his vassal the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and lastly, on the west by Corvey, Paderborn, Pyrmont, Ravensberg, Minden, and the bishopric of Munster. These states then, of so much importance both from their magnitude and the exalted rank of the sovereign to whom they belong, are completely in the power of the Prussian monarchy, and are already treated as conquered countries: since France and Prussia have disposed, without deigning to consult him, of the claims of the Elector of Hanover in Bremen, Hamburgh, Heldersheim, Corvey, his bailliwick of Vildhausen and of the county of Altenkerchin. This powerful sovereign has not even been invited to the commission appointed to settle the indemnities, although his claim to a seat is stronger than that of any other prince, not only from his high rank and power, but more particularly because having no personal interest in the indemnities, he would, on that account, have been better able to decide with impartiality.—Westphalia, almost intirely occupied by the king of Prussia, and by princes without power and without protection, is to all intents and purposes a Prussian province. Swedish Pomerania and the Mecklenburgh, nearly hemmed in by Prussian states, and out of the reach of every sort of succour, will always be under the necessity of receiving whatever impulse the cabinet of Berlin may be pleased to give them. Thus, if we except the states of Baden and Wirtemburg, with those of a few petty princes on the banks of the Rhine, where the influence of France will be equal if not superior to that of Prussia, it follows, from the correct enumeration just given, that the cabinet of Berlin will, in the course of time, by firmness towards France and good faith towards its allies and co-estates, completely succeed in rendering the whole of the states of Germany dependant upon it, and in uniting them, by fear as well as interest, against the emperor of Germany. On every occasion, too, when it may be in contemplation to direct the forces of the empire against its chief, Baden and Wirtemburgh will enter into the confederacy, through the influence of France, who will never consider herself secure in the universal empire to which she aspires, till the day arrives when she shall have succeeded in laying the power of Austria in the dust.—From the above view of the subject, the vast pains taken by France and Prussia to secure a majority of votes in the electoral college, and to refuse a seat to the grand duke of Tuscany, whose estates are so much superior to those of Wirtemburg, Hesse-Cassel, and Baden, may be considered as altogether superfluous: for the imperial dignity, hitherto so exalted, and to which the most powerful monarchs of Europe voluntarily gave precedence, will henceforth, to the chief of the house of Austria, be little more than a source of litigations and of insults, from a confederacy which can only be considered as a body offensively leagued against its nominal chief. Whatever step the emperor of Germany may adopt, with regard to this dignity, it is evident, that the electors of Brandenburgh, Bavaria, Baden, Wirtemburg, Hesse-Cassel, nay, the *ridiculous* elector of Aschaffenburg, and probably those of Hanover and Saxony, will either vote against the house of Austria, or confer upon it the imperial dignity under certain restrictions, which will render the emperor a mere crowned phantom, and a passive spectator of the resolutions dictated by Prussia to the diet. I have said, the *ridiculous* elector of Aschaffenburg: * for what can possibly be more ridiculous than a principal elector almost without subjects, with the town of Aschaffenburg for a capital, and possessions (Ratisbon and Wetzlar) at the distance of 100 leagues from each other, the one shut up in the center of Bavaria, and the other in Hesse? Who is not convinced that this elector can have no will but that of Prussia, and that on the very day in which he dared to manifest a contrary disposition, his person, his petty estates, and his archives would immediately fall into the hands of the anti-imperial party? And yet this impotent and dependant condition is the very motive that will hereafter induce the enemies of the emperor to invest this elector with great power and authority, either as arch-chancellor or catholic primate of the empire; secure in the assurance that a power entirely under their controul could at any time be directed to the detriment of the emperor. And thus, this new electorate, in appearance so insignificate, is, in reality, an artful combination against the imperial authority. I return to the consequences of the proposed indemnities. At the first view, they appear to bear only upon the princes, senates, and abbeys which have been destroyed; while, in reality, the loss falls upon the emperor, the catholic sovereigns, the immediate nobility, and the subjects of these de-

* There is a remarkable clause in the creation of this same elector of Aschaffenburg; I mean that by which Prussia cuts off from the jurisdiction assigned to the new elector, as catholic primate of Germany, the territories of Erfurt and Eichsfeld, the sovereignty of which countries she has reserved to herself. Is not this announcing, in so many words, that what belongs to the elector of Brandenburg *in* the empire is no longer a portion *of* the empire? This clause is dictated in the same spirit as that in the peace of Dresden in 1745, by which Frederick the second, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the diet, caused Silesia to be ceded to him as a sovereignty independent of the empire; though in quality of fief of Bohemia it undoubtedly formed a part of it. They have both the same tendency as the celebrated German association (Furstenbund) whose pretended object was to preserve the empire from the too formidable preponderancy of its chief, but whose real object was to detach from the empire all the states possessed by Prussia and the princes who were parties in this association, and consequently to destroy the empire. It is not surprising that this league should have found so many advocates in France. A plan more calculated to serve the interests of that formidable and ambitious neighbour could not have been devised. Could Frederick the second have foreseen the enormous aggrandisement of France, it is highly probable that he would have been the first to strengthen the ties of the Germanic body. His successor, it is to be feared, will shortly be sensible of the fatal effects of this deceitful policy.

Aspiciunt oculis superi mortalia justis.

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ferent states. It is well known, that the emperor legally exercised a far greater authority over the bishoprics, prelacies and imperial towns, than he did over the other states: that he generally enjoyed their concurrence in as much as he was their natural and constant protector; and that the attachment of this class of states to the head of the empire, contributed in a great measure, to increase that dignity and that power, which are always necessary to protect the empire abroad and maintain it in tranquillity at home. Now by the proposed plan of indemnities, not only does the emperor lose all the lawful influence enjoyed over these different states; not only does this influence pass over intire to princes inimical to, and jealous of the emperor; but, in addition to all this, these princes acquire the possession of the domains, the present property, the revenues, in a word, all the resources, civil, political and military, of these several countries, with the well-founded hope of being able to direct them at will to the injury of the chief of the empire. This general consideration of the subject will appear still clearer, from the following detail.—Each of the deposed princes had a vote, either in the electoral college, or in the college of princes. As these votes were generally on the same side as the private vote of the emperor, in the quality of co-estate, they secured him, as emperor, the preponderancy necessary for governing with dignity and effect. These votes, in supporting the personal resolves of the emperor by majority of suffrages, had also the double advantage of making his will, as emperor, quadrate with the legal will of the colleges. Consequently, they relieved him from the critical situation into which the chief of the empire would be placed, in being obliged to overthrow, by his imperial vote, the resolutions entered into by a majority of the colleges. I have termed this situation *critical*, because it is in reality a commencement of hostilities between the empire and its chief, capable of involving the confederacy in a civil war. By means of the new plan of indemnities, all these votes will immediately pass to the anti-imperial league, and consequently secure it a preponderancy, which will necessarily place the emperor in this same *critical* situation, of which the least fatal consequences will be, to render ineffectual the forces of the empire, and to set the members of the colleges at variance with their chief.—Another consideration, not less powerful, is the tendency of this new system to enfeeble the armies of Austria. All her regiments of German infantry contained no inconsiderable number of foreigners: there is even an order of the council of war, limiting the number of these foreigners to one-third; we may, therefore, safely estimate them at a fifth. Supposing, then, that only half the imperial regiments admit foreign troops, and that the total of this army is 300,000, Austria will thereby lose a supply of 30,000 men; for she only recruited in the ecclesiastical states or imperial towns, all of which are now either suppressed, or hemmed in by states unfriendly to the augmentation of the Austrian army. And not only does the emperor lose this supply of 30,000 men, but it passes entire to the indemnified princes; that is to say, to the disposal of France against the emperor.—The electorates and bishoprics overturned by the new system of indemnities were noble dependencies, open alike to the house of Austria, as to the houses of Bavaria, Saxony, and the other great catholic families of Germany, to which the protestant princes had so much the less claim, as they had previously seized, in perpetuity, all the possessions of this nature situated in the protestant countries. On what principle of justice can possession be transferred to these princes which are incontestibly the property of others? And why will the house of Austria and the other catholic houses furnish the king of Prussia, at their own expense, with indemnities, when he has voluntarily given up a small territory beyond the Rhine, that he might be furnished with a pretext for obtaining another on this side, six times as extensive, and much more convenient than the one he abandoned? The same reasoning applies with equal force to the immediate nobility of the empire, and to the inferior classes of the citizens of the catholic states, all of whom, under fixed regulations, possessed incontestible and long established claims to the enjoyment of the prelacies, chapters, abbeys, convents and other possessions usurped by the princes claiming indemnities. The same may be also said of the imperial towns; which, as such, enjoyed, legitimately and according to the established laws of the German empire, possessions, and civil and political rights, to which they had as just a claim as the king of Prussia to Berlin, or the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel to the town bearing that name. In short, none of these bishops, prelates, chapters and imperial towns, ever entered into any compromise by which they agreed to deprive themselves of their lawful possessions, with a view of indemnifying the king of Prussia, the landgraves of Hesse-Cassel and Darmstadt, the duke of Wirtemburg and the margrave of Baden, for losses which I will venture to declare *voluntary*; for I ask any honest man, whether the German empire would have been thus mutilated, whether the wresting of what has escaped the fury of the arms of France would now be a question of consideration, if the sovereigns above mentioned had sincerely employed their combined forces for the defence of the empire, and for the prosecution of an unprovoked war, and had seconded the exertions of his imperial majesty in favour of their common country, of that *German country* so pathetically invoked in the manifestoes of Prussia, calling upon all the states of the empire to arm against the aggressions of France?*—No one can possibly doubt, that Prussia, at the moment when the cabinet of Berlin signed, on the 5th of April, 1795, the ever to be lamented treaty of Basle, did not possess the means of defending or of recovering all her possessions on the other side of the Rhine. Her army, thanks to the *prudent* policy of her generals, was intire; and so were her resources, thanks to the £1,400,000 sterling received from England for her brilliant co-operation in the campaign of 1794, to the immense sums drawn from Holland under the same pretext, and to the treasure extorted from Germany, to defray the expenses of the siege of Mentz. The directory itself, happy in purchasing, at so low a rate,

* Of this there can be no doubt: and in the course of a very few years, we also shall have reason to cry out, "and if we had been willing to devote to the war what we have voted for a peace establishment, and a trifle more, we should still be in possession of all we have given up!" T.

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the neutrality of an enemy so powerful as Prussia, would, most gladly, have restored to her the countries of the Guelders and the Meurs. But this was not exactly the object of the Prussian cabinet. It was necessary to suffer an apparent loss, that she might be furnished with a pretext, of some sort or other, for the exorbitant indemnities which were even then stipulated for, and founded upon the overthrow *(foreseen six years before it took place)* of the Germanic body; of which the king of Prussia was one of the principal co-estates and assumed the title of *protector*. His open enmity to the body would have been much less fatal than such a line of conduct: for the empire, betrayed by one of its members, would either have redoubled its efforts and triumphed under its chief, or, seeing the impossibility of resistance, have submitted to necessity, and thereby prevented the effusion of those torrents of blood, which, since the year 1795, have deluged all Europe. On *what heads* will divine justice pour down this blood, which calls so loudly for vengeance!—The empire, all Europe, well know to what advantage Prussia has turned the state of repose in which she was left by the treaty of Basle. While the emperor was supporting, almost single handed, the pressure of the French arms, while he was generously devoting himself to the preservation of that empire, of which he has been basely represented as a chief dangerous from his power and ambition, the government of Prussia, ever actuated by that *tender solicitude* for the German confederacy, detached those princes who could alone have assisted in saving it, and immortalized his name by his glorious victories over the town of Nuremburg and the Teutonic Order, which he deprived of the grand bailiwick of Œllingen.—— But it is principally upon the subject of these suppressed states, that the unjust system of plunder weighs most heavily. The greater part of them enjoyed civil privileges, more exclusive than those of the princes under whose dominion they are intended to be transferred. They were generally exempted from military conscription, or, at least, that conscription was more limited. The prince, always checked by a regency invested with legal authority, could impose no fresh taxes: the public revenues did not go to enrich a distant capital, but were all expended in the country whereon they were raised: the domanial possessions of these princes were proportionably of greater extent, because they had never been alienated; but now the revenues of these domains, which from their nature enter into the class of private possessions, will, for the greater part, be carried out of the country in which they are raised. The different employments, and the wages paid for such employments, were in the hands of the inhabitants of the country, and always consumed on the spot. In short, the confiscation of all these ecclesiastical establishments, ceded to princes, for the greater part protestant, or notoriously infected with the principles of the new philosophy, is an outrage against the catholic religion, the expense of supporting which was defrayed by them, and which is still the most antient, as well as most general religion throughout Germany: it is a glaring act of injustice towards the present and future possessors, a robbery without pretext or necessity, and even without an example, except in the good times, when those pious personages, Lameth and Brissot, boasted of bringing back the church to the apostolic period, and when the Condorcets, the Marats, and the Robespierres restored the golden age to France! —I well know, that to this assertion will be opposed the secularizations made in favour of the protestants, by the treaty of Westphalia; but these secularizations were formed on a principle which has no affinity whatever to the present usurpations. The protestant states having changed their religion, the religious endowments were to be applied to the one they had embraced, and the surplus, if any, was to pass over to the domains of the state. But what connexion has this principle with the point in question? Would it not be as just and as proper for Buonaparté and the king of Prussia (I beg the king of Prussia pardon for naming him after Buonaparté, but it is not my fault if he chuses to be one of his followers) to include the bishopric, chapters, and other benefices of the English church, in the mass of what they are pleased to call indemnities?—It must then be acknowledged, that this pretended plan of indemnities, is a system of plunder, as contrary to the established laws of the empire, as to those of natural equity; that it is to be carried into execution by measures as cruel as they are unconstitutional; that it will prove fatal to the plundered princes and states; unjust to the emperor, whom it despoils of his positive and acknowledged rights of protection and supremacy over these states; unjust to the sovereign catholic houses, to the immediate nobility, and to all classes of the inhabitants of these catholic countries, who thereby lose their present and future claims on the usurped places and property; and fatal and unjust to the great mass of the subjects of these countries, inasmuch as it weakens their civil rights, by leaving them at the mercy of the new sovereigns; impoverishes them, by sending to a distance the produce of their soil and industry, and robs them of their religion, by confiscating the endowments destined for the support of it; finally, (and it is here that the subject of the indemnities is connected with the general interests of Europe) that this plan is above all fatal both to the emperor and the empire: to the emperor, whom it deprives of the weight and consideration, which, for the defence of the empire and the support of its internal tranquillity, he derived from his constitutional influence over the suppressed states, to confer them on princes either enemies to, or jealous of the chief of the empire, to the empire, which thereby loses its natural protector, to be swallowed up in the inevitable dissensions of princes, become nearly independent, and freed from the salutary tie which united them to the empire, and in various respects to the emperor himself.——The result of these important truths is, that his imperial and royal majesty, for the preservation of his own rights and those of the empire of which he is chief, for the protection of the sovereigns so unjustly plundered, and for the security of the rights and properties of their subjects, is loudly called upon to oppose with all his might, and by every means in his power, the execution of this unjust and fatal system; that he ought not only to have the good wishes of all the states of the empire which have not taken an active part in this iniquitous transaction, but the good wishes and the support of all the lawful sovereigns, who cannot sanction by their inactivity, much less by their concurrence, a system of usurpation that saps the authority of all sovereigns, to

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s foundation, that roots out the attachment of the ubject, and that is, in every respect, favorable to he ambitious views of a man, who is desirous hat every throne should be filled by usurpers like imself. The enemy the most formidable, the bject the most odious to this man is a legitimate rince: the bare idea of legitimate authority is a pectre carrying terror to his soul, through the re- oubled guards in which he is incased. The day n which he should behold none but usurpers on he throne, that day would be to him, the accom- lishment of all his wishes: become, by the title f his possession, the equal of all sovereigns, he vould then be their superior in power; from the precarious situation of a rebel, he would have ttained the supremacy of the universe. * If it is vident, that the new division of the German em- ire unites, against the emperor, the forces of the tates of Germany, destined formerly to act in oncert with his own forces, and under his con- titutional direction, against the enemies of the mpire; if it is evident that opposition of forces destroys them in whole or in part; if, in short, he sovereigns of Europe reflect, that the tendency of the plan of indemnities is to weaken the means till left to the monarch of Austria, to restrain and counterbalance the power that openly threatens their independence, they must feel that sound po- licy and their private interests, unite with the higher considerations of equity and the support of social order, in calling upon them to support the emperor in the great cause in which he is engaged. —If it were possible to set limits to the career of injustice; if ambition, like war, had its estab- lished laws; † it would seem that, even admitting the principle "that it is fair to indemnify oneself, for what has been lost, at the expense of a third person innocent of that loss, and, who even lent his assistance to prevent it"—it would seem, I say, that the equivalent sought for ought, at least, to be limited to the amount of what has really been lost, and that the conduct of those faithless mariners, who sink an empty vessel for the pur- pose of securing the insurance of an imaginary cargo, ought not to be imitated. It will be curious to observe how closely conformable the cupidity of Prussia and her associates has been to this prin- ciple of morality, which is certainly none of the most rigorous, and which consists *in doing the least possible injustice, to obtain an object which is itself un- just*; and with this view, I shall present my rea- ders with a correct statement of the *voluntary* losses of the house of Brandenburg; and to com- pare them with the territories she has just taken possession of by force of arms.—The partiality of the author of a work intitled "*La Monarchie Prussienne*"—for Prussia, and his ridiculous anti- pathy to the house of Austria, are well known. This is what he says of the population of Gueldres, Meurs, and Cleves, situated, the two first intirely, and the latter in part, on the left side of the Rhine. He reckons the inhabitants of Gueldres at 46,942, of Meurs from 18 to 20,000, and the whole of Cleves at 92,000, of which number ra- ther less than a third, or nearly 30,000, dwell on the left side of the Rhine; which makes the total from 95 to 97,000 souls.—In return for these coun- tris, sold to France, the king of Prussia receives from the French, and takes from the German em- pire, the bishoprics of Hildersheim and Paderborn, more than one half of the bishopric of Munster, the countries of Eichsfeld, and Erfurt, the abbeys of Herforden, Elten, Quedlimburgh, Essen, Wer- den, and Cappenburgh, and the imperial towns of Mulhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar, together with the expectancy of the bishopric of Fulda, and several other possessions in Swabia given to the house of Orange as an indemnity, for the loss of the stadtholdership and the domanial possessions of that house in the Pays-Bas.—I shall draw the value of these cessions, which the king of Prussia has taken to himself, from a work published at Berlin, in the month of May, 1801, * under the direction of the indemnified princes, and which cannot therefore be suspected of having exaggerated the population and revenue of the countries, destined to be the reward of the German princes who sold the empire of Germany to France.

	Inhabitants.
Hildesheim	78,000
Paderborn	120,000
The moiety of the bishoprick of Mun- ster, amounting to 350,000	175,000
Erfurt	35,000
Eichsfeld	70,000
Werden	3,800
Herforden	1,800
For the abbeys of Elten, Essen, and Cappenburgh, which escaped the first dart of the Prussian eagle;* for the abbey of Quedlenburgh (which it was imagined would have been spared, since it has often been oc- cupied by princesses of the house of Brandenburgh); for the imperial towns of Mulhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar, I shall say, for want of more exact information, only	20,000
Total	503,600

Spread over a territory entirely under the con- trol of Prussia, and forming a population nearly six times as numerous as the possessions ceded to France. To make up for the insufficiency of this equivalent, she has secured to herself the expec- tancy of the indemnities given to the prince of Orange, containing nearly 100,000 inhabitants.— The houses of Baden, Wirtemburgh, Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt, have not been less favoured than that of Brandenburgh. The following parti- culars will furnish a correct idea of their losses, collectively taken.—The house of Baden has lost

* Here the author has dived into the very re- cesses of the head and heart of the first consul. Who, in fact, does not see that all his efforts tend principally to this object? T.

† But who that posseses a grain of common honesty can "admit" it for a moment? It can only be admitted by wretches, who having lost their all at the gaming table, or by other causes equally infamous, are desirous of recovering it on the high road, at the expense of their neigh- bours. T.

* This work, written in French and German, is entitled, "*Recueil des Traités de Paix, de Trève, et d'Alliance, &c.*" *Berlin*, 1801.

* The device of the order of the Prussian eagle is *suum cuique*: it would be admirably applicable if another word were added—*suum cuique rapit*.

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a portion of the county of Sponheim, and a revenue of about 80,000 franks in possessions situated in Alsace and the Luxemburgh.—The house of Wirtemburgh has lost the county of Montbelliard, shut up between Alsace and Franche-Comté, containing, at most, from 9 to 10,000 souls; in Franche-Comté, the subject manors of Clémont, Blamont, Chatelôt, Hericourt, the island upon the Doubs and Passavant, and some manors in Alsace, producing at the highest calculation an annual rent of 100,000 franks. The whole sovereignty of the three branches of the house of Hesse beyond the Rhine, consisted of the town of Saint Goar, the citadel of Rhinfels, and six or eight villages near the Rhine; together with the town and bailiwick of Pirmasens. I venture to affirm, that the population of the sovereign possessions of the three houses of Baden, Wirtemburgh, and Hesse beyond the Rhine, did not amount to 35,000 inhabitants. The house of Hesse-Darmstadt possessed, it is true, as a subject, some lands in Alsace and Lorrain, producing about 300,000 francs annually: thus, for the loss of 35,000 subjects, and a rental of about 500,000 francs, these three houses have acquired,—The bishopricks of Constance, Spires, Strasburgh, Worms, and Basle, containing, together, according to the work above-quoted, 55,800 inhabitants: The provostship of Ellvangen, the abbey of Zwifalten, and the imperial towns contiguous to the dutchy of Wirtemburgh; making an increase to this dutchy, of more than 100,000 souls, and 700,000 florins in manorial revenues, without reckoning future imposts:—The greatest and most valuable portion of the palatinate of the Rhine, situated upon the right bank of that river, containing 96,800 inhabitants:—The imperial towns of Offenburgh, Zell, Wimpffen, Biberach, Pfullendorf, Gegenbach, Uberlingen, &c. the population of which exceeds 40,000 souls:—The abbeys of Salmansweiler and Petershausen, with a great number of *mediate* abbeys, 9,000 souls:—And, lastly, for the house of Hesse, the Duchy of Westphalia, containing 95,000 inhabitants, a number of Mentz bailiwicks, imperial towns, abbeys, &c. so that we may safely assert, the collected amount of all these possessions, too numerous to be separately noticed, exceeds, in a tenfold degree, the value of the real losses sustained by these three favoured houses. This vast disproportion between the pretended losses and the plundered indemnities, is so notorious, that even Buonaparté has not thought proper to dissemble it, however opposite it is to the principle laid down in the treaty of Luneville, for the regulation of these indemnities. Through his organ, Talleyrand, he has told his *adulatory* senate (a name more suitable to the new functions of that assembly, than *conservatory*) that "the house of Baden had, by its conduct towards France, acquired claims on its gratitude." But are the deferences paid by a prince of the empire to the will of France, and the services rendered her when the empire was at war with her, to be rewarded at the expense of that very empire and of its chief? Many persons think that the just reward of such conduct, in a prince who could not, like the margrave of Baden, plead his own weakness and the strength of his enemy, would have been put under the ban of that empire which he would voluntarily have abandoned.—The plain statement just given, incontrovertibly proves, as the "honest" Talleyrand has himself acknowledged, that this system of universal plunder had no object, but that of gratifying the princes who had seconded the views of France, by abandoning the German empire to its ravages; and, ultimately, according to the avowal of the same Talleyrand, to preserve the empire from the *pretended* usurpations of its chief; that is to say, to unite against the emperor, by the allurement of plunder, all the princes of the empire, who could be admitted to partake of the spoil, without diminishing their dependency on France. Who does not see, that the margrave of Baden, the duke of Wirtemburgh, and the two houses of Hesse, must henceforth be subservient to the will of the French government, as long as that government remains what it now is, in form and in power? To these considerations of political interests may be added another indirect view; that of carrying the philosophical sect to which Buonaparté is so much attached, a step farther in the accomplishment of his favourite project, the destruction of the Catholic religion: but those who profess that religion are bound to support it, and those who do not profess it must, nevertheless, respect it, as being the most considerable religion in Europe, both from its antiquity and the number of its followers.—But the authors and abettors of the plan of indemnities ought, at least, to have begun by executing its ostensible object, and not by seizing to themselves and their creatures, the immense possessions destined for that purpose. Admitting the justice of the principle of the indemnities, such a step would have been a real act of distributive justice. The noble and disinterested manner in which the head of the house of Austria had stipulated for himself, without claiming any indemnities belonging to the princes, of whom he was the chief and protector; his rank, his power, his situation as principal contracting party in the treaty of Luneville, ought, surely, to have secured him a complete execution of the stipulations in that treaty immediately relating to his house, and consequently of the positive stipulation for a full and complete indemnity in favour of the grand duke of Tuscany, plundered of his states, in spite of his neutrality, by one of those strokes of despotism, which the great sovereigns of Europe ought never to have suffered. For the only reason adduced by Buonaparté for deposing the grand duke of Tuscany, in profound peace with him, was the *peremptory* one, that, "it was not for the general interest of Europe that a prince of the house of Austria should enjoy any possessions in Italy!" In short, it appears evident, that of all the princes who were to receive indemnities, the grand duke of Tuscany ought not to have been the only one, to whom a compensation was offered not half so valuable as the possessions of which he had been plundered, without any other declared motive than this pretended "general interest" of Europe; over which Buonaparté with his accustomed modesty, has constituted himself on this important occasion, sole and sovereign judge; but this will appear still more evident when it is known, as I shall prove hereafter, that this very compensation was at the expense of his imperial and royal majesty.—But, before I enter upon this detail, it will not be without its use, to point out the real motive for this outrage against the grand duke, so degrading to the sovereign dignity in general, and so offensive to the sovereigns of Europe in particular; for no one could possibly be the dupe of a pretence so completely absurd, and which the neutrality of the grand duke has so clearly demonstrated to be

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false. It is one of the most profound combinations of cunning and malignity. Buonaparté, in offering the grand duke of Tuscany a complete indemnity in Germany, placed his majesty, the emperor, in the cruel alternative of either leaving his own brother, and a powerful branch of his house, in the hands of the robbers, or of giving a sort of tacit, though involuntary and forced, consent to the destruction of the Germanic body. In short, by the very extent of the compensation stipulated for the grand duke, his own interests, and consequently those of the house of Austria, were placed in the direct opposition to the pretensions of the Germanic princes, leagued for the purpose of plundering their co-estates. A plan more completely calculated to second the ulterior projects of ambition of the French government could not have been devised.—To return to the compensation offered by France and Prussia to the grand duke. They consist, 1st. of the archbishoprick of Salzbourg* and the adjoining provostship of Berchtolsgaden, the one containing 225,000, the other 18,000 inhabitants: 2d. of part of the bishoprick of Passau, situate to the right of the Inn, and the left of Iltz, containing about 20,000 souls: 3d. of the two bishopricks of Brixen and Trent, with the exact population of which I am not acquainted, but, placed in the heart of the Alps, they can only be thinly peopled. We will, however, estimate them at 150,000 souls; that is to say, at two-thirds of the population of the archbishoprick of Saltzbourg. The whole amount, therefore, does not exceed 420,000 souls, scattered over one of the least fertile countries of Europe, and extending nearly 300 miles over the Alps, from the lake of Guarda to Bohemia; besides this, Passau is separated from the rest of his possessions. In whatever point of view we examine the subject, how can this state be considered as a full, complete, and adequate indemnification for the grand duchy of Tuscany, containing more than one million, one hundred thousand inhabitants, situated in one of the finest and most fruitful spots on the face of the globe, communicating by its coasts and the port of Leghorn, with the rest of the universe, and carrying on an extensive commerce; finally, whose position in the centre of the inoffensive powers of Italy, placed it beyond the reach of the storms which so often agitate the other powers of Europe; storms to which a neutrality, prompted by her private interest and the general interests of commerce, rendered her a total stranger? How, after so glaring an infringement of an essential clause in the treaty of Luneville, a treaty to which the German princes claiming indemnities (unless in the person of their protector the emperor) were not parties, and to which they had no right to be parties, since nearly all of them had laid down their arms, and entered into separate treaties with France—How, I say, and with what face, can France and Prussia invoke this same treaty of Luneville, which so loudly accuses their malevolence and their perfidy? But leaving the interests of the grand duke, who had no share in this iniquitous treaty, entirely out of the question (since, not being at war with France he could not legally be deprived of his possessions, and may at any time reclaim Tuscany, or the equivalent promised him by the man who forced him to make the exchange), let us examine the system of indemnities as it regards the emperor. We shall find that the whole weight falls almost entirely upon his imperial majesty.—In the first place the two bishopricks of Trent and Brixen, though states of the empire, and enjoying a great portion of the rights attached to the sovereignty, have been, for the space of three hundred years, under the high protection of the head of the house of Austria, who, since the time of Charles the Fifth, and even prior to that period has enjoyed, without opposition from these states or from any sovereign, the power of employing his forces whenever necessary for the exercise of that high protection which he owes them as count of Tyrol. Justice compels me to remark, that the independence which the house of Austria in every other respect, has preserved to these two states, does infinite honour to its moderation; and if any one imagines that those states would have experienced the same moderation from the house of Brandenburgh, had they bordered on its possessions, he has only to look for the traces of those states of a similar description, which had the misfortune to be contiguous to Prussia—they have all disappeared!—The above assertion is so evident, that the work I have already quoted, printed at Berlin in May 1801, and consequently under the direction of Prussia, in presenting a survey of all the ecclesiastical states of Germany which might serve as indemnities, has not even dared to include Trent and Brixen among the number; an evident proof, that they were looked upon, even at Berlin, as forming, in some respect, a part of the states of the archduke of Austria. Thus, then, is a third of the indemnities offered to the grand duke of Tuscany, taken from the territories of the archduke of Austria.—Nearly the same assertion may be made, with respect to the other portions of this pretended indemnity, viz. Salzburgh and Passau. For his majesty, the emperor, independently of his constitutional authority over these two states, as chief of the empire, possessed also a still greater influence over them, as sovereign of a powerful monarchy, by which they were nearly surrounded: the ties of patronage and protection existing between the emperor and these two states were such, that they could not prudently, nor without exposing themselves to the greatest inconvenience, vote in opposition to the interests of the house of Austria, and still less elude the execution of the legal resolutions of the diet, sanctioned by the chief of the empire. Thus, in all matters that concerned the empire, the head of the house of Austria could dispose of the political influence and the military forces of these four states, as if he had been their direct sovereign. This marked influence of the house of Austria over some of the states of the empire, is not peculiar to that power; all the world knows the influence exercised by Prussia over most of the states* of

* See the work already quoted.

* It was by virtue of this influence, and under its special protection, that the city of Hamburgh, enjoying a strict neutrality, and in all probability contributing dearly its contingency to the army of observation, paid several millions of florins to the French government. It was entirely owing to the pacification of Russia that this same city was not called on to defray the expences of the campaign of the Danes against the commerce of Germany, which was principally carried on through Hamburgh.

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the north of Germany, and even over those states, which from their extent and power, from their rank in the empire, and from the exalted rank of their sovereign (the elector of Hanover) ought only to be subordinate to the supreme and constitutional authority of the German empire; it knows also the use she made of it to detach from the defence of the common country, a considerable portion of the empire, in order to facilitate an overthrow which was to secure it so vast an aggrandizement; and finally, it knows, that the very states whose proscription was decreed by the treaty of Basle, have contributed, under the pretext of maintaining the neutrality that was to bring on their overthrow, to the support of the Prussian army, called the army of observation.—It was not enough for France and Prussia to plunder the chief of the house of Austria of those valuable and undoubted rights which he enjoyed over the states of the grand duke of Tuscany. These two governments have carried their arrogance so far as to command the emperor, by that new vehicle of diplomatic communication, invented by Buonaparté, the *Moniteur*, to transfer to the elector of Bavaria certain possessions situate to the right of the Inn, and have peremptorily fixed the term of 60 days for the completion of their supreme will.—In the same insolent manner did they treat his Britannic majesty, by disposing of his bailiwick of Vildhausen, his county of Altenkirchen, and his possessional rights in the cities of Bremen and Hamburgh, without deigning to inform him but through the medium of the consular gazette. The illustrious emperors of the house of Brunswick, who reigned over Germany 300 years before a branch of the house of Prussia filled the insignificant office of burgrave of Nuremburgh, little imagined that their descendants would one day experience so serious an insult!—So much arrogance, so daring an outrage against the essential principles of sovereignty, ought to have united all sovereigns against such a procedure: and it is impossible that his majesty, the emperor of Russia, whose distinguished character is a religious regard for the principles of justice, even towards those over whom he possesses absolute authority, should not have been deceived as to the nature of these transactions; for how could he otherwise have afforded the sanction of his high approbation to a plan, which no less attacks his own sovereignty, than that of the two monarchs of whom I have just spoken!—This refusal to afford the grand duke the full amount of the compensations assigned him 18 months ago, cannot arise from a deficiency of the territories allotted for the indemnities. The work printed at Berlin, which I have already quoted, estimates the whole of the ecclesiastical states on the right side of the Rhine at 2,399,118 inhabitants, without including the states of Trent and Brixen. To which, if we add nearly the whole of the imperial towns (for six only provisionally escaped the general proscription) we shall have a population of about three million souls. Such is the mass of states to be entirely withdrawn from their allegiance to the emperor, and divided between princes openly aspiring at independence, and consequently inimical to the head of the empire. Three millions of men torn from the defence of the empire, and placed at the disposal of France, whenever she is inclined to attack it! Is it feared, then, that Europe is crumbling into ruins too slowly? And is it necessary to hasten its demolition?—Let us now compare this mass of states with those which have been conquered by France. For this purpose, I shall make an extract from the report of citizen Roberjot, sent, by the national convention, as commissary into the countries which had recently been conquered. The object of this report was to induce the convention to adopt the Rhine for the boundary of France:—"The conquered countries may be divided into two zones, one bounded by the Rhine and the Meuse, the other by the Meuse and the ocean. The country between the Rhine and the Meuse contains, &c." (Here follows a correct enumeration of the states included between these two rivers.) "The first zone contains a surface of 1,130 square leagues, and a population of 1,807,000 souls." (Here follows a list of the principal states of the zone.)—From this detail it results, that if we deduct the Austrian and ecclesiastical possessions, together with the imperial towns, for all which no indemnities have been allotted, and whose population exceeds 710,000 inhabitants, there will remain, at most, 1,100,000 souls, which, added to nearly an equal number of inhabitants in Tuscany, make a total of 2,200,000 subjects, while the funds set apart for the equivalents were calculated for three million. Thus, then, there is not even the shadow of an excuse for this violation of the treaty of Luneville, and, probably, the very want of all excuse, gives it additional claims to the approbation of Buonaparté and his majesty of Prussia; inasmuch as it adds insult to the numerous injuries already heaped on the house of Austria. A curious article on this head has lately appeared in the *Mercure de France:* this *Mercure* is published under the auspices, and even under the direction of Lucien Buonaparté*.—I shall just observe by the

* *Extract from The Mercure de France, No. 69, year 11, p. 230.*—"Germany has, for centuries past, presented the two-fold aspect of an immense empire, and of a vast federative republic. The peace of Westphalia tended to strengthen the republican portion of its constitution, by diminishing the power and influence of its chief. The plan now presented by the mediating powers has *certainly* the same *tendency*."—Yes, most certainly, *I have proved that this "Plan" was destructive of both. It therefore fully answers the object, here avowed by the French government.*—"If the necessity of the interposition of the two mediating powers could have been called in question, nothing more would have been necessary to have clearly proved it, than the multitude of demands and pretensions which have been set up, and which can only be settled by an irresistible power, such as the union of France and Russia presents."—*This* irresistible power *is an interference of the same nature as that adopted by Buonaparté, with respect to the independence of Switzerland.*—"The letters from Ratisbon say, that that town is filled with demandants, complainants, and claimants, driven some by *want*, and others by *avarice*; that there is not a prince nor a town that has not presented memorials; that even the secularized persons resort thither, and that, in passing through the midst of them, a person would imagine himself in the *shades*, if all these *dead* persons did not demand a lengthened existence."—*This pleasantry amidst* shades *of those who have been* killed, *really discovers great magnanimity.*—"It was easy to fore-

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way, that this same report of citizen Roberjot corroborates the amount of the population which we have assigned to the Prussian territories to the left of the Rhine, viz. nearly 95,000 souls. But the work published at Berlin, which we have several times quoted, modestly estimates it at 122,500, and the revenue at the enormous sum of £.136,400 sterling!—By what fatality is this series of transactions, so contrary to the laws of honour, of humanity, and of justice, so injurious to the rights of all sovereigns, so opposite to the letter and the spirit of the treaty of Luneville, so fatal to the German empire and to all Europe—by what fatality, I say, instead of exciting the strongest opposition of the sovereigns of Europe, is it assisted by some, and tolerated by all? This is, indeed, the most difficult part of my subject.

Incedo per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

I shall, however, endeavour to reconcile my respect for sovereigns with the respect due to truth. This is not the time to remain silent. Europe has but a few moments left to save herself. If she is not made fully sensible of the extent of her danger, she must inevitably be lost!—The consternation into which Buonaparté has thrown Europe,

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see that their possessions would be an object of cupidity to their neighbours; and, as the empire is made up of their neighbours, it is evident, that if it had been left to itself, the disputes about the division would have been endless, or that the *eagles* would have acted the part of the lion."—*And who doubts, that it was left for that power which had given birth to these* endless *disputes, to put an end to them by its mediation? Here is the first peck at the Prussian* eagle.—" The term of two months, fixed upon by France and Russia,—a term sufficient, I conceive, for us Frenchmen to conclude treaties of peace with all the powers of Europe,—must have appeared prodigiously short at Ratisbon, for an arrangement in some sort merely *domestic*."—*The division of the spoils of a nation, is, then, a sort of* domestic *arrangement with the honest men who have made themselves masters of it.*—" But interest is, in every country, a powerful spring of acceleration; as we may judge from the promptitude with which applications for indemnities have been made from all quarters. That the applications would be numerous was to be expected. They spring up in crowds, at the sound of a single word in the declaration of the mediating powers—the *completion* of the indemnities; a word which is, nevertheless, *very necessary.*"—*Yes! certainly* very necessary *for the object of one of these powers.*—" With the exception of a few princes evidently favored in the plan of indemnities, who amongst them does not pretend to have some claim to this *completion?* Even among those whose indemnities are incontestibly greater than their losses, some are mentioned (and they are not princes without fortune) some are mentioned, I say, who *without shame are soliciting for such or such a portion of the spoil of their co-estates.* Their greediness was inflamed at beholding the indemnities granted to the margrave of Baden; and, without weighing the excellent reasons given by the minister for exterior relations, whenever they have beheld some proposable arrondissement, some town still free, to be placed under their yoke, they have hastened to demand it, *in the same manner as a person demands justice.*"—*It must be here remembered, that it is not I, who am treating these princes with so much severity, but a paper appearing under the auspices of the French government, and generally understood to be published under the immediate influence of* the brother of the government*. *In fact, what other but this government, the protector of religion and of property, which has caused the one and the other to be respected and re-established in the fortunate countries where the mild influence of her arms has been able to penetrate, could have painted with so much force and so much truth, the scandalous scene which Germany presents, at the present moment, to*

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* This expression may appear strange: it is nevertheless exact. It is one of Buonaparté's titles. When he was complimented on his return from Marengo, upon that fatal victory, he replied, "that the *government* was truly sensible of the attachment of the counsels." Now, as nobody has ever suspected Cambaceres or Le Brun, *(but only General Desaix)* of having contributed to this victory, it must be concluded, that Napoleone Buonaparté and "the government" are synonymous expressions.

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astonished Europe? But the remainder is not less curious.—" And how, amidst all these claimants, who would all have been equally right or equally wrong" (right *in complaining of an unjust spoliation, and* wrong *in making useless complaints)* " how would it have been possible to have found out, I will not say any principle of *justice*, but even any rule of *convenience.*"—*In fact, it seems pretty clearly proved, that* justice *has nothing to do in this transaction, and that the* convenience *of the plundered princes has been as little consulted.*—" Amongst the towns which remain free, there are some which will bear witness to the moderation of the surrounding powers, or the high protection of the mediating powers. Such, for example, is the town of Nuremburgh, anxiously coveted, and, as is well known, more than once threatened by Prussia. When we consider its situation in the centre of the margraviates, whose value and importance it would considerably increase, it is difficult not to consider it as destined to pass, sooner or later, under the dominion of their master." *(Some annual donceurs, through the channel of Messrs. X. Y. Z. would be able to retard the catastrophe.)* " If it were permitted to make use of a trivial expression on this subject, it might be said, that it was reserved for the thirst of the Prussian eagle."—*Here is another peck at the Prussian eagle! One would imagine from this, that the moment for plucking him is at no great distance!—I shall conclude this extract, and the numerous commentaries which it affords, by the following paragraph, in which the nature of the mediation of the French government is unblushingly avowed.*—" Austria, which has not beheld, but with the most lively displeasure, the *imposing* attitude of France and of Russia, must be delighted with all those claims, which appear to be made in order to fetter the progress of their ministers, and the execution of what it calls their *advice.*"—" Note of the Mercury,—Bohemia, in one of her votes, gave it as her opinion, that the declaration of the mediating powers was considered as *advice.*"—*And it appears that the French government resolved that it should be looked upon as an* order.—*This specimen may serve to shew the German princes how lightly their concerns are treated by their friends the French!*

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undoubtedly explains, in some measure, this singular phenomenon; but there is still some sovereigns whose high courage and exalted power render them incapable of intimidation. That the cabinet of Berlin, carried away by excessive deference for a government it feared, and by the desire of enlarging its possessions, may have forgotten its duty to the empire, and abandoned itself to a system of aggrandizement, in which, for centuries past, it has been but too successful*; that princes, plundered of their all by the chance of war, may have indulged the wish of throwing the weight of those losses upon their innocent neighbours, it is possible to conceive; but there is still a sovereign whom it is impossible for frightened Europe to behold without astonishment, lending the formidable support of his high power, and the imposing authority of his name and his virtues, to a system of iniquity, destructive to the Germanic empire, and fatal to all Europe. This prince, whose immense possessions place him beyond the temptations of ambition, whom all Europe rejoiced to see ascending the throne, invested with all the strength of youth and the prudence of riper years, towards whom she turned her attention as towards her principal bulwark in the terrible crisis which threatens her with general subjugation; this prince, placed by his power and great distance beyond the reach of the turbulent government, which agitates, torments, and humbles Europe; this prince, a stranger to every motive of fear or of personal interest, and called by this very consideration and by his great power, to be the impartial pacificator of Europe, and the restorer of justice, order, and morality; this prince has most undoubtedly been deceived as to the nature of the transactions which have taken place in the Germanic empire; to which he is not united by any other ties than those of protector and preservor. Entirely occupied in the cares of a new reign, and the details of the government of his vast empire, his attention could not be fixed with the same steadiness on affairs which were necessarily secondary to his immediate duties. —It is possible, that accustomed to scatter his favours on all those whom heaven has placed under his dependence, he has not been insensible to the aggrandizement of houses which had the honour to be closely allied to his own; but whatever pleasure his majesty may feel in bestowing favours, he will never cease to be just. If beneficence be a pleasure more peculiarly reserved for sovereigns, justice is no less their highest duty.—If the houses of Baden and Wirtemburgh were sufficiently illustrious to give successively two empresses to Russia; if the nations of this vast empire have enjoyed this two-fold choice, whereby they beheld the graces and the virtues seated on the throne of their sovereigns, what could be wanting to complete their lustre? Could the addition of a few bailiwicks, torn by force from their lawful sovereigns, raise them still higher? Could it add in any degree to their means of defence? Certainly not; and the accession of a few leas of territory contiguous to their states leaves them no less under the absolute dependency of France. It is not in their own strength that sovereigns of the second order should look for their security. In the respect due to the sacred character of sovereign, in the protection and in the justice of those whom Providence has placed above them in the gradation of power, can they alone find real safety. This transfer of domains, though apparently made in their favour, will, by weakening the lawful influence and real strength of the head of the empire, their real protector, by presenting fresh examples of the destruction of states and of sovereignties, and by inspiring them with ideas of absolute independence incompatible with their individual weakness, prepare the way for their final overthrow; and the moment the chief of the empire shall cease to be able to protect them, that moment will they fall a ready prey to a greedy and all-powerful government: they will add to the crowd of sovereigns, already proscribed by the act of indemnity, but with this difference, that the witnesses of their overthrow, instead of praying their fate, will only behold in it a just application of the new law of nations, acknowledged by themselves, and accredited by their imprudent cupidity,

Legem sibi dixerat ipse.

Who, in fact, does not see, that the vast portion of Germany comprised between France, Prussia, and Austria, which more immediately acknowledged the authority of the head of the empire, but to which he is now made a stranger by this new arrangement, is become the immediate object of French ambition; that it will be the theatre of the first war commenced by Buonaparté or his successor; and that, according to the success of that war, it will be divided by France between the other two powers? So that, in the course of a few years, we shall, very probably, see Bavaria pass into the hands of the house of Austria, as the reward of her assent to the union to France of the countries contiguous to the right bank of the Rhine: for what political bargain ought to surprize us, after we have seen France first of all purchase Louisiana of the king of Spain, pay for it by giving Tuscany, over which she had no legal right, to his relation, the duke of Parma, and afterwards receive it again of the grand duke, in exchange for the archbishoprick of Salzburgh; so that strictly speaking, this archbishoprick was the price of Louisiana. From the violent manner in which all the indemnified princes have darted upon their prey, one is almost tempted to imagine that they are themselves sensible they shall only enjoy it for a short period.—I have shewn that the interest of the houses, united by the strongest ties of his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, ought to have deterred them from these acquisitions, to acquire which they have disputed with so much bitterness. But were these acquisitions even as useful to them as they may become fatal, are not the alliances of blood, whatever influence they may possess over their private affections, subordinate to another species of alliance still more intimate, of a more exalted nature, and of a character, if I may use the expression, sacred? I mean that eternal and unperishable alliance, by which the Deity himself has united the small number of sovereigns of the first order to whom he has delegated his power

* Far be it from me to insinuate any thing personal against the king of Prussia, whose moral qualities all Europe must respect! But it does not require much experience to know, how difficult it is for a sovereign to shake off the influence of his cabinet, and struggle single-handed against deep rooted prejudices, and a long established system of policy.

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ver the human race. I speak of that sacred asso-
iation of power, of rights, and of duties, which
nites them for one common end, the preservation
f social order and the happiness of the human
ice. It is in this sense that all kings are, as they
eciprocally style each other, really brothers.—If
re minutely examine the political relations of
ussia with her two western neighbours, Austria
nd Prussia, which separate her from the greater
art of Europe, we shall find, that Austria has been
ie constant and faithful ally of Russia; from whom,
i return, she has received numerous good offices;
iat even since they have become contiguous, and
i spite of the natural rivalship between two great
mpires of the same order, no subject of dis-
ute has ever arisen between them; for we can-
ot consider as such a few light clouds, occasioned
y the almost inevitable incompatibility of the
espective agents, and no sooner raised than dis-
elled; that Austria is the most powerful bar-
er against the only power that can become for-
idable to Russia; in short, that the very situation
f Austria, Russia between which can be so ser-
iceable to her, and France, whose power and
hose hatred she has at once to dread, is a sure
ledge of its regard and attention to the former.
—On the other hand, we shall find, that Prussia
as rarely omitted a favourable opportunity of op-
osing the interests of Russia; that, recently, she
vas desirous of tearing from the immortal Cathe-
ine the second, the fruits of her victories over the
Turks; that, more recently, she assisted the Poles
gainst the form of government they had adopted
nder the guarantee of Russia; that the greater part
f her numerous acquisitions shew how little scru-
ulous she is, as to the means by which she aggran-
izes herself; that so many contradictory treaties
nade, at one and the same time, with the powers
t war, do not permit much confidence to be placed
n her alliance; that, above all, Prussia is under the
bsolute dependence of France; that she was, during
he course of the war, and that she will be hence-
orward, the principal instrument of French am-
bition; that France retains her by the double tie of
ear and of hope; with one hand threatening her
possessions between the Rhine and the Weser, or
even the Elbe, whilst with the other she presents
her that attractive bait, the possession of Hanover;
and that France is so much the less fearful of in-
creasing the power of Prussia, as she well knows
she can destroy this instrument the moment it be-
comes useless to her. According to this parallel,
which appears correct, would it be the interest of
Russia to abandon her ancient and close connexion
with Austria, in order to form a new one with
France and Prussia? Would it be of any service
to her, to destroy the influence of the emperor
over the empire, which he can only employ against
France so beneficially for Europe, but which he
can never turn against Russia, and transfer it to
Prussia, which can turn it, under the direction of
France, to the destruction of the power of Austria?
—It appears impossible that so many powerful mo-
tives should not influence the conduct of Russia;
the eminent virtues of Alexander the first do not
permit Europe in general, and the German empire
in particular, to entertain a fear that his august
name will ever be united with that of Buonaparté,
for the accomplishment of a work of violence and
injustice, immediately tending to overthrow the
Germanic empire, to sap the foundation of sove-
reignty itself, by deposing so many sovereigns,
without pretext or ceremony, to prepare the sub-
mission of Europe, and to bring the arms of victo-
rious France still nearer to the frontiers of Russia.
And this hope is the better founded, since there are
means, conformable to justice, still left, of favour-
ing the houses in whose fate his imperial majesty,
the emperor of Russia, takes so lively an interest,
and of procuring them, if not the favours which
France is dispensing with so prodigal a hand, at
least a compensation equivalent to the real losses
they have sustained. These means, as I shall
hereafter shew, are in the hands of the house of
Austria; and there can be no doubt of his impe-
rial majesty's disposition to furnish fresh proofs of
his attachment to Russia, by a renewal of those
sacrifices to which he consented on another oc-
casion. But there is not an instant to be lost. If
Russia should once suffer the overthrow of the
Germanic empire, it will no longer be in its power
to revive the Germanic body, whose destruction
it could have prevented. Her disjointed terri-
tories will have irrevocably passed into the hands
of princes immediately dependent on France;
all the established principles of equity will have
been subverted, the essence of sovereignty destroy-
ed, and its lustre for ever tarnished, by the pro-
scription of so many sovereigns, whom their plun-
derers acknowledge to be *innocent* victims (see the
21st sitting of the commission) and, consequently,
that they themselves are the *guilty* plunderers.—
The head of the house of Austria, weakened by
irretrievable losses, and surrounded by dangers of
the most alarming nature, will no longer be able
to furnish his quota to the defence of the empire.
And let it not be imagined that the possession of a
few additional abbeys or imperial towns, granted
to the grand duke of Tuscany, in Swabia, will, in
any degree, alter this conclusion. These slender
concessions, with which the house of Austria may
probably be contented in her present abandoned
situation, may apparently lessen the injustice of
Buonaparté's conduct towards the grand duke, in
plundering him of Tuscany in the name of insulted
Europe, but they will not add one atom to the real
power and defensive strength of Austria; which is
evidently the strongest bulwark against the attacks
of France.—I have now shewn, in detail, how much
this plan of indemnities, forced upon the empire by
France, and countenanced by Prussia, who was not
ashamed to adduce her eagerness to despoil its co-
estates as a proof of her tender solicitude for the
good of the Germanic body, takes from the actual
forces of the emperor, in order to transfer them to
France, already so powerful; that this plan reduces
to nothing the influence of his high dignity, that
it debases the majesty of that situation, and con-
verts it into a perpetual source of unceasing humi-
liations, since there is no longer any state in the
empire, however mean, that does not possess the
power of insulting its head with impunity; secure
in the protection of a diet, entirely at the dispo-
sition of the inveterate enemies of the house of
Austria; that the Austrian possessions, from the
mouth of the Narew to the lake of Constance,
borders upon Prussia, and lies open to her arms,
and to the arms of all the secondary powers of Ger-
many, sharing the indemnities, and united in a
league essentially hostile to the emperor; that the
whole of this vast extent of frontier, more than
250 German miles (of 15 to a degree) is entirely
exposed, excepting a small part, reaching from
Gallicia to Lusatia, in which Joseph the second

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had the foresight to erect some fortresses, though fewer in number than those which defend Prussian Silesia; in short, that the Austrian monarchy is so invested by France, by Prussia, and by the powers dependent upon them, and so separated from its own allies, that there is no other secure route, for a courier dispatched from London to Vienna, but by Gibraltar and Trieste (which is a longer and far more uncertain navigation than the passage to America) or by that of the sound and Riga, which is shut up six months of the year, cannot be performed, in the most favourable season, in less than a month, and is entirely dependent on the will of the emperor of Russia.—But tremendous as these dangers are, they are still nothing in comparison of those to which the Austrian monarchy is exposed towards her frontiers in Switzerland and Italy. It is here that the fate of Switzerland, independent of all prejudices for or against the inhabitants of that country, is connected with the general interests of Europe, and, consequently, deserves the serious consideration of all governments. My readers will pardon the details into which I am about to enter, for they are of the highest importance. —The Voralberg (a country in which few troops and still fewer provisions can be risked, from the inconceivable difficulty of withdrawing them by the only road which leads over a branch of the Alps, from the valley of the Rhine to that of the Inn) being attacked at the same moment from Swabia, Switzerland, and the Grisons, could not possibly defend herself; and the troops stationed there to protect her would be forced to retire precipitately into the Tyrol, by the solitary road just mentioned. The Tyrol itself would instantly be completely invested, from Kufstein, the opening of the Inn into Germany, as far as Peri, the opening of the Adige into Italy. In this extensive line of territory, the enemies of the house of Austria, masters of the Engadine, the county of Bormio and Upper Bresciano, are in possession of the head, and consequently of the entrance into all the valleys of the Tyrol, to the north and south of the Alps. Besides, the important passes, of the Tonnel, at the sources of the Oglio, and the Val Apfo, are no longer immediately protected by the emperor, but solely by the new sovereign of Trent; who, at the present moment, is both the brother and friend of the emperor, but whose posterity may hereafter become inimical to the chief of the house of Austria, and will, at all times, possess distinct interests, and a separate and independent administration. These two passes turn the entrance of the Tyrol by the valley of the Adige, and lead by the vale of Sugana, and an excellent road to Bassano and Venice, behind the Austrian army defending the frontier on the Adige. The neutrality of the grand duke would be no security to the Tyrol: for a victorious army never respects the neutrality of a feeble prince. This neutrality, besides, would be fatal to the Austrian armies; since it would cut off the direct communication of the armies acting in Bavaria from those acting towards the Adige, and instead of the direct road from Inspruck to Trent, would oblige them to make a circuit of four times the distance, by Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Venice. Now, there is not a military man who is not fully convinced, that the whole success of the armies of the emperor depends principally on the shortest possible communication being kept up, between the two armies co-operating in Germany and in Italy, —Supposing, however, that in spite of all these disadvantages of position, the emperor should succeed in securing the entrance of the Tyrol threatened in so many points, the defence of several of which will no longer belong to him; if by any success on the side of Italy, the enemies of the emperor should pass the Adige and drive back the troops defending the entrance into the Venetian territories, all the troops in the Tyrol will have no other means of retreating into the interior of Austria, but by the almost impassable road from Brixen to Villach, by Lientz, if the neutrality of the grand duke should not shut it upon them, or by Kufstein, provided the hostile army in Bavaria, shall not have reached the river Inn. —Thus it will be seen, that every probable chance of success, on the side of Italy, is against his imperial majesty; for, as long as Switzerland, the Grisons, and the Valais are dependent on France, and Piedmont in her possession, the Cisalpine republic, surrounded and penetrated by her armies, in every direction, principally governed by the despot of France, and the details of the government administered by his creatures, has no choice of her own: she must submit. Thus the weight of the war, and all the exactions necessary for keeping up a vast army must fall, of course, upon the Cisalpine republic and the adjoining countries, so capable from their fertility to support, so incapable, from their weakness, to repel them, and thus does Buonaparté avoid the clamours and discontents of the French nation, on which the weight of these heavy burdens by this means does not fall.—Thus, the lake of Guarda, the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua, the Lower Po, with the extensive marshes enclosed by its different branches, and the fortress of Ferrara in the centre, form, for France, an insurmountable barrier; while the Adige, the passage of which has been as often effected as attempted, presents no obstacle. The Adige once crossed, the investiture of the southern Tyrol is complete, and its evacuation thereby compelled; and as the country, from the Adige to the mountains of Carniola and Carinthia, is entirely flat, and defended by no fortresses (for Palma Nuova, in the condition I examined it, does not deserve that name) nor by any river (for the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the Isonzo are merely torrents, empty as soon as filled), no least decisive success on the banks of the Adige or in the Tyrol, necessarily forces the evacuation of the Tyrol and the Venetian territories, the retreat of the Austrian armies in Carniole and in Carinthia, the loss of Venice and of Trieste, and consequently, of the whole of the marine and the maritime commerce of Austria; and, what deserves some consideration, all communication thus cut off with her natural and necessary ally Great-Britain, except by the deserted and almost inaccessible coasts of Dalmatia. All Europe still remembers the alarms excited for the fate of the Austrian monarchy, when, about six years ago, the armies of France, in a situation infinitely less favourable than her present one, penetrated as far as Styria.

The union of Piedmont, and particularly the state of servile dependence to which the French have reduced Switzerland, will keep up a perpetual alarm for the safety of the house of Austria, and, by a necessary consequence, for the independence of the rest of Europe, and even of England herself; against whom, France, which is

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war with her, will be able to direct all the naval resources of subjugated Europe; and, in time of peace, to prohibit the entrance of her commerce into its ports. If, to the dangers to which Austria is exposed on the side of Switzerland and Italy, we added those which threaten her on the side of Germany and Poland, we shall be convinced, that Austria cannot possibly embrace the order of things which France is desirous to impose on her, without resigning herself, sooner or later, to destruction, and that *it is the general interest of Europe to arm, for the purpose of extricating her from his critical situation, by snatching Piedmont and Switzerland from the hands of Buonaparté.*—It is not, therefore, so much on her own account, as on its immediate consequences to the general system of Europe, that Switzerland becomes an object of real political interest: Europe, doubtless, has not seen, without indignation, a whole nation attacked without cause and without pretext, subdued and completely pillaged, and afterwards voluntarily abandoned to the horrors of a civil war, which had no other object than that of forcing her to throw herself unconditionally into the arms of France. But the fate of Piedmont so wisely governed by sovereigns contemporary with the birth of the state, which they created and supported with such ability; of that country, so unjustly torn from its legitimate sovereign, in direct opposition to the most solemn engagements, treated with so many indignities from the moment it passed under the yoke of France, that at the very time in which Buonaparté, increasing in audacity in proportion as his adversaries become weaker, formally incorporated it with France, he has put it out of the protection of this very empire, for the space of six years, and abandoned its unfortunate inhabitants, during the whole of that term, to the brutality, the rapacity, and the insolence of his satellites;—but the fate of Tuscany, so happy under the paternal protection of the sovereign she has lost, and that of so many other states overthrown, mutilated, or destroyed by the ambition of the French government, must excite the same compassion, as well in favor of the inhabitants as of the sovereigns, and, in proportion to their importance to the safety of Europe, the same political interest.—The independence of Switzerland is, then, an object of the first necessity for the preservation of the Austrian monarchy; but we should grossly deceive ourselves, if we imagined, that were the object, for which the Swiss have lately taken up arms against the bastard government forced upon it by Bounaparté, and accomplished, Switzerland would recover its independence, and that consequently the dangers with which her subjection threatens Austria in particular, and Europe in general, would cease immediately. The major part of the Swiss appear to have been sincerely united by the desire of recovering their ancient distinction of states, to which they are even more attached than to the form of government under which they lived. In fact, with the exception of the small democratic cantons, in all the rest, that is to say, in more than three-fourths of Switzerland, a body of men sufficiently numerous, were desirous of some changes as to this last point, and the confederates have, generally announced an extension of the rights of citizen. Whatever may be the internal modification of their governments, let us suppose them to succeed in their principal object, the re-establishment of the sovereignty of each canton.—1st. The Valais, with the important passes of the Simplon and the great Saint Bernard, but more particularly the first, which can, by a fine road, conduct, in a few days, the French forces into the heart of the Cisalpine, that is to say to Milan, still remains in the hands of France.—2d. France, by seizing the bishopric of Basle and the country of Bienne, and extending its dominion to the lake of that name and to the Thiel, has penetrated into the very heart of Switzerland; that is to say, into the great valley of the Aar. Her troops can, in a few hours, seize upon Basle, Berne, and Soleure; in two days, upon Lucerne and Freybourg; and in three days, at farthest, upon Zurich itself; so that, at the expiration of this short interval, all the principal towns of Switzerland, as well as the principal cantons, will have been conquered; and, from the first day, the forces extending from Soleure to Burgdorf at the entrance of the Emmenthal, will completely divide Switzerland into two parts; of which two parts, the southern can derive no succour from the other but by the mountains.—3d. The Pays de Vaud, which has taken up arms, and supported the war of the central government against the federal government, which the rest of Switzerland is calling for, furnishes Buonaparté with a specious pretext for detaching from Switzerland, a country, differing from it in language and in manners, and nourishing a rooted antipathy, which the recent events have, most assuredly, not tended to extinguish. This country, hemmed in, besides, by France, from which it draws its corn and salt, and to which it disposes of its cattle and cheese, cannot shake off a dependence, rendered so complete, both by strength and by interest. It is also necessary to Buonaparté for the passage of troops marching from Franche-Comté, Alsace and the north of France, into the Milanese by the Simplon. Buonaparté has the choice of either making it a separate republic, nominal and dependant, like the pretended republic of the Valais, of uniting them all in one, under one general denomination, or of taking it to himself by a formal annexation to France. Is it likely that the Swiss cantons, having obtained what they demand, the re-establishment of their respective sovereignties, would again take up arms, or even venture upon the least remonstrance for the recovery of French Switzerland? This being the case, a formal or at least a real union to France, of all the country extending from Bienne through Morat and Fribourg as far as the Valais, must be considered as highly probable. More than two years ago, was this union traced upon the public maps of Switzerland; and what other object could Buonaparté have, in exciting a civil war in a country over which he was absolute master, unless to find in it a pretext for an usurpation, which the peaceable state of Switzerland would have rendered too scandalous; if, indeed, any thing coming from that man may henceforward be considered as an object of scandal! Buonaparté, it is well known, secured to himself, through Spain, to which it never belonged, the possession of the dutchy of Parma, even without the knowledge of the duke; why, then, should he not take to himself the Pays du Vaud, by means of the *good* margrave of Baden, as he is pleased to call him? The dukes of Zehringue, chiefs of the elder branch of the house of Baden, were in possession of it

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until the year 1218, the epoch of the death of Berchtold the 5th. the last duke of that race. The claim to this title would be full as good as those he possesses over his other *states*.

4th. If Switzerland, in its utmost strength, could not, four years ago, defend itself, for one month, against a moderate French army; now that this same Switzerland is robbed of the countries of the Valais, of Bienne, of the Vaud, and of Geneva; now that it is subdivided afresh into fifteen or eighteen small independent states, between which their very number, and still more their diversity of manners, of religion, of interests, and of forms of government, admit of no well concerted operations, and in each of which, if we except the small cantons, there will henceforth be two avowed factions, the one friendly, the other inimical to the restoration of the ancient form of government, and animated against each other, the one by recent injuries and regret at what it has lost, the other by the ambition of realizing all its pretension—can it be imagined, I say, that Switzerland, in this state of discord,—stripped of its arsenals, its treasures, its magazines, in a word, of all the fruits of a long and wise administration, and of that glory, with which the remembrance of the victories of Sempach, Granson, and Morat invested it, and, last of all, attacked by an enemy, against whom the antient dukes of Austria and of Burgundy would not have dared to have taken up arms—will be able to resist the victorious armies of France, freed from every other contest, and dictating the law to almost all the powers of Europe? Surely it is supposed that the Swiss are so many invulnerable giants, similar to those placed by the imagination of Homer in the caverns of Etna! We forget, then, that at the first word uttered by citizen Rapp, a species of buffoon at the court of Saint Cloud, these same victorious Swiss fell back from Lausanne to Schwitz still more rapidly than they had advanced, and that in so doing they only followed the imperious dictates of necessity. If, in spite of this inequality, the Swiss, forgetting their own inferiority in their desire of revenge, should persist in the struggle, without the aid of allies more powerful than themselves, the history of their ancestors acquaints us with the fate that awaits them; it is traced by Tacitus, in sections 67 and 68, of the first book of his Annals, with traits of resemblance so very striking, that they almost induce us to imagine, that Tacitus was writing of the time of Buonaparté and not of Vetellius*.—

Thus the most lively imagination can discern no probable chance of success for the Swiss in this dreadful contest, which may lead to the destruction of their population, by a man, proud, stubborn, and vindictive, who wishes to frighten for ever the nations he has placed under his yoke, and to retain them in that yoke by means of a terrible example. —But even supposing, against every shadow of reason and of common sense, that the Swiss are both able and willing to resist the arms of France with some success; how will Switzerland, pressed in its whole length between Transalpine and Cisalpine France, deriving, from both, the greatest part

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* Plus prædæ ac sanguinis Cœcina hausit: irritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens, olim armis virisque, mox memoriâ nominis clara. . . . Vitellii imperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit avaritia ac festinatio unæ et vicesimæ Legionis; rapuerant pecuniam . . . . Ægrè id passi Helvetii. . . . Cœcina belli avidus, proximam quamque culpam, antequam pœniteret, ultum ibat; mota propere castra; vastati agri . . . . missi ad Rhœtica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionis Helvetios a tergo aggrederentur.—Illi ante discrimen ferotes, in prœlio pavidi, quamquam primo tumultu claudium severum ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere. Exitiosum adversus veteranos prœlium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate mœnibus. Hinc Cœcina cum valido exercitu, inde Rhœticæ alæ cohortesque . . . undique populatio et cædes. Ipsi in medio vagi, abjectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes, in montem Vocetium perfugêre: ac statim immissa cohorte depulsi . . . . per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati, multa millia hominum cœsa, multa sub coronâ venum data . . . . missi qui dederent civitatem et deditio accepta; in Julium Alpinum, ut concitorem bellii, Cœcina animadvertit: ceteros beniæ vel sævitiæ Vitellii reliquit. — Cœcina marked his way with greater rapine and more horrible cruelty than his predecessors: this turbulant spirit had been irritated by the Swiss, originally a Gallic nation renowned for their valour and their exploits in war. They refused to acknowledge the authority of Vitellius. In this disposition of their minds they had soon a cause of quarrel, occasioned by the rapacity of the legions, who had carried off a sum of money belonging to the Swiss. An act of violence so unwarranted, raised the indignation of the people, who determined on making reprisals. This, to such a man as Cœcina, was ample provocation. He wished for nothing so much as a pretence for open hostility. He marched against the Helvetians, and having laid waste the country, not content with this act of revenge, he sent dispatches into Rhœtia, with orders to the auxiliaries to hang upon the rear of the Helvetians, while he advanced to attack them in front.—The spirit of the Helvetians, fierce and intrepid, while the danger was at a distance, began to droop as soon as the war drew nearer. In the beginning of these hostilities, they had chosen Claudius Severus to command their forces, but terror and confusion followed. To keep their ranks in battle was not their practice, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The contest, they now perceived, must be unequal with a veteran army; and their fortifications being every where in decay, to stand a siege was not advisable. Cœcina advanced at the head of a numerous army; the cavalry and the auxiliary forces from Rhœtia, with the youth of that country in their rear. This short war was a continued scene of massacres and pillage. The country was laid waste. The Helvetians betook themselves to flight; and, after wandering about in a general panic, wounded, maimed, and unable to resist, they threw down their arms and fled to the mountains. The soldiers of Cœcina were sent to dislodge them. Driven from their strong holds, they betook themselves to the woods, or fled to their lurking places; several thousands were put to the sword or sold to slavery. At last, the inhabitants sent deputies offering to surrender their unfortunate country. Their submission was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, was put to death. The rest were left to the mercy or resentment of Vitellius.

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of its corn, rice, salt, metals, and the materials of its manufactures, drawing the surplus from the states of Baden, Wirtemburg, and Bavaria, evidently under the dependence of France, having no markets for its natural or artificial productions, but in the vast states of its enemy, or in those of her humble dependents; how, I say, will Switzerland be able to resist that tacit war, which will be waged in every point of its frontier, not by the soldiers, but by the contraband guards of Buonaparté. Subdued by famine, and by universal scarcity, will it not be obliged, like the Egyptians formerly, to go and supplicate for slavery at the feet of this new Pharoah? The independence of Switzerland is, then, a creature of the imagination, an ideal being, until Italy shall be entirely set free from the yoke of France. —From all that I have hitherto said, I am entitled, since I have proved them, to deduce the following conclusions, sufficiently important to be repeated, and, I will venture to say, engraved over the entrance-door of the cabinets of all sovereigns. —1st. That if the empire of Germany should take the new shape which the ambition of Buonaparté, seconded by the cupidity of Prussia, wishes to impose upon it, the Austrian power is not only paralysed as to its defence of Europe, but exposed also to habitual alarm for her own safety.—2d. That as long as Switzerland and Italy shall remain under the dependence of France, so long will the Austrian power be threatened, in its very existence. 3d. That the slavery of Switzerland cannot be modified, by any of the interior forms which Buonaparté may be graciously pleased to permit it to take; but solely by the reduction of the power of France, and above all, by her total expulsion out of Italy; which necessarily includes the re-establishment of the kingdom of Piedmont, not only in its antient power, but with all the aggrandizements that opportunity and justice may afford. —4th. That the union of these two causes of danger, *viz.* the subjection of Switzerland and Italy to France on one side, and, on the other, the new Prussian confederacy, uniting nearly all the forces of Germany in one hostile league against the emperor, condemns Austria to exist in so perpetual a state of alarm, that there is nothing which she ought not to undertake, rather than submit to an order of things which assures her speedy destruction; that a few paltry additions to the equivalent intended for the grand duke of Tuscany, neither diminishes, nor retards, nor even palliates the danger; that the only means of salvation for the Austrian monarchy, is to risk every thing for the preservation of the legal constitution of the empire, or to re-establish it, the moment a favourable opportunity presents itself.—5th. That the destruction, or complete subjection of this great and respectable power, will place the small number of sovereigns, who shall survive this dreadful crisis, in a situation far more perilous, even than that in which the Austrian monarchy is now placed; since they will have to defend themselves, single-handed and without the assistance of Austria, against France, with all the west of Europe in its train, and become, in reality, *The Great Western Nation*, as Buonaparté, with an affectation which unveils the secret views of his ambition and vanity, has, for some time past, called it.—6th. That the preservation of the Austrian power, and consequently, on one side the recovery of Switzerland and Italy, and the restoration of the kingdom of Piedmont; and on the other, the preservation of the states of the Germanic body, are measures of the highest importance, even to those powers, who appear to be the least interested, namely, Great-Britain and Russia.— What! (will exclaim all those German princes on whom the reverses and the losses of the war have fallen), is it possible that the grand principle of the indemnities should be rejected! Can it be doubted, that it is for our *innocent* neighbours to support all our losses, real or imaginary, voluntary or forced?—Yes; the voice of equity, more energetic than that of avarice, denounces this principle to the world at large, as subversive of the stability of states, as inimical to the established law of nations. It challenges the most ingenious sophist to find, in the established laws and usages of Germany, any precedent for this iniquitous system. But, to conclude, honour points out to these princes the real spot on which their indemnities stand. It tells them, that they ought alone to seek for them in the possessions of the ravisher; but if danger affright; if necessity speak a language more powerful than honour, they must resign themselves to their fate, forget what they have lost, through want of fortitude and unanimity, and endeavour to preserve what yet remains, by a conduct the reverse of what they have hitherto observed.— Every individual is convinced of the infamy of the principle of the indemnities. The dangers of its application have been so fully exposed, as to leave no possible doubt relative to the fatal consequences, which must await on such a mischievous plan. What motive, what consideration, then, can induce the sovereigns of Europe to support claims, so fatal and so unjust? And after all, where is the great mischief to them, if the king of Prussia no longer possesses the petty territories of Meurs and Guelders? What great harm can accrue to Europe, if the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel have lost the rock of Rhinpels, and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the castle of Parmesans, &c.? If their princes valued their possessions so much, why did they not make proportionate efforts to defend them? Or why do they not fly to arms, jointly with the head of the empire, whom they have abandoned; with Holland, which is regularly plundered by the commissaries of the French government; with Switzerland, which is in the possession of, and trampled upon by, French soldiers; with Piedmont, fallen from the mild dominion of the sovereigns, to writhe under the sword of special commissioners; with Italy, oppressed and laid waste; with England, which for so long a time, single handed and without allies, contended against the common enemy, and which, ever victorious, retired from the struggle, without any other loss than what it voluntarily sacrificed at the shrine of peace; and, finally, with all Europe; with the whole world, oppressed, desolated, tormented, insulted, or threatened, by men who dare every thing, because their will is neither contested nor opposed?—What was, ever more absurd than the proposed principle of the indemnities? Is there a common fund set apart by nature for the purpose of making compensation for the evils which successful violence shall inflict? And again, is that fund situated only in Germany? Now if there be no such fund, the slightest usurpation must overthrow all states; for, from neighbour to neighbour, the system of indemnity will make the tour of the whole globe: and who, in this sense of the word, was ever indemnified for their losses? Has the family of the

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king of France, murdered by his own subjects on whom he had poured every favour, been indemnified for the loss of the most noble as well as most antient inheritance in Europe? No! on the contrary, they have not yet been even revenged! And we have seen their place successively filled by their assassins, and the tools of their assassins, and their patrimony and their palaces become the reward of innocent blood. Has the king of Sardinia been indemnified for Piedmont, of which he was deprived by a banditti at the dead hour of night, and at a moment of profound peace? No! no! He waits trembling at Cagliari till his plunderers shall snatch from him the last domain of his illustrious house. Has the pope received an indemnity, for the loss of a third part of his states? The king of Spain, for Louisiana and Saint Domingo? And the emperor himself, has he been indemnified for the loss of the Netherlands? No; the fortune of war has transferred to one side, what it has taken from the other: and it remains, for resolution and for courage, to destroy what she has accomplished.

Extract from "Etat Commercial de la France, au Commencement du Dix-Neuvième Siècle; ou du Commerce Français, de ses anciennes Erreurs, et des Améliorations dont il est susceptible. Par J. Blanc de Volx. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1803." Containing Strictures on Mr. Dundas's Speech, respecting the relative interests of France and England in England.

It is imagined that the establishment of a French East India company would alarm England, and perpetually keep her on the watch: Now if we consider the enormous power of Great Britain in the East, "*would it,*" say these politicians, "*would it be in the power of France to establish a company invested with power to resist the vexation of the English? Certainly not .... it would, therefore, be impolitic to create a company pretending to make themselves feared and respected.....While, on the other hand, England will behold without jealousy our merchants carrying on a separate commerce in the country over which she domineers .... the surest means of maintaining peace with England, is to avoid every thing that can lead to a rupture in India**, and doubtless, to submit passively to all the arrogant terms that these Islanders may wish to impose on us.—At the moment when France has so recently signed the most glorious peace that ever adorned her political calendar, it appears almost incredible that so servile a submission to the will of England could have been recommended to her, for the purpose of preserving peace!

I hesitated a considerable time before I ventured to speak of the utility of a French company in a political point of view: this enquiry is closely connected with considerations which ought to be touched upon with the utmost delicacy, at the moment when harmony has so recently, and so happily, been restored to the two countries. Nevertheless, as there is no longer any secrets in politics, which the attentive observer will not dive into, I trust I may be permitted to lift up, with a cautious hand, the veil which at present conceals those secrets from us. The projects undertaken and executed by England in India, as well as those which she now meditates, are but too well known: they have been too often repeated in the two houses of her parliament, to render a discussion of it in this place improper.—In a point of view purely political, the sovereignty of the English company is little more in India than an insignificant here for Europe, and the government is the invisible soul of its operations. Embracing the three points of the angle which forms the peninsula from Bombay to cape Cormorin, and from cape Cormorin to Calcutta, without even forgetting Ceylon, which she has just added to her dominions, England appears henceforward to have no rival to fear in that quarter. Her influence is equally powerful in the interior, where she possesses millions of subjects, and few declared enemies; and where she has established commercial relations with all the princes of that vast continent. Her plans and her influence extend to all the Archipellagos of the Indian Ocean, from the Maldavis to Otaheite, from Japon to Botany Bay; possessing every where forts, troops, factories, and presidencies; she every where dictates the law, and her gigantic arms seem to embrace the whole universe. Such is the actual commercial, military, and political situation of Great Britain in Asia; and the picture is by no means too highly coloured!

And to this colossal power what have we to oppose but future plans and projects, but remembrances of our past power and importance in the happy days of Duplex and La Bourdonnaye. But, notwithstanding all this, Asia will henceforth have so great an influence in the maritime and commercial interests of Europe, that we neither can nor ought to neglect her, and the principles of true policy oblige us to claim the share of power which we ought to possess in that quarter of the globe.—There is little reason to doubt, that the English, masters of the peninsula, have, independent of their real power, endeavoured to increase their influence in the different Soubahs, at the expence of our own. During the war, they doubtless have not failed to represent us as a nation shorn of its antient splendor, incapable of entering into a commercial rivalship with them, and for ever eclipsed by their own power. And their success with the credulous Asiatics will have been the greater, since, masters for a long time of our factories, they will have represented the issues and temporary enjoyment of them, as the act of their acknowledged superiority.

At the conclusion of peace, the English have restored to us our plundered possessions; but it is not this which disturbs them. The Aldeas (the towns and villages) composing the territory of Pondicherry, Kanial and Chandernagor, the port of Cochin, which they tell us we have obtained; in short, is it not a territory more or less extended, and every where surrounded by the possessions of their own company; it is not all this that can alarm Great Britain. But what must alarm her, is the power we possess of again opening our antient communications, and of regaining our consideration and our influence:—what does alarm them, is the courage and the confidence with which our presence and the hope of our protection, may one day inspire the Indian Princes, who have been tyrannized over and plundered

* Memoir of the council of commerce at Bourdeaux.

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Nay, has not the English Government in India recently stained itself with a most odious act of plunder and injustice in the person of the nabob of the Carnatic? Let us judge of this fact by the well founded reproaches excited against the agents of the company in their own country. "It is in vain for us" says the Morning Chronicle of June last (1802), "to tax the ambition of our neighbours, when we have in so short a space gained an empire containing fifty millions of people. One acquisition has been followed by another, and the resentment of one usurpation has furnished the pretence for a new attack. The circle is widening, and while the system of conquest is continued, the evil must grow worse and worse. The system is unjust and detestable. The difference of manners, the distance of the object, our ignorance of the men weaken our sympathy with their wrongs! The deposition of a petty German sovereign, the usurpation of a state in Italy by France rouses all our indignation; but we think nothing of the degradation of independant princes, and the annexation of whole kingdoms in the East. We declaim against the insolence of French Consul, but we overlook the wanton freaks of power displayed by the pro-consuls of a set of merchants of England. There is no end to their acts of violence. While a single independant power remains in India, each year will produce scenes like those which lately passed in Oude and the Carnatic. It is high time that justice, as well as policy should interpose; for if these things continue, perpetual troubles must ensue, and ill-gotten dominion must be maintained by eternal war. What will be the case when European aid is added to the discontents of Asia?"

Such are the complaints excited by a sentiment of justice, even in England; and are not all the countries in the world subject, henceforward, to the common laws of a similar policy? And all the sovereigns of Europe casting so jealous an eye towards the aggrandizement of their rivals, will they limit their narrow views to the territories that surround them, and suffer a new and immense empire founded at a distance, to escape their vigilance, their jealousy, or even their justice?—— Can the English themselves expect that all the states of Europe, and, above all, that France, will behold the completion of this iniquitous system of spoilation, without making one effort to oppose them? Most assuredly they will not. At the peace of Amiens, the *antient treaties were not renewed*, consequently, the usurpations obtained in India, without even striking a blow, have not been acknowledged or confirmed, and our government have not abandoned their acquired possessions. The funds of a company would turn these possessions to the advantage of France; whilst free trade will condemn us to vegetate on the banks of the Ganges, without honour and without security. The people of the East, we well know, are led away more than any other people, by exterior magnificence, and the consideration we shall hereafter enjoy among them, will be in proportion to the opinion we give them of our own importance. Shall we again repair to the coasts of Asia, without carrying with us those marks of greatness which ought to accompany us hither? Shall our commerce be confined to a few individual and remote expeditions, which only betray our weakness? In restoring our commerce, is it right that its exertions should be limited by the mediocrity of the capitals which will at first be employed in it, and checked in its progress by an uncertainty of success which it is highly necessary to find a period to?—If our annual expeditions to the two sides of the Peninsula, or the Ganges, differ in no respect from those of the Danes and the Swedes, will not the nations of Hindostan consider us of the same importance in the scale of nations? Can they place any degree of confidence in us when they behold so vast a difference between our power and the power of England? And can the agents of government themselves, expect to be treated with respect, if they are unaccompanied by the splendor which imposes respect and secures confidence? In short, if the situation of the state is such, that it can afford but a barren protection to the trade of India, will it be too much to assert, that this commerce, deprived of all the advantages of which it is capable, becomes injurious to the state, and ought to be proscribed with severity? since it no longer answers any of the ends which render a prosecution of it beneficial to France. But if it be true that the commerce of India is indispensably necessary to the ulterior development of the power of France; if the dangers of this commerce, supposing it free, are positive, we must necessarily conclude that it ought to be concentrated in the hands of a company; that the moment of peace is favorable for seizing upon all our rights; and, lastly, that period is arrived for regaining all that we have lost.—If it be necessary to adduce a proof of this, I beg leave to remind my readers of the language of Mr. Dundas, in the house of commons, on the 12th of May last.—"It is true that the treaty of Amiens restores to the French a few factories, but it will always depend on us to limit her trade, or *whether she shall carry on any trade at all.* We are completely masters of that country, and have a right to regulate all its concerns. If the French were to advance unwarrantable pretensions would we not resist them? If they were to fortify their factories, would not we be justified in throwing down these fortifications? Being under no engagements whatever, have we not the power to establish in our own dominions what regulations we think proper? *Before the French can buy a bale of goods, they must come to us as supplicants, and first obtain our permission. They can enjoy no advantage, for which they are not indebted to our favor and indulgence.*"—— And to this state of abject subjection are we counselled to submit, by not establishing a company! What! is it at the moment when the English company is in possession of one part of India and makes the other tremble, is it at this moment that we are councelled to carry on in that country, a precarious and secret commerce at the good pleasure of the English?—Is it with reason that we invoke that liberty which commerce ought to enjoy, for the purpose of favoring a few French merchants at the expence of those extensive measures which government must take in order to secure general prosperity, and to attain that pre-eminence which has been announced to us? To revive our connections in the East, a commercial plan is not alone sufficient; a political one must also be united to it, of which all the parts closely combined to each other, may secure the motion and action of both. This is what the

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interest of the state demands, what a free trade cannot offer, but what the assistance of a company might tend to create.

Great Britain by her navy and her possessions in India, undoubtedly possesses advantages which we cannot counterbalance. But is this a reason which ought to deter us from having recourse to the only possible means of diminishing the inferiority of our position? Is it not, on the contrary, a sufficient motive for the establishment of a company which alone can, in the course of time, alleviate us from the burden of dependence?

Besides this, have we not reason to suppose that the respective commercial interests of the two nations will give rise to frequent explanations, to warm discussions, and probably, at a future period, to a fresh rupture? For however solemn treaties may be, they not only are not eternal, but they have no other guarantee for their stability, than the reciprocal interest which induced the parties to ratify them, or that of strength which alone can prevent the infringement of them.—We ought, also to remember, that the English company in India will multiply the shackles, the oppositions, and very probably the vexations which our commerce will incessantly have to experience in that quarter, unless our traders, in the miserable hope of eventual profits, "*present themselves,*" to use the expression of Mr. Dundas, "*as supplicants.*"—Our merchants as well as our captains will be so much the more cautious, or rather the more timid, since, at the least sign of resistance, they would be overpowered by their enemy: for the least pretext, the slightest error, the most trivial encroachment on what the English company is pleased to call their rights, (but which are not so in our estimation) all in short, will excite her clamours, and give rise to measures which are by no means new to her.—And will not this motive for perpetual alarm, damp the ardor of our privateers? Will they venture upon expeditions so hazardous without a guarantee, and on the bare faith of the good pleasure of the English? Certainly not; prudence dictates to our commerce very different principles!—Thus, the carrying on a free trade would be extremely precarious, and its resistance become useless against the superior pretentions of the English; it can neither be beneficial to itself nor to the state; while, on the other hand, the utility of a company is not even a matter of doubt. The advantages which the government hopes to derive from it will be accomplished by it in all the public or private acts in which it will be able to assist her, without the necessity of any thing but her protection in case of any daring attack upon it.—But even in this point of view, will not the assistance of the government be the same, will it not have the same duties to fulfil in protecting our commerce, whether a company does or does not exist?—Besides, it is certain that our establishments in India, in their present state, cannot take any consistent attitude, but by the earnest desire of the government to re-model them, and by the aid of a powerful company. Such a company, strong in all the pecuniary means which she will have to appropriate to the aggrandizement of her commerce, will be able to struggle with fewer disadvantages against the monopolizing projects of the English company; and strong in the unity of views and of interests, it will always second the views of the government, and can never be offensive to it. In short, a uniform state of harmony subsisting between the delegates of the government, and its own agents, will necessarily augment their respective strength.—Undoubtedly, our company will not have the means of becoming equally powerful as the English company, and it is to be hoped it would have the wisdom not to attempt it. Had it even the ambition to become so, its interest would be sufficient to deter it from it. More cautious in its proceedings, and better informed than the isolated privateer, it will be more able to protect its rights, and, in case of necessity, more powerful in supporting them: it will be furnished with far greater resources to resist the haughty pretensions of the enemy; and whilst a commerce carried on by individuals, but as it were, in the centre of the Indian ocean, and on inhospitable coasts, where it is repulsed by the iron hand of monopoly, could not dare to venture but with the most timid circumspection; a company more powerful in its progress, and better supplied with the means of resistance, would be able to defend itself against any opposition; and it is even probable that beneficial connexions might add to its individual resources, and ultimately tend to render the English company either more moderate, or more just in its pretensions.—In short, the establishment of a French East India company alone presents us with the prospect of one day restoring our annihilated commerce, and our lost consideration, whilst to declare free the commerce of India would be to condemn us in Asia to perpetual slavery; to sanction the monopoly of the English; to render us indefinitely tributary to them; to interdict us from every means of regaining our rights by our influence; to sacrifice the interest of the state to the mercantile vanity or the private interests of a few merchants; in short, to endanger our very existence in India, and probably to furnish Europe with a reason to imagine that there exists between our government and the cabinet of Saint James, secret articles which impose upon us the obligation of establishing no company in India: a humiliating condition, to which we have assuredly not subscribed in the *most glorious treaty that France ever signed with the proud Britons.*—Such are the motives on which are founded the necessity of confiding the commerce of India to one company, under the immediate protection of the government. Even Raynal himself, the irreconcileable enemy of privileges, after the most virulent declamation against the abuses and the dangers with which they are attended, is, nevertheless, obliged to acknowledge, that the commerce of India can never be successfully carried on, but by a regular, privileged company.—To conclude, the hope of one day beholding our re-exportation exceed our internal consumption adds to the necessity of concentrating our strength, if we aspire to render the commerce of India as profitable as it has hitherto been injurious to us; and this, the only object of all our connections with India, is utterly impossible by a free trade.

I have expressed myself on this subject with the frankness which the importance of the subject demanded: it is probably that my opinions may be in opposition to the private views of a few merchants; but I am inclined to believe that they accord with the true principles of commerce.

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NEW BOOKS.

A List of the Titles of all the New Books, which have been published, in the United Kingdom, or the Continent of Europe, and in America, during the last six months.—Those not otherwise expressed are printed in London.

Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures.

Tables of the European Exchanges, shewing the value of any sum of money in all the principal places of Europe at the different prices to which the course of exchange may rise or fall; and describing in what money, real or imaginary, accounts are usually kept, and bills are drawn, at each place; with a plain method of calculation. To which is prefixed, an account of the usances at which bills are drawn from the several places. By Robert Bewicke, merchant. 2 vols. royal 4to.

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge. Vol. 5. 4to. p. 328. Philadelphia.

A Dissertation on the Freedom of Navigation and Maritime Commerce, &c. By William Barton, M. A. 8vo. New York.

Observations and Advices for the Improvement of the Manufacture of Muscovada Sugar and Rum. by Bryan Higgins. In 3 parts, 8vo. St. Jago de la Vega, Jamaica.

Bibliothèque Commerciale, par Peuchet. 3 Nos. 8vo. Paris.

Annales des Arts et Manufactures, ou Mémoires Technologiques sur les Découvertes Modernes, concernant les arts, les manufactures, l'agriculture et le commerce. 8vo. Cahier 25. Paris.

Des Colonies Modernes sous la Zone Torride, par Saint Venant. 8vo. Paris.

Mémoire sur le Commerce des Nègres au Kaire, par Frank. 8vo. Paris.

Mémoires et Correspondence Officielles sur l'Administration des Colonies, par Malouet. 5 vols. 8vo. Paris.

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La Clef du Commerce, ou Etat du Commerce et des Manufactures des principales places de l'Europe, du Levant, &c. par Desolneux. 8vo. Paris.

Etat Commercial de la France au Commencement du 19e Siècle, par J. Blanc de Volx. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris.

Cours Pratique de Commerce, par Neveu. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.

Antiquities.

The History of the Roman Wall which crosses the Island of Great Britain, from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea; describing its antient state, and its appearance in the year 1801, by William Hutton, F.A. S.S. 8vo.

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Lettres au Cit. Chaptal, au sujet de l'Inscription Egyptienne du Monument trouvé à Rosette, par Sacy. 8vo. Paris.

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our performed in the Year 1795-6, through the Taurida, or Crimea, the ancient kingdom of Bosphorus, and all the other countries on the north shore of the Euxine, ceded to Russia by the peace of Kainardge and Jaffy, by Mrs. Maria Guthrie, 4to.

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Nouveaux Voyages dans les gouvernemens méridionaux de l'Empire de Russie, dans les années 1793 et 1794, 2 vols. 4to. Paris.

Voyage à Madagascar, à Maroc, et aux Indes-Orientales, par Alexis Rocon, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris.

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Journal d'un Voyage en Allemagne fait en 1773, par Guchers, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.

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Magazin von Merkwürdegin Raisbeschreibungen: Magazine of Voyages and Travels. Vols. 22, 23, and 24. 8vo. Berlin.

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Malerische Reische durch Westphalen: Picturesque Journey in Westphalia. No. 1. Hanover.

Bibliothek der Neuesten und Wichtegsten Reisebeschreibungen, &c. A collection of the most interesting modern voyages and travels, published by M. C. Sprengel. Vol. 5. 8vo. Weimur.

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Métrologie Française, ou Traité du Système métrique par Brillat. 8vo. Paris.

Manuel métrologique, ou Répertoire général des Mesures, &c. par Prevost. 8vo. Geneva.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

From the London Gazette.—Continued from page 474.

War-Office, Oct. 22, 1802.

2d Reg. of Life Guards, H. Hopkins, Gent. to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. by purchase, vice Kelly, who retires.

7th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Cornet T. Carter to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Mahon, who retires.

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Adj. Michael Mahon to be Adj. with the rank of Cornet.

20th Reg. of Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. W. Webb, from H.-Pay of the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to be Cornet, without purchase.

J. Price, Gent. to be Veterinary Surgeon, vice Yates, who resigns.

1st. Reg. of Foot Guards, Ens. H. Caulfield to be Lieut. without purchase, vice King, removed to the 43d Foot.

3d Ditto, Ens. W. Shadwell to be Lieut. vice Fitzgerald, deceased.—Ens. John Stevenson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Gore, who retires.

3d Reg. of Foot, Lieut. Mat. Lewis Bell, from H.-Pay of the 40th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Jones, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

3d Ditto, Nath. Thorne, Gent. to be Ens, by purchase, vice Rigby, promoted.

4th Reg. of Foot, R. B. Newland, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Linton, who retires.

11th Ditto, Lieut. P. Lindsay, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase.

14th Ditto, Ens. W. Moore to be Lieut. without purchase.

18th Ditto, W. Russel, Gent. to be Adj. with the rank of Ens. vice Buffet, who resigns.

31st Ditto, Ens. G. Powell, from H.-Pay of the 32d Foot, to be Ens. vice Lutton, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

35th Ditto, Ens. J. Eley, from the 61st Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Oswald, promoted in the 91st Foot.

52d Ditto, W. J. Chetwynd, Gent. to be Ens, by purchase, vice Dewes, promoted.

55th Ditto, Ens. G. M. Andrews to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dingette, who retires.

57th Ditto, Dudley Ackland, Gent. to be Ens. vice Amies, deceased.—E. Trant Boutein, Gent. to be Ens. vice Collins, deceased.

60th Ditto, Lieut. D. William Earl of Mansfield, from H.-Pay of the Royal Fuzileers, to be Lieut. vice Hassal, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—Acting Assistant-Surgeon—Little to be Assistant-Surgeon.

69th Ditto, Lieut. E. Bewes, from H.-Pay of the 23d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Sheviz, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

83d Ditto, W. Gibb, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Shearer, resigned.

85th Ditto, Lieut. W. Ellice, from the 55th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Maitland, promoted in the 60th Foot.—Ens. J. Black, from the 93d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Macneil, who retires.—Lieut. H. Rogers, from H.-Pay of the Reg. to be Lieut. vice Garnham, who exchanges.—Adj. G. Davis Mackenzie, from H.-Pay of the late 103d Foot, to be Ens. vice Tomlin, who retires on H.-Pay.

1st. West India Reg. Lieut. Archibald M'Intyre, from the 7th West India Reg. to be Lieut. without purchase.—Lieut. Alex. Harper, from ditto, to be Lieut. without purchase.

3d West India Reg. Lieut. C. W. Hockaday, from the 7th West India Reg. to be Lieut.—Lieut. G. Skipton, from the 10th West India Reg. to be Lieut. without purchase.

4th Ditto, Lieut. J. Maclean, from the 7th West India Reg. to be Lieut. without purchase.—Lieut. S. Watts, from Ditto, to be Lieut. without purchase.

10th Ditto, Capt. —— De Cremille, from the 12th West India Reg. to be Capt. vice O'Shiell, who exchanges.

12th Reg. Capt. Maurice O'Shiell, from the 1st West India Reg. to be Capt. vice Cremille, who exchanges.

Meuron's Reg. Capt. Jean Jaques Bolle, from H.-Pay to be Capt.

Hospital Staff.—J. Saumarez, Esq. to be Surgeon to the Forces.

War-Office, Oct. 26, 1803.

7th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, R. Mahon, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Carter, promoted.

3d Reg. of Foot, Marlborough Parsons Berry, Esq. a Lieut. on H.-Pay of the 3d Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Gardiner, deceased.

28th Ditto, Lieut. W. Hill, from H.-Pay of the Reg. to be Lieut. vice W. Hill, who resigns.

37th Ditto, Lieut. Quintain Logan to be Capt. of a company, by purchase, vice Murray, promoted in the 4th Foot.

44th Ditto, Lieut. David W. Earl of Mansfield, from the 60th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Keane, promoted in the 60th Foot.

48th Ditto, W. Wallace, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Bell, promoted.

49th Ditto, Malcolme Macgregor, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Thompson, who retires.

83d Ditto, Lieut. J. Blaquiere to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cane, who retires.—Ens. W. H. Hall to be Lieut. vice Blaquiere.

92d Ditto, Ens. W. Gordon to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Gordon, promoted in the 85th Foot.

Queen's Rangers, Ens. W. Ashe, from the 16th Foot, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Harding, promoted in the 4th Foot.

Memorandum.—The appointment of Lieut. P. De Carteret to be Capt. by purchase, in the 37th Reg. of Foot, vice Murray, promoted in the 4th Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th Sept. 1801, has not taken place.—The appointment of Lieut. T. Moss Clayton to be Capt. by purchase, in the 37th Reg. of Foot, vice De Carteret, as stated in the Gazette of the 16th of February last, has not taken place.—Ens. R. Everett, of the 3d Reg. of Foot, is superseded, being absent without leave.

War-Office, Nov. 2, 1803.

1st. Reg. of Life guards, Cornet and Sub-Lieut. the Hon. L. Fitzgerald Stanhope to be Lieut. vice Fraser, deceased.

14th Reg. of Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. S. Dick to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, vice Talbot promoted.

18th Reg. of Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. C. Jones to be Capt. Lieut. by purchase, vice Chabot, promoted in the 27th Foot.—Cornet Musgrave Wyborn to be Lieut. vice Jones.

20th Ditto, Ens. R. Bingham Newland, from the 4th Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Nind, promoted.

York Hussars, Lieut. W. Mansfield Morrison, from the 13th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Rincker, who retires.

Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen. Lieut. the Hon. G. Blaquiere, from the 24th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Muller, who retires.

Coldstream Reg. of Foot Guards, Ens. W. Mallet Dansey to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Seley, who resigns.—Assist. Surg. J. Crake, from the h. pay of the Tower Invalids, to be Assist. Surg. vice Ince, who exchanges.—E. Lumley Wilson, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Baker, who retires.

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3d Reg. of Foot Guards, Ens. W. Stothart to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Duffield, promoted.
4th Reg. of Foot, F. W. Desailly, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Turner, removed to the 2d Foot.
5th Ditto, Capt. Horace St. Paul, from the 1st Dragoon Guards, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Basset, who retires.
8th Ditto, Capt. S. Prendergast, from h-pay of the 38th Foot, to be Capt. of a company, vice Dundas, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
14th Ditto, Ens. T. Burbridge to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Morris, who retires.—T. Bailey, Gent. to be Ens. vice Burbridge.—Adj. G. Morris to be Adj. with the rank of Ens.
16th Ditto, Surg. J. Coldstream, of the late Northampton Fencibles, to be Assist. Surg.
17th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. W. Chabot, from the 18th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Stewart, who retires.
31st Ditto, T. Sunderland, Esq. to be Paymaster, vice Langford, who resigns.—Surg. I. Ives, of the late Cambrian Rangers, to be Assist. Surg. vice Ready, who resigns.
33d Reg. of Foot, Lieut. Col. A. Gore, from h-pay of the 5th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. vice Sherbroke, who exchanges.
40th Ditto, Ens. R. Archdall to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Moore, who retires.
54th Ditto, Hon. Lieut. H. Murray, from the 10th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Williams, promoted.
59th Ditto, Lieut. H. Bayer Otto, from h-pay of the Queen's German Reg. to be Lieut. vice Grant, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
60th Ditto, Lieut. Richard Philbin, from the 69th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Rattray, who exchanges.
64th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. W. H. Taynton to be Capt. of a Company, without purchase, vice De Bouille, who retires.—Lieut. R. Turner, to be Capt.-Lieut. by purchase, vice Taynton.
66th Ditto, J. A. Fehrszen, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Colkett, promoted in the 70th Foot.
68th Ditto, C. Creighton, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Shiells, promoted.
69th Ditto, Lieut. A. Rattray, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Philbin, who exchanges.
70th Ditto, Lieut. C. Davers Allen, from h-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Woods, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—Ens. J. W. Chase to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Colkett, who retires.—J. Galvin, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Gaskill, who retires.
83d Ditto, Assist. Surg. —— Macmahon, from h-pay of the 5th Foot, to be Assist. Surg.
85th Ditto, Lieut. G. Harwood, from h-pay of the 85th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Bowen, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
87th Ditto, J. Raitt Hall, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Darling, promoted in the 68th Foot.
9th West India Reg. Lieut. G. T. W. Tinling, from the 17th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Ride, who retires.

War-Office, Nov. 9, 1803.

11th reg. of Lt. Dragoons, Assist.-Surg. R. Anderson, from h.-pay of the 35th Foot, to be Assist.-Surg. vice Stewart, promoted in the 9th Foot.
10th Ditto,—Capt.-Lt. T. P. Butler, from the 25th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. of a Troop. v. Broome, who exchanges. Capt. the Hon. H. Murray, from h-pay of the 54th Foot, to be Capt. Lt. v. Fellowes, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
21st Reg.—Assist. Surg. W. Buchanan, from h-pay of the late 28th Lt. Dragoons, to be Assist. Surg.
23d Ditto,—Cornet R. Thompson to be Lt. by Purchase, v. Robinson, who retires.
25th Ditto,—Capt. H. Broome, from the 10th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. Lt. v. Butler, who exchanges.
5th Reg. of Foot,—Capt. J. Drigue Morgan, from the 9th West India Reg. to be Major, by Purchase, v. Digby, who retires.
6th Ditto,—Lt. the Hon. C. Trench, from the h-pay of the 62d Foot, to be Lt. v. Mellor, who exchanges. T. Baines, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Kennan, who retires.
11th Ditto,—The Hon. Sanders Gore to be Ens. v. Macgregor, deceased.
14th Ditto.—W. Rice, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Brinsden, who retires.
17th Ditto, Capt. J. Morrison to be Major, by Purchase, v. Cockburne, who retires. Capt. Lt. W. Sanders to be Capt. by Purchase, v. Brooking, who retires.
20th Ditto, Lt. Jeffery Piercy to be Capt. by Purchase, v. Hames, who retires.
21st Ditto, Lt. N. Butterfield Tucker, from the 33d Foot, to be Lt. v. Bruce, who exchanges.
22d Ditto, J. Bishop, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Dagnal, promoted.
31st Ditto, Lt. C. Blomer, from h-pay of the 31st Foot, to be Lt. v. Johnstone, who resigns. A. Campbell, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Hawkshaw, promoted.
32d Ditto, E. Mayne, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Strode, promoted.
33d Ditto, Lt. A. Bruce, from the 21st Foot, to be Lt. v. Tucker, who exchanges.
34th Ditto, Hugh Casement, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Hogarth, promoted.
38th Ditto, Lt. Chichester W. Crookshanks, from the 68th Foot, to be Capt. by Purchase, v. Croker, who retires. Ens. J. Rae, from the h-pay of the 32d Foot, to be Ens. v. Hamilton, who exchanges.
44th Ditto, Ens. David Power to be Lt. by Purchase, v. Armstrong, who retires.
45th Ditto, Capt. W. Vachell to be Major, by Purchase, v. Hawley, who retires. Lt. J. Douglas to be Capt. v. Vachell. Ens. Leonard Greenwell to be Lt. v. Douglas. C. Huson, Gent. to be Ens. v. Greenwell.
49th Ditto, Capt. A. Gordon Johnson, from h-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Capt. v. Robins, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
50th Ditto, Lt. Baron A. Monerieff, from the Queen's German Reg. to be Lt. v. Burdett, who exchanges.
53d Ditto, H. Parker, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. M'Caskell, promoted.
57th Ditto, M. Crawford, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Cadd, promoted.
58th Ditto, Hospital-Mate J. D. Tully, to be Assist. Surg.
59th Ditto, Shevard Todington, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. M'Kee, promoted.
64th Ditto, Lt. J. Macdonald to be Capt. Lt. by Purchase, v. Turner, whose appointment does not take place.
72d Ditto, Ens. J. Campbell, from h-pay of the

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72d Foot, to be Ens. v. Wightman, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

93d Ditto, Capt. Lt. R. Sutherland to be Capt. without Purchase, v. Carruthers, removed to the 43d Foot. Lt. W. Fraser to be Capt. Lt. v. Sutherland.

Queen's German Reg. Lt. Jerome Burdett, from the 50th Foot, to be Lt. v. Baron Moncrieff, who exchanges.

2d West India Reg. Capt. G. W. Barr, from the 8th West India Reg. to be Capt. v. Huxley, who retires upon the h-pay of the 8th West India Reg.

5th Ditto, Capt. R. Kearnay, from h-pay of the 58th Foot, to be Capt. v. Berkeley, who exchanges. Robert Burnell, Gent. to be Ens. v. Luson, deceased.

6th Ditto, to be Lts. without Purchase, Lt. R. P. Burnett, from h-pay of the 46th Foot, v. Burkett, who exchanges. Ens. C. Black. Ens. —— Macdonald. Ens. J. Richardson.

9th Ditto, Lt. Mordaunt Mont. Poyntz, from the 65th Foot, to be Capt. by Purchase, v. Morgan, promoted in the 5th Foot.

Staff. Assist. Commissary Hugh Kennedy to be Dep. Commissary General of Stores, Provisions, and Forage to the Forces. Commission dated 21st February 1801.

War Office, Nov. 20, 1802.

4th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Cornet J. White to be Lt. by Purchase, v. Maude, promoted in Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen. Cornet H. Moore to be Lt. by Purchase, v. Talbot, who retires. Hardness Lloyd, Gent. to be Cornet, v. Moore.

12th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Cornet J. Bridger to be Lt. by Purchase, v. White, promoted.

14th Ditto, Cornet Strethill Harrison to be Lt. by Purchase, v. Dick, promoted.

15th Ditto, C. H. Rich, Gent. to be Cornet, by Purchase, v. M'Mahon, promoted in the 60th Reg.

26th Ditto, Lt. the Hon. Lincoln Stanhope to be Capt. of a Troop, by Purchase, v. Burnet, appointed Paymaster. Cornet H. W. Davenport to be Lt. v. Stanhope. John Burnet, Esq. (late a Capt. in the Reg.) to be Paymaster, v. Collyer, who resigns.

27th Ditto, C. E. J. Nugent, Gent. to be Cornet, by Purchase, v. Bridges, promoted in the 14th Lt. Dragoons.

1st Battalion of the 1st Reg. of Foot, W. Gurley, Gent. to be Ens. by Purchase, v. Rea, promoted.

2d Battalion of Ditto, Lt. G. Juxon, from the h-pay of the 5th Reg. of the late Irish Brigade, to be Lt. v. Crohan, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

3d Reg. of Foot, Lt. J. Black, from h-pay of the 85th Foot, to be Lt. v. Dowlin, who exchanges.

5th Ditto, Lt. H. Losack, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt. v. Courteney, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

15th Ditto, Lt. Cadwallader Waddy, from the 46th Foot, to be Capt. by Purchase, v. Morrice, promoted. Lt. J. R. Meadows to be Capt. Lt. by Purchase, v. Montgomery, who retires. Adj. J. Montgomery to be Adj. with the rank of Ens.

17th Ditto, Hospital Mate, Patrick O'Brien to be Assist. Surg. v. Hosack, deceased.

25th Ditto, Ens. R. Anderson, from h-pay of Nugent's late Levy, to be Ens. v. Twis, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

36th Reg. of Foot, Ens. A. Middleton to be Lt. v. Elliot, deceased.

38th Ditto, Lt. Ed. Miles to be Capt. by purchase, v. Rivington, who retires.

Ens. T. Fallow, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Ens. v. Jackson, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

45th Ditto, Lt. T. Hayes, from h-pay of the 62d Foot, to be Lt. v. Sheldon, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

Paym. W. Birch Brinley, from h-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Paym. v. Nicolls, who exchanges.

50th Ditto, Lt. Ch. Platt to be Capt. Lt. by purchase, v. Bentley, who retires.—Ens. Benj. Law to be Lt. v. Platt.—Bart. Ed. Drought, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, v. Molloy, who retires.

56th Ditto, Lt. Js. Singer, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt. v. Jackson, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

58th Ditto, Lt. Fred. Ashworth, from the 56th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, v. Sutton, who retires.

59th Ditto, J. Drake, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, v. Gregg, promoted in the 82d Foot.

60th Ditto, H. Heneage St. Paul, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, v. Rose, who retires.

62d Ditto, Lt. Fred. Stovin, from the 52d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, v. Logan, who retires.—Lt. R. Crookshank to be Capt. by purchase, v. O'Donnell, who retires.

65th Ditto, Dan. Wright, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, v. Streatfield, promoted.

89th Ditto, Ens. J. M. Shand, from h-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Ens. v. Payne, who exchanges.—Hosp. Mate Sam. Ferguson be be Assist. Surg.

90th Ditto, Ens. W. Wallace, from the 48th Foot, to be Lt. by purchase, v. Darley, removed to the 17th Lt. Drag.

The Queen's German Reg. Lt. J. Howard, from the 52d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, v. Mahony, who retires.

5th West-India Reg. Ens. Luttrell Stanford to be Lt. without purchase.—Ens. T. Prater to be Lt. without purchase.—Serj. Maj. Dan. Safe, from the Army Dépôt, to be Ens. v. Stanford.

6th Ditto, 2d Lt. G. Palmer, from h-pay of the Marines, to be Ens. without purchase, v. Black, promoted.

Officers of the Royal Garrison Battalions. Commissions to be dated 25th Dec. next.

1st Royal Gar. Bat. Lt. Gen. W. Edmeston, from the late Dunbartonshire Fencibles, to be Col.—Col. A. Mair, from the Royal Invalids, to be Lt. Col.—Brevet Maj. C. Leigh, from the Retired List of the Royal Invalids, to be Maj.

2d Ditto, Lt. Col. David Home, from the 2d Drag. to be Col.—Lt. Col. G. Vigoureux, from the late Gar. Bat. to be Lt. Col.—Capt. James Rose, from the Retired List of the Royal Invalids, to be Maj.

3d Ditto, Lt. Gen. Js. Lumsdaine, from the late Gar. Bat. to be Col.—Maj. J. West, from the Royal Invalids, to be Lt. Col.—Brevet-Maj. W. West, from the Retired List of the Royal Invalids, to be Maj.

4th Ditto, Lt. Gen. Grice Blakeney, from the 14th Lt. Drag. to be Col.

5th Ditto, Lt. Gen. Ch. Horneck, from the late Northamptonshire Fencibles, to be Col.—Maj. J. Wilbar. Cook, from the late Gar. Bat. to be

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Lt. Col.—Capt. Rob. M'Crea, from the Royal Invalids, to be Maj.

War-Office, Nov. 23, 1802.

1st Reg. of Drag. Guards, Ed. Deilbee Temple, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Swain, who retires.

18th Reg. of Lt. Drag. Maj. W. Chabot, from the h-pay of the 27th Foot, to be Maj. *v.* Butter, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

28th Ditto, Ens. Js. A. Fehrszen, from the 66th Foot, to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Honyman, promoted.

3d Reg. of Foot, Ens. Ch. Ramus Forrest to be Lt. by purchase.

5th Ditto, Lt. J. Adams, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt. *v.* Dennis, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

8th Ditto, Lt. Ed. Cotton to be Capt. by purchase, *v.* Oliver, who retires.

15th Ditto, Lt. W. H. Newton, from the Royal Fusileers, to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Monckland, promoted in the 9th West-India Reg.

30th Ditto, Lt. Chris. Williamson, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt.

34th Ditto, Capt. Geo. F. A. Lake, from the 4th Foot, to be Capt. *v.* Whitmore, who retires on the h-pay of the 4th Foot.—W. Baker, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Carnegie, promoted.

37th Ditto, Ens. A. Jeffery, from the 26th Foot, to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Fenton, promoted.

40th Ditto, Lt. W. Phillips, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt. *v.* Geddes, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

41st Ditto, Lt. H. Halsall, from h-pay of the 40th Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Hall, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

60th Ditto, Hos. Mate Gilles Tucks to be Assist. Surg. *v.* England, who retires on h-pay of the 9th Foot.

63d Ditto, Lt. Rob. M'Leroth, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt. *v.* Abbott, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

65th Ditto, Assis. Surg. T. O'Maley from h-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Assis. Surg.

70th Ditto, Ens. Rob. Lyons to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Lawrence, promoted.

78th Ditto, Capt. Pat. M'Leod to be Maj. by purchase, *v.* Munro, who retires.

Queen's Rangers, Ens. J. Dyne, from h-pay of Kingston's Levy, to be Ens. *v.* Ashe, who exchanges.

Staff Corps, James Roupell Colleton, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase.

1st West-India Reg. H. Buchan, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Graves, removed to the 6th West-India Reg.

5th Ditto, Capt. G. Bromley, from h-pay of the 85th Foot, to be Capt. *v.* Ryan, who exchanges.—Js. Beevor, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, *v.* Prater, promoted.

War-Office, Nov. 30, 1802.

15th Reg. of Lt. Drag. J. Carey Champion, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Skene, promoted.

18th Ditto, Lt. J. Cobden, from h-pay of the Royal Waggon Train, to be Cornet, *v.* Phillips, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

6th Reg. of Foot, Js. Macpherson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Stretton, promoted in the 49th Foot.

7th Reg. of Foot, Maj. Paul Anderson, from h-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Maj. *v.* Cliffe, who exchanges.

49th Ditto, A. Brodie Campbell, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Heyland, promoted.

52d Ditto, Capt. Lt. Henry D. B. Adams to be Capt. without purchase.—Capt. Lieut. John M'Coombe to be Capt. without purchase.—Lt Lionel C. Hooke to be Capt. Lt. *v.* Adams.—Lieut. Theophilus Dixon to be Capt. Lieut, *v.* M'Coombe.—Saumarez Brock, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Martin, promoted.

53d Ditto, Capt. Jeffery Piercy, from h-pay of the 20th Foot, to be Capt. *v.* Stopford, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

55th Ditto, Maj. J. Nugent Smith, from h-pay of the 9th Foot, to be Maj. *v.* Morgan, who exchanges.

60th Ditto, Lt. H. Vernon, from h-pay of the 82d Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Morton, who exchanges.—Quar. Mas. Jos. Piercy, from h-pay of the 85th Foot, to be Quar. Mas. *v.* De la Chana, who resigns.

63d Ditto, Lt. Rob. Menzies, from h-pay of the 42d Foot, to be Lt. *v.* M'Arthur, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

77th Ditto, J. Aveling, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Douglas, promoted.

83d Ditto, Lt. W. Ogden, from h-pay of the 31st Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Parys, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—Ens. J. Lavery, from h-pay of the 54th Foot, to be Ens. *v.* Casey, who exchanges.

85th Ditto, Lt. T. Salmon, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Lt. *v.* Connor, who exchanges.

93d Ditto, Ens. A. Mackenzie to be Lt. without purchase, *v.* Fraser, promoted.

Scotch Brigade, Peter Denny, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Basden, promoted.

2d West-India Reg. Cornet L. C. Dalrymple, from the 3d Drag. Guards, to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Drummond, promoted in the 60th Foot.—Hos. Mate —— Murphy, to be Assis. Surg. *v.* M'Intyre, appointed to the 11th Foot.

7th West-India Reg. J. Maclean, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Watts, promoted.

Ordnance-Office, Dec. 8, 1802.

Royal Reg. of Artillery.—Capt. Lt. Gother Mann to be Capt. *v.* Stehelin, deceased. Nov. 19, 1802. 1st Lt. John S. Robison to be Capt. Lt. *v.* Mann. Dated as above.—2d Lt. T. G. Brown to be 1st Lt. *v.* Robison. Dated as above.—2d Lt. Duncan Grant to be 1st Lt. *v.* Frere, resigned. Dated Nov. 23, 1802.—1st Lt. J. Webber to be Capt. Lt. *v.* the Hon. R. Rollo, retired. Dated Nov. 25, 1802.—2d Lt. H. F. Ellison to be 1st Lt. *v.* Webber. Dated as above.—1st Lt. J. M. Close to be Capt. Lt. *v.* Ormsby, retired. Dated as above.—2d Lt. J. Gomm to be 1st Lt. *v.* Close.

Corps of Royal Eng.—2d Lt. Ed. Gould to be 1st Lt. *v.* Radford, deceased. Dated Oct. 8, 1802.—2d Lt. C. F. Smith to be 1st Lt. *v.* Le Breton, deceased. Dated Oct. 9, 1802.

War-Office, Dec. 11, 1802.

3d Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Capt. A. Hepburne Belches, from h-pay of the Reg. to be Capt. *v.* Mansell, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

18th Reg. of Lt. Dragoons, Capt. the Hon. R. W. O'Callaghan, from h-pay of the late 22d Lt.

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Dragoons, to be Capt. *v.* Petre, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

3d Reg. of Foot Guards, C. Clarke, Gent. to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Coombe, who resigns.

3d Reg. of Foot, Lt. Rob. Shearman to be Capt. by purchase, *v.* Hawkins, who retires.—C. Parke, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, *v.* Stewart, promoted.—C. M. Clanchey, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, *v.* Holmes, promoted in the 60th Foot.—Serj. Maj. J. Cleeve, from the 1st Foot Guards, to be Adjutant, with the Rank of Ensign, *v.* Gardiner, who resigns.

11th Ditto—To be Lieuts. without purchase.—Lt. H. Mockler, from the 68th Foot.—Lt. Jas. Porter, from ditto.—Lt. W. Farrel, from ditto.—Lt. F. Gualy, from ditto.—Lt. C. Tuton, from ditto.

To be Assist. Surgeon—Assist. Surg. J. Freeman, from the 60th Foot, *v.* M'Intyre promoted.

14th Reg. of Foot, Capt. Js. Watson to be Major, by purchase, *v.* Powell, who retires.—Lt. Wm. Wood to be Capt. *v.* Watson.

23d Ditto, Cornet J. Moss, from the 13th Lt. Drag. to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Broughton, promoted in the 60th Foot.

29th Ditto, Wm. H. Thompson, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, *v.* Sutherland, resigned.

34th Ditto, Lt. A. Kemp, from the 82d Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Algeo, who exchanges.

37th Ditto, to be Lts. without purchase—Lt. H. Wm. Palmer, from the 68th Foot.—Lt. P. Baggs, from ditto.—Lt. G. Williams, from ditto.—Lt. H. Whitestone, from ditto.—Lt. And. Creagh, from ditto.—Ensign J. Hodgson.—Ensign Rd. Walton.—Lt. Rd. Egan, from the 68th Foot.

39th Ditto, Ensign Michael M'Creagh to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Robson, who retires.

41st Ditto, Major A. Campbell, from h-p of the late York Fencibles, to be Major, *v.* Grey, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

War-Office, Dec. 21, 1802.

1st Reg. of Drag. Guards, Lt. Wm. Gore to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, *v.* St. Paul, promoted in the 5th Foot.—Cornet J. F. Addison to be Lt. *v.* Gore.—Wm. Milland, Gent. to be Cornet, *v.* Addison. —— Harrison, Gent. to be Veterinary-Surgeon, *v.* Richardson, who resigns.

11th Reg. of Lt. Drag. Robert Gilchrist, Gent. to be Assist. Surg. *v.* Anderson, removed to the 18th Lt. Drag.

15th Ditto, Lt. Leighton Cathcart Dalrymple, from the 2d West-India Reg. to be Lt. *v.* Wallop, who exchanges.

18th Ditto, Assist. Surg. Rob. Anderson, from the 11th Lt. Drag. to be Assist. Surg. *v.* Hunt, deceased.

19th Reg. of Lt. Drag. Lt. H. Skelton to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, *v.* Paterson, promoted—Cornet C. Cobbe to be Lt. *v.* Skelton.—T. Atkins, Gent. to be Cornet, *v.* Cobbe.

20th Ditto, Lieut. Aldborough Richardson, from h-pay of the 14th Lt. Drag. to be Lt. *v.* Nixon, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

25th Ditto, Brevet Lt. Col. T. G. Montresor, from the 89th Foot, to be Maj. *v.* Durban, who exchanges.—Lt. T. H. Dawes to be Capt. of a Troop, by purchase, *v.* Pryce, who resigns.—Cornet W. H. Macarmick to be Lt. *v.* Dawes.

29th Ditto, T. Keighley, Gent. to be Cornet, *v.* Pedder, deceased.—W. H. Wade, Gent. to be Cornet, without purchase, *v.* Hankinson, promoted.

York Hussars, Lt. W. Ogden, from the 83d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, *v.* Devaux, who retires. Commission dated 24th August last.—J. Davis Hicks, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Frankenburgh, who retires. Commission dated 24th Aug. last.

1st Reg. of Foot Guards, Ens. the Hon. Jd. Macdonald to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Pinfold, who retires.—Ens. T. G. Fitzgerald to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Hicks, who retires.—Quar. Mast. G. Hodder, from h-pay of the Gren. Bat. to be Quar. Mast. *v.* Badger, appointed Lt. in the 2d Royal Gar. Bat.

Coldstream Reg. of Foot Guards, Brevet Maj. J. Ross to be Capt. of a Company by purchase, *v.* Vane, who retires.

3d Reg. of Foot Guards, Ens. Ch. Sutton to be Lt. *v.* Neville, deceased.

3d Reg. of Foot, Ens. Ed. Walsh to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Shearman, promoted.

4th Ditto, Hector Hutchinson, Gent. to be Quar. Mast. *v.* Macintosh, removed to the 6th Royal Gar. Bat.

7th Ditto, Cornet J. Broadhurst, from the 16th Lt. Drag. to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Ferris, who retires.

9th Ditto, Fred. Le Mesurier, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Burke.

10th Ditto, Ens. T. A. Anderson to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Mansell, who retires.—Ens. Peter Plenderleath to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* the Hon. G. Turnour, who retires.

22d Ditto, Lt. J. Johnson, from h-pay of the late 76th Foot, to be Lieut. *v.* Kirby, placed on h-pay.

28th Ditto, Ens. J. Hildebrand Hill to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* Mullens, promoted.

31st Ditto, Surg. J. Milbanke, of the late Surrey Rangers, to be Assis. Surgeon, *v.* Ramage, deceased.

33d Ditto, Ens. Rd. Millward to be Lt. by purchase, *v.* J. Young, who retires.

37th Ditto, Hugh Ewen, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Busby, promoted.

41st Ditto, T. Hall, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* O'Callaghan, who retires.

52d Ditto, Lt. J. P. Hunt to be Capt. by purchase, *v.* Annesley, who retires.—Lt. G. T. Napier, from h-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Hart, placed on h-pay.

54th Ditto, Lt. Hamilton Fenny, of the late Tarbert Fencibles, to be Quar. Mas. *v.* Body, removed to the 3d Royal Gar. Bat.

59th Ditto, Lt. T. M. Wilson, from the 64th Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Sweet, who exchanges.

60th Ditto, W. Hobart, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, *v.* Baby, promoted.

64th Ditto, Lt. J. Sweet, from the 59th Foot, to be Lt. *v.* Wilson, who exchanges.

69th Ditto, Capt. H. De la Douespe, from the 8th Foot, to be Capt. of a Company, without purchase, *v.* Mackay, removed to the 6th Royal Gar. Bat.—Ch. Lowrie, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Richardson, removed to 40th Foot.

73d Ditto, Quarter-Master, Serj. R. E. Harris, to be Quarter-Master, vice Rose, deceased.

74th Ditto, Assist. Surg. M. Gallaher, from the 76th Foot, to be Surg. vice Henderson, appointed Surg. to the Forces. Ens. Bd. Shute, from the 12th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, v. Russell Manners, promoted.

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5th Reg. Foot, J. Cumine, Gent. to be Assist. Surg.
6th Ditto, S. Davis, Gent. to be Assist. Surg. vice Gallaher, promoted in the 74th Foot.
8th Ditto, Ens. J. Douglas to be Lieut. vice Stephens, deceased. J. Bethune, Gent. to be Ens. vice Douglas.
14th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. R. Cockburn to be Capt. of a Company, vice Grimston, deceased. Lieut. T. S. Sorell to be Capt. Lieut. vice Cockburn, Ens. J. Kay to be Lieut. vice Sorell. A. Nicholson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Wright, promoted. J. Craig Dumas, Gent. to be Ens. vice Kay.
16th Ditto, D. Liddle, Gent. to be Assist. Surg. vice Williams, removed to the 84th Foot.
19th Ditto, Maj. B. d'Urban, from the 25th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. vice Montresor, who exchanges.
Scotch Brigade, Ens. J. Campbell to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Blackwell, promoted in the 60th Foot. Ens. E. Kingdom to be Lieut. by purchase, vice L. Grant, promoted in the 83d Foot.
2d West India Reg. Lieut. Barton Wallop, from the 15th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Dalrymple, who exchanges.
Meuron's Reg. of Infantry, Ens. C. Pillichoddy to be Lieut. vice Wolff, deceased. Ens. C. De Rhamm to be Lieut. vice Lequin, cashiered by the sentence of a general court martial.
1st Royal Garrison Bat. Brevet Maj. C. Flood, from the late Garrison Bat. to be Capt.
2d Royal Garrison Bat. Brevet Maj. H. Bowen, from the Invalids, to be Maj. vice Rose, appointed to the 6th Royal Garrison Bat.
6th Ditto, Maj. J. Rose, from the 2d Royal Garrison Bat. to be Maj.
Brevet.—Capt. A. Taylor, of the late Corps of Engineers, to be Maj. in the Army. Commission dated 29th April, 1802.
Memorandum.—The Appointment of Lieut. Duncan Campbell, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. in the 22d Reg. of Foot, vice Kirby, placed on h-pay, as stated in the Gazette of the 25th of Sep. last, has not taken place.—Ens. G. Gordon, of the 45th Reg. of Foot, is superseded.
Commission in the Kircudbright and Wigtown Reg. of North British Militia, signed by the Lord Lieut. Dated Dec. 1, 1802.—Sir J. Dalrymple Hay, Bart. to be Colonel.

Ordnance-Office, Dec. 27, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—Second Lieutenant J. Pritchard to be First Lieutenant, vice T. Stanwix, deceased. Dated Nov. 26, 1802. Gentleman Cadet E. Walcott to be Second Lieut. vice C. Rooke, promoted. Dated Dec. 20, 1802.
Corps of Royal Engineers.—Gentleman Cadet G. C. Hoste to be Second Lieut. vice By, promoted. Dated Dec. 20, 1802.

War-Office, December, 28, 1802.

4th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Cornet T. Boyd to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Ogilvie, promoted.
6th Ditto, Patrick Heron Goldie, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Clarke, whose appointment does not take place.
24th Reg. of Lt. Dragoons, E. Kelly, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Bridger, promoted.
33th Ditto, Ar. Henry, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Gilbert, who retires.
1st Battalion of the 1st Reg. of Foot, Lieut. W. Hely, from the H. pay of the 2d Bat. to be Lieut. vice Mayo, who exchanges.
8th Reg. of Foot, N. Toler Kingsley, Esq. to be Paymaster, vice Ridge, who resigns.
14th Ditto, Ens. B. H. Junck to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Wood, promoted.
17th Ditto, Lieut. W. Hart Lapsley to be Capt. by purchase, vice Morrison, promoted. Capt. W. Saunders, from the H. pay of the Reg. to be Capt. vice Pell, who exchanges, receiving the difference.—Ens. R. Midgeley to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Tinling, promoted in the 9th West India Reg.
19th Ditto, Capt. F. Hankey, from the 88th Foot, to be Capt. vice Grant, who exchanges.
36th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. H. Cole Johnson, from the H. pay of the 9th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Williamson, who retains the Adjutancy of the Regiment.
37th Ditto, Ens. Herbert Cox, from the 11th West India Reg. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Hodgson, promoted.
51st Ditto, J. Fullarton, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted.
52d Ditto, Ens. T. Noel Harris, from the 87th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Ogilvie, who retires.
57th Ditto, Lieut. J. Buchan, from the Scotch Brigade, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Forster, promoted in the 11th Foot.
59th Ditto, C. Douglas Anslie, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Browne, promoted.
60th Ditto, Lieut. W. H. Disney, from the 10th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cuyler, who retires.—To be Lieuts without purchase—Lieut. R. Cochran, from H. pay of the 15th Foot, Ens. Godrick Sarda, Ens. J. B. Kerrison, Ens. Orange Balneavis, Ens. D. Balneavis, Ens. R. Thompson, Ens. A. H. Kelsey.—To be Ens. without purchase—J. Franchini, Gent. vice Sarda. P. Beretze, Gent. vice Kerrison. C. Appelius, Gent. vice Orange Balneavis.—69th Ditto, Lieut. C. J. Barrow to be Capt. Lieut. without purchase, vice Ligertwood, promoted in the 1st Royal Garrison Bat. Lieut. W. Lawrence, from H. pay of the 27th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Barrow.
72d Ditto, Capt. H. Godolphin Rooper, from the 3d West India Reg. to be Capt. vice Scott, who exchanges.
88th Ditto, Capt. W. Grant, from the 19th Foot, to be Capt. vice Hankey, who exchanges.
2d West India Reg. Lieut. Archibald Stoddard, from the H. pay of the 8th West India Reg. to Lieut. vice Wallop, who exchanges.
3d Ditto, Capt. C. Scott, from the 72d Foot, to be Capt. vice Rooper, who exchanges. Lieut. J. Woodgate, from the 26th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Connel, appointed to the 5th Royal Garrison Battalion.
4th Ditto, Capt. J. Raw, from H-pay of the 7th West India Reg. to be Capt. vice Bray, who exchanges. Serj. J. Browne, from the 60th Foot, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Carey, promoted.
6th Ditto, Ens. Fred. Plensker to be Lieut. without purchase. J. Stretch, Gent. to be Ens. vice Plensker.
1st Royal Garrison Bat. Lieut. G. Fraser, from the 92d Foot, to be Lieut.
7th Ditto, Capt. Arch. Christie, from the 6th Bat. to be Capt. Lieut. P. Smith to be Adjutant.

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Carmarthenshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Lieut. J. Howell to be Capt. vice Bowen who exchanges.

Northamptonshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Maj. W. Ralph Cartwright to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice the Earl of Fitzwilliam, who resigns. J. Joshua Earl of Carysfort to be Major vice Cartwright. Cornet J. Godfrey to be Lieut. vice Harrison, who resigns.—To be Cornets—— Viscount Althorp, vice Cox, who resigns. W. Hanbury, jun. Gent. vice Armitage, who resigns. S. W. Harrison, Gent. vice Godfrey.

Eastern Reg. of Somersetshire Gent. and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Major John Tyndale Warre to be Lieut.-Col. vice Hanning, who resigns. Capt. W. Lambert White to be Major vice Tyndale. G. Messiter, Esq. to be Capt. vice R. Messiter, who resigns. Quarter-Master G. Walter to be Lieut. vice Rossiter, who resigns. W. Ranger, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Slee, who resigns.

Warwickshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Cornet R. Willoughby to be Lieut. vice Boultbee, who resigns.

Yorkshire Wolds Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Sir Mark Sykes, Bart. to be Capt. of a Troop, vice Sir Christopher Sykes, deceased.

Memorandum.—The appointment of Ens. J. Hildebrand Hill to be Lieut. by purchase, in the 28th Reg. of Foot, vice Mullens, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 21st. inst. has not taken place.

Commissions in the Stirling, Dumbarton, Clackmannan, and Kinross Reg. of North British Militia, signed by the Lord Lieut. of Stirlingshire.

The Duke of Montrose to be Colonel. Dated June 26, 1802.—J. Mayne, Esq. to be Major. Dated as above. J. Dunmore Napier, Esq. to be Captain. Dated as above. Adj. J. Tovey, to serve with the rank of Capt. Dated as above. Lieut. Alex. Campbell to be Lieut. Dated as above. Lieut. W. Watt to be ditto. Dated as above. Ens. J. Macnab to be ditto. Dated as above. E. Clarke. Lieut. in the late Bamffshire Fencibles. Dated as above. D. Wingate to be Surgeon. Dated as above. Ens. E. Clarke to be Lieut. Dated Dec. 14, 1802.

Commissions in the Ayrshire Reg. of North Brit. Militia, signed by the Lord Lieut. and approved of by his Majesty.—To be Col. The Rt. Hon. Archibald Lord Montgomerie. Dated Oct. 29, 1802.—To be Lieut.-Col.—Sir Hew Dalyrymple Hamilton, Bart. Dated Nov. 24, 1802.—To be Maj.—Jas. Fergusson, Esq. Dated Nov. 24, 1802.—To be Capts.—Sir David Hunter Blair, Bart. Dated Nov. 24, 1802. W. Crawford, Esq. Dated Nov. 25, 1802. J. Hamilton, Esq. Dated Nov. 26, 1802. J. Hunter Blair, Esq. Dated Nov. 27, 1802. J. Farquhar Gray, Esq. Dated Nov. 29, 1802. J. Taylor, Esq. Dated Nov. 30, 1802. C. S. M'Allister, Esq. Dated Dec. 1, 1802.—To be Lieuts.—W. Duncan, Gent. Dated November 24, 1802. J. Young, Gent. Dated Nov. 25, 1802. J. Cameron, Gent. Dated Nov. 26, 1802. J. Lindsay, Gent. Dated Nov. 27, 1802. W. Allason Smith, Gent. Dated Nov. 29, 1802. W. Pagan, Gent. Dated Nov. 30, 1802. Duncan M'Intyre, Gent. Dated December 1, 1802. Andrew Campbell, Gent. Dated Dec. 2, 1802.—To be Ensigns—Robert M'Dermeit Fergushill, Gent. Dated Nov. 24, 1802. J. Bell, Gent. Dated Nov. 25, 1802. Patrick Auld, Gent. Dated Nov. 26, 1802. Andrew Hair, Gent. Dated Nov. 27, 18 Alexander Farquhar Gray, Gent. Dated N 29, 1802. David Johnstone, Gent. Dated N 30, 1802.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. J. Taylor, M. A. Snitterfield, V. co. W wick; and Rev. J. Newling, B.D. rector of D chingham, Norfolk, Wellington prebend. Litchfield cathedral; both vice Horton, dec

Rev. Dr. Ridley, rector of Hambledon, Ha Whippingham R. in the Isle of Wight, v Lewes, dec.

Rev. Hugh Bailye, vicar of Hanbury, to a p bendal stall in Lichfield cathedral.

Rev. J. Guard, B.D. Pembridge R. co. Herefo vice Huish, dec.

Rev. J. Browne, M.A. Helmdon R. co. Nor thampton, vice Russell, dec.

Rev. R. Trotman Coates, B.D. Steeple-Langfo R. Wilts, vice Barnard, dec.

Rev. S. Clapham, M.A. vicar of Great Ouseburn co. York, Christ Church V. Hants.

Rev. J. Wight Wickes, M. A. Wardley cum Belto R. co. Rutland.

Rev. J. Fawcett, M.A. Scaleby R. in the diocese of Carlisle.

Rev. R. Gray, M.A. rector of Twinsted, Tell ham otherwise Eldham Parva R. Essex.

Rev. Fred. Apthorp, M.A. of Jesus College Cambridge, collated to a prebend in Linco cathedral; and also to Bicker V. near Boston co. Lincoln.

Rev. J. Watts, M.A. collated to the prebend portion of the Lower Hall, in the parish Ledbury, and diocese of Hereford.

Rev. Wm. Gower, L.L.B. Gransdon Parva R. Cambridge; and Rev. Dr. Parr, Graffham co. Hunts; both vice Hepworth, dec.

Rev. G. L. Jenyns, M.A. of Bottisham, collated a prebend in Ely cathedral; and Rev. H. Hasted, M.A. elected lecturer in St. Mary's church in Bury; both vice Knowles, dec.

Rev. T. Crompton, South Bergh and Cranwort with Letton RR. Norfolk.

Rev. T. Farmer, Chirbury living, co. Salop, vice Newling, resigned.

Rev. T. Blades, Garsdale donative, co. York, vice Nelson, dec.

Rev. J. Overton, B.A. St. Crux and St. Margaret RR. York.

Rev. G. Metcalf, M.A. Amport V. Hants, vice Harward, dec.

Rev. F. Best, South Dalton R. co. York, vice his father, dec.

Rev. E. Mills, M.A. prebendary of Lincoln, North Clifton V. co. Nottingham.

Rev. J. Collin, B.A. Quendon R. Essex, vice Cranmer, dec.

Rev. S. Butler, M.A. Kenelworth V. co. Warwick, vice Sumner, dec.

Rev. T. Spencer Phelps, M.A. Mapperton R. co. Somerset.

Rev. J. J. Toogood, rector of Milstone, Wilts, Writhlington R. Somerset.

Rev. H. Hetley, rector of Wilton, Wilts, and vicar of Aldworth, Berks, collated to the prebend of Warminster, in Salisbury Cathedral.

Rev. A. Bunn Haden, vicar of Wednesbury, co. Stafford, Saddington R. co. Leicester, vice Hoult resigned.

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Rev. T. Simpson, Kirkleatham V. co. York.
Rev. W. Richardson, St. Sampson perpetual curacy, in York, vice Bell, dec.
Rev. E Christopher Dowdeswell, D.D. Stampford Rivers R. Essex, vice Dr. Beadon, bishop of Gloucester, translated to the see of Bath and Wells.
Rev. J. Colmer, M.A. Combe Pyne R. co. Somerset, vice Kendall, dec.
Rev. M. M. Coy-garne, B.A. Snargate R. Kent, vice Fowle, resigned.
Rev. A. Goode, M.A. Terrington V. Norfolk, vice Walker, dec.
Rev. Mr. Laidner, Seasalter V. and Whitstable perpetual curacy, vice Johnson, dec.
Rev. J. Davies, B.D. Longworth R. Berks, vice Williams, dec.
Rev. J. Rose, M.A. Lymington, R. co. Somerset, vice Dumaresq, resigned.
Rev. W. Farley Wilkinson, St. Lawrence R. in Norwich.
Rev. J. Davies, B.A. Glooston R. co. Leicester, vice Sutton, resigned.
Rev. J. Robinson, M.A. Nun Ormsby V. co. Lincoln.
Rev. J. Herbert, M.A. vicar of Overbury, Ledbury V. co. Hereford, vice Montgomery, dec.
Rev. Aug. Beevor, Bergh Apton R. with the mediety of Holveston, in Norfolk, vice Walter, dec. and Otley R. in Suffolk.
Rev. W. Coppard, M.A. Cravely R. co. Cambridge, vice Rev. J. Costobadie, M.A. who resigns on being presented to Swavesey V. in the same county, vice Coppard, resigned.
Rev. C. Talbot, B.D. prebendary of Worcester, to be dean of Exeter, vice Harward, dec.
Rev. R. Lacey, B.A. Dore R. co. Hereford, vice Symonds, resigned.
Rev. G. Wilson, B.A. Frostenden R. Suffolk, vice Smear, dec.
Rev. C. Smear, B.A. Wangford perpetual curacy, and Chillisford R. both co. Suffolk, and vice his father, dec.
Rev. R. Turner, B.D. Pakefield R. co. Suffolk.
Rev. C. Jeffreys Cotterell, South Elmham, St. Margaret with South Elmham St. Peter RR. Suffolk.
Rev. M. Marsh, Brinkworth R. co. Wilts.
Rev. Cuthbert Johnson Baines, M.A. St. Ive's V. with the chapelries of Oldhurst and Woodhurst annexed, in the diocese of Lincoln.
Rev. G. Hancock, B.A. elected a vicar-choral of Hereford cathedral.
Rev. J. Wingfield, D.D. head master of Westminster-school, appointed to a prebend in Worcester cathedral, vice Talbot, resigned; and Rev. W. Carey, M.A. student and censor of Christ Church, Oxford, to succeed Dr. Wingfield at Westminster.
Rev. C. Freeman Millward, B.A. Didlington V. with Colveston R. annexed.
Rev. W. Moore, M.A. Collingham V. near Wetherby, in Yorkshire, vice Etheriugton, dec.
Rev. G. Coleby, Coleby R. Norfolk.
Rev. H. Hunter, Horsey, V. Norfolk.
Rev. J. Smith, Hinderley R. Suffolk.

Dispensations.

Rev. E. Mills, M.A. prebendary of Lincoln, to hold North Clifton V. co. Nottingham, with Kirkby and Asgarby RR. co. Lincoln.
Rev. J. Helyar, to hold Hardington R. co. Somerset, with Tollard Royal R. Wilts.
Rev. H. Ridley, D.D. to hold Whippingham R. in the Isle of Wight, with Martyr-Worthy R. near Winchester.
Rev. T. F. Middleton, rector of Tansor, co. Northampton, to hold Little Bytham with Castle Bytham RR. co. Lincoln.
Rev. J. Sutton, M.A. to hold Church Lawford R. co. Warwick, with Weekley V. co. Northampton.
Rev. J. Eyre, M.A. head master of Solihull grammar-school, to hold Nettleton R. with Winterborne-Stoke R. both in co. Wilts.

Some Account of the Seasons in 1802.

Though this may fairly be classed among what we commonly call good years, it is marked, however, by three singular periods in the weather, which do not always occur, even in seasons the most genial or austere, as will appear from the following general remarks, which were regularly committed at the close of each separate month, by an inhabitant of the county of Lincoln, who, for some years, has taken pleasure in observing those deviations of the times which operate so powerfully on the produce of the earth.—Jan. Three first weeks, frost and snow, but not extreme. On the 20th, about nine at night, it began and rained violently from the south, till succeeded by a storm of wind from the west, which raged with unabated fury to the evening of the 21st. Several tempests within these 25 years have risen much higher, and been more tremendous for a time, particularly one on new year's day, 1795, and on the 8th of Nov. 1796; but the oldest person existing probably never witnessed any instance of a storm continuing at such a pitch so many hours in succession. As the rudest and severest blasts in winter are for the most part succeeded by mild and gentle weather, so at this crisis, the last week of the month in temperature and dryness was scarcely inferior to April.—Feb. More dry than usual.—March. Bright days, cutting winds, cold nights, no rain, no hail, no snow.—April. Tepid showers. On the 27th it rained moderately throughout the whole day.—May. So excessively dry, that the uplands began to be considerably distressed, and all men began to cry out for rain. Several nights frosts, unusually severe at so advanced a period, conduced to check all sorts of artificial vegetation.—June. Fine moderate rain at the beginning of the month. Last part dry and warm.—July. Cold, comfortless, and wet throughout, which fell more in the shape of mild and set rains, than of rapid and heavy torrents. Six days only in 30 Farenheit attained to 70 deg. a circumstance almost unexampled at this season. Neither corn nor fruit, nor any kind of vegetation made the least progress. All things aggregately considered, seemed to forebode the repetition of the evils of 1800.—Aug. Set in with a prospect no better than that which had closed the preceding month. It still rained. On Wednesday the 4th, however, it cleared about the break of day, when a new and cheerful scene suddenly expanded to our view, which immediately dispersed a ray of gladness over the whole surface of out island. Dry, fine, and hot days, without any variation, came in one after another quite through the month. The heat, however, was not excessive, for Farenheit on a western wall never exceeded 95 deg. where, not two years before, it was equal to 118 deg.—Sept. No

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rain, no wind. Sunday the 12th was noted for a degree of cold, which very rarely occurs between the vernal and autumnal equinox. At 7 *a. m.* Fahrenheit was depressed to 2 deg. below freezing, in the very same place where not a week before it had been up at 95. The effects of this unparalleled severity at so early a period, was visible on all vegetable life, more particularly on the standing oats, on the cole, on the turnips, and even in immured gardens on esculents of all sorts.—Oct. Instead of heavy rains and high winds, the usual forerunners of winter at this season, we had moderate showers, gentle gales and light frosts.—Nov. After such a series of dry and fine weather, every one seemed now more than commonly impressed with an idea that this month, generally the most gloomy in the year, must, of course, now, come forth clad in its sable mantle, and loaded with all the previous terrors of winter. Contrary to common expectation, it proved what is too recent in the minds of observing men to repeat, and for which we cannot be too thankful to that all-powerful and good Being, who, in his own due season, covers the earth with snow, and scattereth the hoar frost like ashes.—Dec. Though this last division of the year has not passed without some greater variety in the weather, still it has certainly been much milder, and enlivened by a greater number of clear days, than usually occur in such a season, of which Thursday 30th was a very cheerful instance.—1st. Of the periods alluded to above, commenced on the 21st of January and extended to July. This, in a general view, with little exception, may fairly be considered as one series of dry and fine weather of five months duration.—2d. Includes the entire cold and cheerless month of July.—3d. Began on Wednesday, 4th of August, and extended to the early morning of the 28th of December, when was a greater quantity of downfal in a given space, than had happened from the 20th of the preceding January.—What effect these striking peculiarities in the year may have had already, or what they are calculated, in the course of God's providence, still further to produce, every considerate person in the different divisions of our extensive province, on soils different from each other, will be best able to determine. The writer of the above cannot close the subject without observing, that the Aurora Borealis, which, by some is esteemed an indication of fine weather, has been frequently and remarkably prevalent since the autumnal equinox, and that, on Monday, 13th Dec. about 7 *p. m.* it exceeded any thing of the kind he had witnessed many years. For some minutes from the northern horizon to near the zenith, where it began to break and vanish, the whole space, as far as the eye could wander, was one uniform space of pallid fire. As soon as this broke, deeper and denser flashes, of the colour of terrestrial matter, crossed and brandished in every direction; but with a general approximation towards the south, and disappeared entirely in about twenty minutes.

View of the Variations in the Bills of Mortality. From July 1 to December 28, 1802, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened		Buried.													
	Males	Females.	under 2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100	Total. Males.	Total. Females.
July 1 to Aug. 1.	1105	940	488	215	85	49	115	164	179	14	111	65	29	5	844	809
Aug. 1 to Sep. 1.	869	719	386	149	44	34	78	128	140	132	94	57	23	5	652	618
Sept. 1 to Oct. 1.	957	878	632	205	70	39	96	146	158	121	98	66	27	1	844	817
Oct. 1 to Nov. 1.	768	697	558	178	59	39	75	117	133	120	84	58	22	3	769	676
Nov. 1 to Nov. 23.	793	725	449	215	75	33	89	121	140	130	94	66	34	4	767	653
Nov. 23 to Dec. 28.	1237	1126	813	350	131	71	145	233	278	232	157	106	46	5	1279	1258

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METEOROLOGICAL TABLES for the Months of Nov. and Dec. 1802. (The Tables for July, August, September, and October, will be found under the respective Weeks of those Months.)

Height of Fahrenheit's Thermometer.

D. of Month	8 o'cl Morn.	Noon.	11 o'cl Night.	Barom in. pts	Weather in Nov. 1802
Oct	°	°	°		
27	51	56	46	29,50	cloudy
28	46	54	50	,45	fa. & win.
29	52	55	44	,37	cloudy
30	39	48	39	,38	fair
31	34	48	38	,45	fair
N.1	33	49	43	,49	rain
2	42	47	40	,52	fair
3	38	45	41	,59	fair
4	39	46	44	,68	fair
5	46	47	46	,79	rain
6	47	48	40	,96	cloudy
7	35	44	35	,97	fair
8	34	43	35	,94	fair
9	33	42	34	30,11	fair
10	30	41	34	,05	fair
11	38	43	35	29,69	cloudy
12	37	42	40	,72	cloudy
13	40	43	41	,80	cloudy
14	40	44	39	,76	fair
15	40	46	41	,72	cloudy
16	41	45	42	,68	cloudy
17	42	45	42	,79	cloudy
18	40	46	41	,82	cloudy
19	41	45	44	,60	rain
20	45	47	45	,50	fair
21	47	52	47	,16	fair
22	46	53	48	,19	fa. & fhow
23	48	48	46	28,60	rain
24	42	47	42	29,26	fair
25	46	49	42	,60	fair
26	44	47	41	,39	rain
27	42	44	39	,37	cloudy
28	36	44	40	,50	fair
29	39	44	39	,80	fair
30	37	42	38	30,00	fair
D.1	37	40	37	29,67	rain
2	34	41	42	,60	fair
3	44	46	40	,41	fhowery
4	43	44	38	,50	fhowery
5	38	40	33	,70	fair
6	29	41	40	30,00	fair
7	41	42	36	29,78	fair
8	28	39	39	,69	rain
9	39	41	40	,63	rain
10	41	46	39	,45	ſtormy
11	39	45	39	,43	fair
12	33	40	39	,88	fair
13	44	46	34	30,00	fair
14	35	44	36	29,97	fair
15	36	44	40	,60	rain
16	40	47	45	,14	fair, ſt. ni.
17	43	42	36	,50	ſtormy
18	32	38	30	30,27	fair
19	44	45	45	,26	cloudy
20	45	49	46	,21	cloudy
21	46	45	36	,19	fair
22	34	38	37	,19	cloudy
23	37	39	38	,20	cloudy
24	33	37	35	,16	fair
25	34	35		29,90	cloudy
26	35	40	36	,60	cloudy

View of the Variations in the Price of the Quartern Loaf, as ſettled by the Lord Mayor of London. From July 3, to Dec. 31, 1802, inclusive.

July.		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
3	10d.	7	10d½	4	10d.	2	10d.	6	10d.	4	9d ½
10	10d.	14	10d½	11	10d.	9	10d.	13	10d.	11	9d. ½
17	10d.	21	10d	18	10d.	16	10d.	20	9d½	18	9d. ½
24	10d.	28	10d	25	10d.	23	10d.	27	9d½	25	9d. ½

View of the Variations in the Funds, as aſcertained by the Value of 3 per Cent. Conſols. From July 1, 1802, to Dec. 31, 1802.

Day.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	—	Sund.	67⅛	69¼	68¼	67⅛
2	—	71¼	—	70	68⅞	67⅜
3	—	71⅛	68	Sund.	68	67⅛
4	Sund.	71⅛	68⅛	70	68	68½
5	—	71⅛	Sund.	69⅞	68¼	Sun.
6	73⅞	71	68⅞	69⅞	67⅞	68⅛
7	74	70⅝	68⅜	69⅜	Sund.	68¼
8	74⅛	Sund.	68¼	69½	68	68¼
9	74¼	70	68⅛	69¼	67⅞	69
10	74¼	70⅛	68¼	Sund.	68	69⅞
11	Sund.	69¼	68⅛	69⅛	67¼	71
12	74	—	Sund.	69¼	67¼	Sun.
13	73⅜	68⅛	68⅛	68⅜	67⅛	72⅜
14	73⅛	68⅛	68⅜	68⅞	Sund.	72½
15	73⅛	Sund.	69½	68⅜	68	73⅛
16	74	69	70⅜	68¼	67⅞	74⅛
17	73½	69¼	69¼	Sund.	67¼	74⅛
18	Sund.	69⅛	70	68½	68	74¼
19	73½	69¼	Sund.	68¼	67¼	Sun.
20	73⅛	69	70⅛	67⅛	68	73¼
21	72⅝	68⅛	—	68⅛	Sund.	73⅛
22	72⅝	Sund.	—	67⅝	68	73⅛
23	72⅝	67⅝	69⅛	68⅛	67⅝	72⅝
24	71⅝	—	69⅛	Sund.	67⅛	72⅝
25	Sund.	68	69½	—	67⅛	—
26	71⅜	67¼	Sund.	68⅛	67¼	Sun.
27	71⅛	67⅛	69¼	68¼	67½	—
28	70⅜	67⅛	69⅛	68	Sund.	—
29	71¼	Sund.	69¼	67¼	67⅛	73⅛
30	71⅛	68⅞	—	68	67¼	73⅛
31	71⅛	67½	—	Sund.	—	—

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INDEX.

A.

Abſtract of the eſtimates of the army ſervices for 1803, 754
Abuſes in the General Poſt Office, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Auckland on, 673
Account of the meeting of the Emperor of Ruſſia and the King of Pruſſia, at Memel, 71
——— of unfunded debt and demands outſtanding, 905
——— of redemption of public funded debt, 907
——— of total expenditure of Great Britain, 911
——— of the public funded debt, 915
——— of ordinary revenue and extraordinary reſources conſtituting the public income of Great Britain, 919
——— of the permanent taxes of Great Britain, 927
——— ſhewing how the monies granted for the ſervice of the year 1801 for Great Britain have been diſpoſed of, 933
——— ſhewing how the monies granted for the ſervice of the year 1801 for Ireland have been diſpoſed of, 951
——— of the extraordinary expenſes of the army in 1801, 953
——— of the produce of the duties of cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, and incidents for the year ending January 5, 1802, 953
——— of groſs aſſeſſment and net produce of the income duty in Great Britain for 1801, 955
——— of the increaſe or diminution of the ſalaries of all the public offices, 957
——— of the annual charge of the public debt, 959
——— of the ſums received in the Exchequer upon the 4½ per cent. duties from 1785 to 1801, 960
——— of the net revenue of the Poſt Office from 1761 to 1802, 961
——— ſhewing how the million for the navy ſupplies of 1801 has been applied, 962
——— of all penſions granted ſince 1797, 963
——— of all penſions or annual gratuities charged on any other fund than the civil liſt and the 4½ per cent. duties, 965
——— of all annual payments charged on any other fund than the civil liſt and 4½ per cent. duties, 967
——— of all places for lives, whether held by patent or otherwiſe, 971
——— ſhewing the amount of monies applied to the expenſes of his Majeſty's civil government in England from 1777 to 1802, 979
——— of the number of troops maintained in 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 987
——— of the expenſe of the army for 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 988
——— of the value of all imports into and exports from Great Britain for eighteen years, 989
——— of ſums received in the Exchequer upon the 4½ per cent. duties from 1785 to 1801, 990
——— of the real value of foreign merchandiſe exported and all imports into Great Britain for 1800 and 1801, 990
——— of the value of imports into and exports from Ireland from 1785 to 1802, 991
Account of the number of veſſels built from 1789 to 1802, 991
——— of the number of ſhips and veſſels in the ports of Ireland in 1801, 992
——— of the number of veſſels built in Ireland from 1789 to 1802, 993
——— of the number of veſſels, amount of tonnage, number of men and boys, &c. belonging to the ports of Ireland from 1789 to 1801, 994
——— of the number of veſſels, amount of tonnage, number of men and boys, &c. belonging to the ſeveral ports of the Britiſh empire from 1789 to 1801, 994
——— of the produce of the duties on exports and imports, and tonnage of ſhipping, called convoy duty, from its commencement to its termination, 997
——— of the number of veſſels entered from America for five years, 998
——— of the number of veſſels cleared out for America for five years, 999
——— of the quantity and value of cinnamon and caſſia lignea imported for three years, 1000
——— of the quantity of ſugar, rum, cotton, and coffee imported from the colonies for three years, 1001
——— of imports from and exports to America and the Britiſh colonies for three years, 1003
——— of the produce of the duties on malt from 1795 to 1801, 1007
——— of the number of barrels of ſtrong beer brewed from 1783 to 1801, 1009
——— of all bounties on corn and rice imported from the 1ſt of January 1801, 1010
——— of duties paid on all printed books imported in 1800 and 1801, 1010
Addington, Mr. his abilities as a miniſter conſidered, 56
——— Mr. gives the clerkſhip of the pells to his ſon, 152—ſtrictures on, 153
——— Mr. account of the lucrative places he has procured for himſelf and family during his ſhort adminiſtration, with ſtrictures, 153
——— Mr. further obſervations on his ſeizure of the clerkſhip of the pells, and on the juſtification ſet up for him in the True Briton, 183
——— Mr. his conduct contraſted with that of the Biſhop of London, 184
——— and Hawkeſbury, an excellent new ballad, 655
——— Mr. fallacy of his financial and commercial ſtatement, 864
——— Mr. celebration of his birthday at Apothecaries' Hall, 1034
Addreſs to the public, Mr. Cobbett's introductory, 1
——— Mr. Fox's, to the electors of Weſtminſter, 12
——— of the merchants of Lyons to Buonaparté, extract from, 21
——— of Meſſrs. Windham and Frere to the electors of Norwich, 46
——— Mr. Mainwaring's, to the electors of Middleſex, 116
——— Sir F. Burdett's concluding, to the electors of Middleſex, 117

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Address of the Legislative Body of the Italian republic to Buonaparté, 164
—— of Generals Daendels and Dumonceau to the council of war of the Batavian republic, 473
—— Mr. Wilberforce's, to the freeholders of the county of York, 1615
Addresses of Mr. Coke to the freeholders of the county of Norfolk, 1619
Affairs of India, 1457
Agricola, letter from, containing a short view of the affairs of Germany, 295
Armistice, the, on the fatal effects of the peace, 2
Algiers, Dey of, sends out eleven corsairs, 108
—— Dey of, details of the depredations committed by him for the last six months on the powers of Europe, 236
—— regency of, report made to the First Consul relative to the differences subsisting between France and, 1381
—— Dey of, Buonaparté's letter to, 1382
Ambition of France, and imbecility of the British ministry, 1038
America, viewed in conjunction with Louisiana and the West Indies; 6
—— treaty of reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience between, and the Chickasaws, 33
—— treaty of friendship, limits, and accommodation between, and the Chactaw nation of Indians, 34
—— and Great Britain, convention between, touching the difficulties arising in the execution of the sixth article of the treaty of 1794, 97
—— favourable account of the crops in, 199
—— short sketch of the state of parties in, 762
—— account of the number of vessels entered from, for five years, 998
—— account of the number of vessels cleared out for, for five years, 999
—— and the British colonies, account of imports from and exports to, for three years, 1003
American consul, his note relative to the re-establishment of peace with the Emperor of Morocco, 338
—— claimants, notice to, 371
Amsterdam, rumours of an insurrection in, 471—observations on, 476
—— bank of, resolutions passed by the government relative to, 114
—— bank, interesting paper relative to, 1455
Anecdote of Madame Lamballe, 87
Annual Register, prospectus of Cobbett's, 321
Answer, Mr. Cobbett's, to the author of a Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, 15
—— of the Diet of Schwitz to the proclamation of Buonaparté, 525
Appointments, 29, 61, 158, 220, 256, 316, 382, 408, 432, 473, 576, 671
Aristides, letters of, on the deposition of the Nabob of Arcot, the death of the deposed Nabob, and the late revolution in the Carnatic, 1564
Arcot, deposition of the Nabob of, letters of Aristides on, 1564
Argus, the, an English newspaper, printed at Paris, announced, 564, 606
—— the, curious extract from, relative to Fox and O'Connor, 687
Armistice between the Helvetic troops at Berne and the council of war of the troops which attacked Berne, 426
Army services for 1803, abstract of the estimates of, 754
—— distribution of, for November 1802, 759
—— account of the extraordinary expenses of, in 1801, 953
—— expense of, for 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796, 988
—— promotions, 30, 61, 93, 125, 158, 198, 220, 285, 316, 382, 408, 432, 474
Articles, organic, for carrying into effect the Concordat between the Pope and Buonaparté, 1389
Assizes, summer, dates for holding the, 48
Austria, opinion on the general plan of indemnities, 638
Authentic narrative of the taking of the Invincible standard by Antoine Lutz, 801, 865
Author of a "Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock," his letter to Mr. Cobbett, 14
Auckland, Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to him, on the abuses in the General Post Office, 673
Aulic rescript relative to the occupation of Passau and other places, 333

B.

Ballad, an excellent new one, entitled Addington and Hawkesbury, 655
Baltimore, letter from, to the editor, containing important remarks on the cession of Louisiana and its probable consequences, 147
Bank of Amsterdam, resolutions passed by the government relative to, 114
Banks, Sir Joseph, letter to the Fellows of the Royal Society on the propriety of re-electing him to the presidency, 577
—— Sir Joseph, Mifogalla's letter to him on his re-appointment to the presidency of the Royal Society, 743
Bankrupts, 30, 62, 95, 127, 159, 191, 222, 286, 319, 384, 409, 432, 475, 492, 531, 576, 671
Barbary states, design of France to invade them, 248
Barthelemy, president of the Conservative Senate, his address to Buonaparté on his being appointed Consul for life, 168
Basle, intelligence from, relative to the insurrection in Switzerland, 368, 404, 480, 564, 588, 660, 775, 847
Batavian republic, address of Generals Daendels and Dumonceau to the council of war of, 473
Bavaria, treaty between the French republic, Prussia, and, 559
Belfham, Mr. review of his remarks on the treaty of peace, 268, 293, 385
Berne, the small cantons of, reject the new constitution, 19
—— result of the votes of eight cantons of, on the subject of the new constitution, 19
—— armistice between the Helvetic troops at Berne and the council of war of the troops which attacked Berne, 426
—— proclamation of the Council of Two Hundred relative to the insurrection in, 468
—— intelligence from, 426, 428, 429, 468, 469
Births, 31, 63, 95, 159, 223, 286, 319, 432, 475, 672, 761, 852, 885
Bishops, new French, letter to the Pope from those who have occupied sees without being instituted by the Holy See, 161
—— new French, decree of absolution granted by the cardinal legate to those who have occupied episcopal sees without being instituted by the Holy See, 161

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Blacks, mulattoes, or perſons of colour of either ſex, decree of the French Conſuls, prohibiting the bringing of them into the continental territory of the republic, 1399
Black Sea, navigation of, obtained by France, 249
——— navigation of, by the Engliſh, copy of the original grant relative to, 354
——— official note delivered by the Reis Effendi to the Engliſh miniſter relative to the navigation of, 337
Blagdon controverſy, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Meſſrs. Nares and Beloe relative to, 119
Bohemian miniſter, his note delivered to the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the convention and declaration of France and Ruſſia, relative to the occupation of Paſſau and other places, 335—counter-note delivered in by the French and Ruſſian miniſters, 337
Bologna, account of diſturbances in, 233—decree of the Conſulta of State relative to, 234
Book-fair, the firſt, held in New-York, 17
Books, notices of new, 623
——— liſt of new, publiſhed in Europe and America during the laſt ſix months, 1848
Bouillon, Prince of, impriſoned by Buonaparté in the Temple, 380—releaſed from the Temple, and arrives in this country, 446—infamous pretence made by the French government for his impriſonment, 446
Bowles, General, one of his privateers captures a Spaniſh brig valued at 40,000*l.*, 199
Bowles's Thoughts on the late general Election, reviewed, 633
Britiſh colonies, 757
——— colonies and America, account of imports from and exports into, for three years, 1003
——— ſhipping employed in the fiſheries from 1790 to 1800, obſervations on the great decreaſe of, 150
Budget for 1803, 778
Buonaparté viſits the manufacture of porcelain at Sevres, 21
——— addreſs of the merchants of Lyons to, 21
——— his proclamation to the French on the 14th of July, 77
——— reply of, to the addreſs of the Legiſlative Body of the Italian republic, 165
——— extract of the regiſters of the Conſervative Senate, appointing him Conſul for life, 169
——— addreſs of Citizen Barthelemy to him on his being appointed Conſul for life, 169
——— his reply to the addreſs of Barthelemy on his being appointed Conſul for life, 170
——— appoints his uncle to the archbiſhopric of Lyons, 184
——— memorial addreſſed to him, by the engravers and printers employed in the cotton manufactories of Rouen, 203
——— his power of raiſing and lowering the Britiſh funds demonſtrated, 252
——— his addreſs to the Senate of the Ligurian republic, 291
——— his addreſs to Mr. Fox on his preſentation, 346
——— his deſigns againſt this country expoſed, in a letter from Caractacus, 402
——— his proclamation to the eighteen cantons of the Helvetic republic, 423—ſtrictures on, 437
——— a compariſon between his conduct with regard to Switzerland, and that of the uſurper Cromwell, 438
Buonaparté, his conduct with regard to Switzerland compared with that of the tyrant Attila, 438
——— his conduct with regard to Switzerland compared, by the Morning Poſt, to that of the allied powers againſt France at the commencement of the war, 439—the fallacy of this argument fully expoſed, 439
———'s interference in the affairs of Switzerland, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkeſbury on, 493
———'s conduct in Syria, 582
——— his journey to Rouen, 564, 591
———'s letter to the Dey of Algiers, 1382
——— Madam, her curious deſcription of the national character of the Engliſh, 358
Burdett, Sir F. his concluding addreſs to the electors of Middleſex, 117
——— analyſis of his addreſs to the Middleſex electors, 132
——— ſtrictures on his addreſſes to the electors of Middleſex, 151
——— his letter to Dr. Parr, 1070

C.

Cabinet of Vienna characterized, 568
Campbell, Major-general, his narrative of the operations againſt Fort Timakull, 145
Cape of Good Hope, official account of, 1087
Caractacus, his letter on the ſituation of affairs in Germany, and the deſigns of Buonaparté againſt this country, 399
——— his letter on the conduct of Mr. Fox, 711
Carnatic, Nabob of, papers preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Eaſt India Company concerning, 1457
——— late revolution in, letters of Ariſtides on, 1564
Caſtlereagh, Lord, his obſervations on the peace, 3
Catholic clergy of Ireland, ſtatement of their emoluments, 637
Chactaw nation of Indians, treaty of friendſhip, limits, and accommodation between, and America, 34
Chaptal, his circular letter relative to the fête of the 14th July, 22
——— his letter to Jourdan, the counſellor of ſtate in Piedmont, incloſing the decree of the French government relative to that country, 110
——— miniſter of the interior, his letter to the prefect of the Somme, relative to a treaty of commerce with England, 244
Character of the Swiſs, 350
Charmilly, Colonel, on the fatal conſequences of the peace, 1082
Chickaſaws, treaty of reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience between, and America, 33
Cinnamon and Caſſia Lignea, account of the quantity imported for three years, 1000
Clergy, Catholic, of Ireland, ſtatement of their emoluments, 637
Cobbett, Mr. his introductory addreſs to the public, 1
——— his anſwer to the author of a Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, 15
——— extract of a letter addreſſed to him, by a gentleman in New York, relative to the peace in general, and the conſequences of the ceſſion of Louiſiana in particular, 43
——— his anſwer to the above letter, 45
——— his addreſs to the public, relative to Mr. Huſkiſſon and his penſion, 65
——— his letter to Meſſrs. Nares and Beloe, relative to the Blagdon controverſy, 119

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Cobbett, Mr. his letter to the "Friend of Mr. Huskisson," containing an answer to his assertions relative to that gentleman's "commercial connexions," 136
——— his letter to Heriot, on certain insinuations tending to diminish the respect due to the rank and character of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, 162
——— his letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, exposing the base flattery of the True Briton, 196
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the partition of the ranks, honours, titles, and estates of Germany, 271
Cobbett's Annual Register, prospectus of, 321
———, Mr. his letter to Mr. Fox on the motives and probable consequences of his journey to Paris, 338
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the general question of policy, arising out of the new partition of Germany, 361
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury, containing a detailed account of the nature and general tendency of the new division of the German Empire, 393
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury, containing his concluding observations on the new division of Germany; and shewing in what manner, and to what degree, England is concerned in this important question, 449
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the interference of Buonaparté in the affairs of Switzerland, 493
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the certainty of a new war with France, and on the irretrievable injury to our position, occasioned by the peace, 532
——— his letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the change which peace has made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign, 594
——— letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the tendency of the peace to humble and debase the public mind, 646
——— his letter to Lord Auckland on the abuses in the General Post Office, 673
——— his letter to Mr. Fox on his misrepresentation, in the House of Commons, of a passage in the Register, 714
——— his letter to Mr. Wilberforce on his political opinions, conduct, and motives, 745
Coke, Mr. (Member for Norfolk) receives a letter from Mr. Fox at Paris, detailing the favourable reception he had met with from Buonaparté, 416
——— his address to the freeholders of the county of Norfolk, 1619
Collection of the debates in both Houses of Parliament, on, and relative to, the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between Great Britain and France, 1089
Collection of the debates in both Houses of Parliament, from the opening of the session on the 16th of November to the Christmas recess of 1802, 1625
Cologne and Mayence, ports of, decree of the French Consuls relative to, 241
Colonies, French, observations of the Minister of Marine relative to the commerce of, 143
Commerce of the French colonies, observations of the Minister of the Marine relative to, 143
——— treaty of, between France and England; Chaptal's letter to the Prefect of the Somme relative to, 244
——— of Saint Domingo, French decree relative to, 481
——— of the East Indies, interesting extract from a French work relative to, 1845
Commissions, 30
Communication from the Imperial plenipotentiary at the Diet of Ratisbon, 586
Concert of music, vocal and instrumental, to be performed at the great room, 709
Conclusum, definitive, adopted by the deputation of the Diet at Ratisbon, and opinion of Austria on the general plan of indemnities, 638
Concordat between the Pope and Buonaparté, organic articles for carrying into effect, 1389
Conduct of Mr. C. J. Fox, 1420
Conservative Senate, extract from the registers of, relative to the department of the Po, &c. 1386
Constitution of France, project of a Senatus Consultum for organizing the, 171
Constitution, new French one, regulation for the execution of the Senatus Consultum relative to, 1404
Continental connexions, dangerous prejudices against, combated, 449
Convention between Great Britain and America, touching the difficulties arising in the execution of the 6th article of the treaty of 1794, 97
——— concluded between the municipality of Zurich and the Commissary of the Helvetic government, 430
Convoy duty, produce of, from its commencement to its termination, 997
Copy of the original grant relative to the navigation of the Black Sea by the English, 354
—— of a letter from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. de Cetto, the Bavarian Minister at Paris, relative to the affairs of Switzerland, 525
Corfu, manifesto of Count Mocenigo, minister plenipotentiary, on his arrival at, 523
Corn and rice, account of all bounties on, from 1st January 1801, 1010
Coutts, Mr. cleared from the charge of having promoted the election of Sir F. Burdett for Middlesex, 164
Course of exchange, London, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 475, 493, 568, 594, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853
Counties of Great Britain, population of, 897
Current prices, in London, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 475, 493, 532, 568, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853, 885
Cyprian's letter to the Bishop of London, on "The Christian Ladies' Pocket Book," 827

D.

D'Auvergne, Captain, statement of the circumstances relative to his arrest at Paris, 797
Deaths, 31, 63, 95, 127, 159, 223, 287, 319, 433, 491, 531, 672, 852
Debates in both Houses of Parliament, on and relative to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between Great Britain and France, 1089
——— collection of, in both Houses of Parliament, from the opening of the session on the 16th of November, to the Christmas recess of 1802, 1625
Debt, funded, account of, 915
—— unfunded, account of, 905
Decrease of British shipping employed in the fisheries, from 1790 to 1800, observations on, 130
Decree of the French government relative to the port of Marseilles, 20
——— relative to Piedmont, 111
——— of absolution granted by the Cardinal Legate to those of the new French bishops who have occupied episcopal sees without being instituted by the Holy See, 161

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Decree of the Imperial commiſſion relative to the indemnities, 201
—— of the French Conſuls relative to the ports of Cologne and Mayence, 241
—— of the French government relative to the commerce of St. Domingo, 300
—— of the Imperial commiſſion, addreſſed to the extraordinary deputation of the Empire at the Diet at Ratiſbon, againſt the plan of indemnities propoſed by France and Ruſſia, 417
—— of the French Conſuls relative to French merchants in the Levant, 472
—— relative to the commerce of St. Domingo, 481
—— of the Senate of the Ligurian republic, for erecting ſtatues of Buonaparté and Columbus in the veſtibule of the palace, 561
—— of the Executive Council of the Helvetic republic relative to Buonaparté's proclamation to the Swiſs, 562
—— of the Organic Senatus Conſultum for the encouragement of foreign artiſts ſettling in France, 564
—— of M. L. E. M. de Saint Méry, iſſued at Parma, 658
—— of the French Conſuls relative to veſſels arriving in the port of Marſeilles, 1397
—— of the French Commander in Chief, that the Roman Catholic religion ſhould be the only one authorized in St. Domingo, 1399
—— of the French Conſuls prohibiting the bringing of, into the continental territory of the republic, any black, mulatto, or perſon of colour, of either ſex, 1399
—— of the French Conſuls relative to the formation of a municipal guard at Paris, 1418
—— of the French Conſuls relative to the duty on woollens in imitation of cottons, from the Levant, 1419
Defence of the French emigrants againſt the malicious attacks of the True Briton and Sun, 617
Definitive concluſum adopted by the deputation of the Diet at Ratiſbon, and the opinion of Auſtria on the general plan of indemnities, 638
Demoſthenes, ſtriking extracts from the orations of, 458
Depredations committed by the mobs in the weſt of England, 206
———— committed by the Dey of Algiers for the laſt ſix months on the powers of Europe, details of, 236
Deſpot, Mr. Fox's definition of, 1455
Diet of Preſbourg, proceedings of, 137
Dietrichſtein-Proſkau, Count, his obſervations on two articles in the Times, 1367
Diplomatic agents, imbecility of the Britiſh, 550
Diſpenſations, 1897
Docks, Weſt India, melancholy accident which happened at, 92
Domeſtic occurrences, 22, 48, 85, 144, 182, 206, 279, 302, 347, 371, 405, 431, 473, 489, 531, 567, 593, 661, 689, 776, 849, 882
Domingo, St. preſent ſtate of the French colony in that iſland, in a letter from an American merchant, 73
———— General Leclerc's account of the operations of the French army in, 79, 81
———— proceedings of the French army in that iſland, 198
———— intelligence from, 240
———— decree of the French government relative to the adminiſtration of, 299
———— decree of the French government relative to the commerce of, 300
———— tariff of cuſtoms in the French part of, 301
Domingo, St. intelligence from, 369
———— French decree relative to the commerce of, 481
———— liſt of French and foreign ſhips at, 483
———— view of the ſituation of affairs in, 784
Dominica, general orders relative to the mutiny of the 8th Weſt India regiment at, 24
Dundas's ſtatue, 1038
———, Mr. his budget ſpeech on the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, 1550
Duties paid on French colonial produce, 115

E.

Eaſt Indies, extract of a letter from Fort St. George, on the probable effects of the peace in that quarter, 245
Eaſt India Company, Mr. Dundas's ſpeech on the affairs of, 1550
———— Court of Directors for 1802, 1586
———— ſhips, liſt of, for the ſeaſon 1802, 3, 1587
Eaſt Indies, commerce of, intereſting extract from a French work relative to, 1845
Edinburgh, extract of a letter from, relative to the reception of Monſieur of France at the theatre, 87
Egyptian expedition, Talleyrand's avowal with reſpect to the object of, 353
Election for the city of London, 9
———— for the city of Weſtminſter, 18
———— general, obſervations on, 50, 89
———— of the Peers of Scotland, account of, 208
Emigrants, French, defence of, againſt the malicious attacks of the True Briton and Sun, 617
———— obſervations on the Senatus Conſultum concerning them, 618
Empire of Germany divided into departments under the prefecture of the Elector of ****, with a military memoir on the ſtate of the continent, 1800
England, in what manner and to what degree concerned in the new diviſion of Germany, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkeſbury ſhewing, 449
Engliſh newſpapers, infamous article extracted from the Moniteur relative to, 179
———— newſpapers, their circulation ſtopped at Paris, 281
———— national character of the, as deſcribed by Madam Buonaparté, 358
Engravers and printers employed in the cotton manufactories of Rouen, their memorial to Buonaparté, 223
Erroo, his two letters to Mr. C. J. Fox, containing a review of his conduct, 1420
Europe, on the ſituation of, and the parties of Great Britain, 641, 737
———— ſituation of affairs in, extracted from the Palladium, an American newſpaper, 823
Exchange, London courſe of, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 475, 505, 568, 594, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853
Exports of Britiſh produce and manufactures in 1801 and 1802, comparative ſtatement of, as publiſhed by Government, 376—fallacy of the above ſtatement expoſed, 377—further proofs of its fallacy, 446
Extract from the Moniteur reſpecting India, 773
Extracts from the orations of Demoſthenes, on the war between the Olynthians and Philip of Macedon, 458

F.

Feſter, Mr. his extraordinary handbill relative to Mr. Huſkiſſon's election, 52
Fête of the 14th July, Chaptal's circular letter relative to the, 22
Fife, Earl of, his letter to the publiſher of the Aberdeen Journal, 88

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anders, conquest of, by France, its fatal consequences to Great Britain, 451
oreign intelligence, 17, 71, 108, 137, 164, 197, 233, 299, 346, 367, 403, 424, 468, 481, 527, 560, 586, 659, 688, 724, 753, 774, 846, 880
—— official papers, 845
ox, Mr. his address to the electors of Westminster, 12
———— observations on his visit to Paris, 280
———— at Paris, ridiculous embarrassment to which he has reduced his friends in England, 312
———— Mr. Cobbett's letter to him, on the motives and probable consequences of his journey to Paris, 338
———— account of his presentation to Buonaparté, 346
———— further observations on the motives and probable consequences of his visit to Paris, 378
———— sends a letter from Paris to Mr. Coke, detailing the favourable reception he had met with from Buonaparté, 416
— and O'Connor, Messrs. extract from the Argus relative to, 688
—— Mr. Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on his misrepresentation, in the House of Commons, of a passage in the Register, 714
———— C. J. review of his conduct, 1420
———— his definition of a despot, 1455
———— extract from his inflammatory harangue at the Whig Club, 1455
reeholder, his letter on the situation of Europe, and the parties of Great Britain, 641, 737
rance, constitution of, project of a Senatus Consultum for organizing the, 171
—— gigantic projects of, interesting letter from Stockholm relative to, 129
—— gigantic projects of, in conjunction with Russia, letter from Stockholm on, 355
—— picture of, in 1801, 705
—— treaty of peace between, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, 37
—— treaty concluded between, and the Prince of Orange, 225
rench colony in St. Domingo, interesting account of the present state of, 73
—— colonies, produce of the, list of ports into which it is admitted, 115
—— colonies, duties paid on the produce of, 115
—— colonies, observations of the Minister of the Marine relative to the commerce of, 143
—— constitution, new, observations on, 184
—— emigrants, defence of, against the malicious attacks of the True Briton and Sun, 617
—— emigrants, observations on the Senatus Consultum concerning them, 618
—— funds, information respecting, 1072
—— government, decree of the, relative to Piedmont, 111
—— republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, treaty of peace between, 289
—— republic, treaty between Prussia, Bavaria, and the, 559
—— royalists in Jersey, infamous article in the Morning Chronicle relative to, 281—their situation fully discussed, 303
unded debt, account of redemption of, 907
unds, French, information respecting, 1072
—— prices of the public, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 256, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 493, 531, 568, 594, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853, 885

G.

Gazette, London, *see* London Gazette
Gentz's Essay on the State of Europe, reviewed, 623
——, Mr. on the consequences of an alliance between France and Russia, 652
General election, observations on the, 50, 89
———— orders relative to the mutiny of the 8th West India regiment, at Dominica, 24
————, allowing general officers to grant leave of absence to officers, to the 10th of March 1803, 144
General Post Office, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Auckland on the abuses in, 673
George, Fort Saint, extract of a letter from, on the effect of the peace in the East Indies, 245
German Empire, new organization of, strictures on, 250
———— new division of, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury, containing a detailed account of the nature and general tendency of, 393
Germany, new plan of indemnities for, as concerted between the First Consul of France and the Emperor of Russia, 260
———— new division of, as concerted between the First Consul and the Emperor of Russia, 260
———— new partition of the ranks, honours, titles, and estates of, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury on, 271
———— short view of affairs in, 295
———— new partition of, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the general question of policy arising out of, 361
———— situation of affairs in, in a letter from Caractacus, 399
German indemnities, M. de Hugel refuses to ratify the conclusum of the deputation relative to, 403
Germany, probable consequences of a renewal of the war in, 435
———— new division of, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury on, shewing in what manner, and to what degree, England is concerned in this important question, 449
———— Empire of, divided into departments under the prefecture of the Elector of ***, with a military memoir on the state of the continent, 1800
Gobert, commander in chief at Guadaloupe, to the Minister of Marine, giving an account of the operations of the French army in that colony, 1396
Good Hope, Cape of, official account of, 1087
Great Britain and America, convention between, touching the difficulties arising in the execution of the 6th article of the treaty of 1794, 97
———— extinction of her influence and consideration on the continent of Europe, considerations on, contained in an admirable extract from the Morning Chronicle, 412
———— on the situation of Europe, and the parties of, 641, 737
———— population of the counties of, 897
———— population of the principal cities and towns of, 903
———— total expenditure of, 911
———— public income of, 923
———— permanent taxes of, 927
Grégoire, the Abbé, his arrival in England—is received with great honour by Sir Joseph Banks—character of him, 29
Guadaloupe, proclamation of General Richepanse to the inhabitants of, 140
———— proceedings of the French army in that island, 197

Digitized by Google

Guadaloupe, operations of the French army in, 1396
Guiana, account of the exports and imports of, 1418

H.

Hamilton, Gen. his letter relative to the conduct of Washington and La Fayette, at the storming of two redoubts at York Town, 517
Handbill, Mr. Fector's extraordinary, relative to Mr. Huskisson's election, 52
Hauterive's Etât de la France, object of that work exposed, by Mr. Gentz, 644
Hawkesbury, Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the new partition of the ranks, honours, titles, and estates of Germany, 271
——— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the general question of policy arising out of the new partition of Germany, 361
——— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, containing a detailed examination of the nature and general tendency of the new division of the German Empire, 393
——— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, containing his concluding observations on the new division of Germany, and shewing in what manner, and to what degree, England is concerned in this important question, 449
——— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the interference of Buonaparté in the affairs of Switzerland, 493
——— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the certainty of a new war with France, and on the irretrievable injury to our position, occasioned by the peace, 532
——— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the change which peace has made in our position, naval, military, domestic, and foreign, 594
——— Lord. Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the tendency of the peace to humble and debase the public mind, 646
Helvetia, representation addressed by the lesser cantons to Buonaparté, on the subject of the evacuation of, 278
——— proclamation of the Council of Execution to the inhabitants of, 586
Helvetic government, convention concluded between the municipality of Zurich and the commissary of, 430
——— republic, letter of the French minister to the inhabitants of the, acquainting them with the motives of Buonaparté in withdrawing the French troops from that country, 181
——— proclamation of the Council of Execution, on withdrawing the French troops from that country, 200
——— eastern part of, in a state of open rebellion, 368
——— armistice between the Helvetic troops at Berne, and the council of war of the troops which attacked Berne, 426
——— Buonaparté's proclamation to the eighteen cantons of, 423—strictures on, 437
Heriot, Mr. Mr. Cobbett's letter to him, on certain insinuations tending to diminish the respect due to the rank and character of his R. H. the Duke of Kent, 162
Highland Society, account of the proceedings of, relative to the taking of the Invincible standard, 803
"Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France," quotations from, 450
Hobart, Lord, his letter to Colonel Hislop at Demarara, relative to the grant of lands, at Trinidad, to British subjects inclined to remove to that island, 86
Holland, junction of, with France, its fatal consequences to Great Britain, 451
Honduras and Campeche, our right of cutting logwood in the Bay of, considered, 732
Hops, account of the quantity of, on which duty has been paid from 1783 to 1801, 1008
"Howell's Familiar Letters," quotation from, 430
Hugel, M. de, refuses to ratify the conclusum of the deputation, relative to the German indemnities, 403
Hull, account of an affray at, 86
Huskisson, Mr. observations on his election, 52—his pension, 54
——— Mr. memorandum relative to him and his pension, communicated by a friend of that gentleman, 65
——— Mr. Mr. Cobbett's answer to the assertions of a "Friend" of that gentleman, relative to his commercial connexions," 136

I. J.

Jamaica, speech of the Lieut. Governor of, on opening the sessions, 182
——— Colonial Assembly of, its proceedings on the proposition from his Majesty's Ministers, that the Assembly should make provision for the maintenance of 5000 additional troops, 254
——— Assembly of, letter from a West Indian to the editor, on the dispute between it and the British Ministers, 265
——— message from the Lieut. Governor to the House of Assembly of, on the proposition from his Majesty's Ministers, that the Assembly should make provision for the maintenance of 5000 additional troops, 313—resolutions of the Assembly, 318
——— view of the situation of affairs in, 784
Imbecility of the British Ministry, essay on, 1033
Imports into and exports from Great Britain for 18 years, 989
——— and exports from Ireland for 18 years, 991
——— from and exports to America and British colonies for 3 years, 1003
Income-tax, produce of, in Great Britain for 3 years, 955
Indemnities, decree of the Imperial commission relative to, 201
——— general plan of, concerted at Paris, and ratified by the Emperor of Russia, 238
——— new plan of, as concerted between the First Consul of France and the Emperor of Russia, 1
——— German, M. de Hugel refuses to ratify conclusum of the deputation relative to, 403
——— plan of, decree of the Imperial commission at the Diet at Ratisbon, against, 417
——— German, letter of the French and Bavarian ministers to the directorial minister at Ratisbon, relative to, 526
India, affairs of, 1457
——— extract from the Moniteur respecting, 1
Indies, East, commerce of, interesting extract from French work relative to, 1843
Invincible standard, authentic narrative of the taking of, by Antoine Lutz, 801, 865
Intelligence, foreign, 17, 71, 108, 137, 164, 233, 299, 346, 367, 403, 424, 468, 481, 560, 586, 659, 688, 724, 753, 774, 846, 881
Jones, Mr. observations on his proposal of granting the allowance to the French emigrants, 617
Ireland, Catholic clergy of, statement of their grievances, 637
Isle of France, letter of the commander in chief to Buonaparté, 1398

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lian republic, addreſs of the Legiſlative Body of, to Buonaparté, 164
ridical proceedings, 1589

K.

ent, Duke of, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Heriot, on certain inſinuations tending to diminiſh the reſpect due to the rank and character of his Royal Highneſs, 162
— his Royal Highneſs the Duke of, defended from the calumnies of Heriot, 513
ing's ſpeech from the throne, 690

L.

amballe, Madame, anecdote of, 87
and-tax, report of the commiſſioners for the ſale of, 983
aſnes, General, his ſudden departure from Liſbon, 242—copy of the note of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, to the different miniſters reſident at the court of Portugal, relative to, 243—obſervations on, 253
auſanne, intelligence from, relative to the inſurrection in Switzerland, 425, 430, 479, 485, 530
eclerc, General, his letters to the Miniſter of Marine, detailing the operations of the French army in Saint Domingo, 79, 81
——— letter from him to the Miniſter of Marine, on ſending Touſſaint and his family to France, 78
——— his addreſs, relative to Touſſaint's conſpiracy, 141
ciſſegues, Rear-admiral, his letter to the French Miniſter of Marine, relative to his operations at Tunis, 1387
Letter from the author of a "Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock," to Mr. Cobbett, 14
—— to Mr. Cobbett, extract from a, relative to the ceſſion of Louiſiana, 43
—— intereſting, from an American merchant, containing an account of the preſent ſtate of the French colony of St. Domingo, 73
—— Mr. Livingſton's, to Mr. Skipwith at Paris, informing him that the Emperor of Morocco had commenced hoſtilities againſt the United States, 113
—— Mr. Cobbett's, to Meſſrs. Nares and Beloe, relative to the Blagdon controverſy, 119
—— intereſting, from Stockholm, relative to the gigantic projects of France, &c. 129
—— of "Obſerver," containing an analyſis of Sir F. Burdett's addreſs to the Middleſex electors, 132
—— of Touſſaint Louverture to Citizen Fontaine, 142
—— official, from Major-general Campbell to the government of Madras, with particulars relative to the operations againſt Timakull, 145
—— from Baltimore to the editor, containing important remarks on the ceſſion of Louiſiana, and its probable conſequences, 147
—— to the Pope from thoſe new French biſhops who have occupied epiſcopal ſees without being inſtituted by the Holy See, 161
—— of the French miniſter to the landamman of the Helvetic republic, acquainting them with the motives of Buonaparté in withdrawing the French troops from that country, 181
—— from a Weſt India planter to the editor, on the diſpute between the Britiſh Miniſters and the Aſſembly of Jamaica, 265
—— ſecond intereſting, from Stockholm, on the gigantic projects of France, in conjunction with Ruſſia, 355
Letter of the French and Ruſſian miniſters to the directorial miniſter at Ratiſbon, relative to the German indemnities, 526
—— to Lord Hawkeſbury, Mr. Cobbett's, on the certainty of a new war with France, and on the irretrievable injury to our poſition, occaſioned by the peace, 532, 770, 871
—— Mr. Tietenſer's, on the Reading ball on the peace, 545, 770, 871
—— intereſting, from Swenſka, on the imbecility of our diplomatic agents, the dangers with which England is threatened, and the means of avoiding them, 548
—— of the Diet of Schwitz to General Rapp, on Buonaparté's proclamation to the Swiſs, 563
—— to the Fellows of the Royal Society, on the propriety of re-electing Sir Joſeph Banks to the preſidency, 577
—— on the peace, by Swenſka, firſt inſerted in the Times, 609
—— to the editor, on the emoluments of the Catholic clergy, 637
—— from Caractacus, on the conduct of Mr. Fox, &c. 711
—— to Mr. Fox, Mr. Cobbett's, on his miſrepreſentation of a paſſage in the Regiſter, 714
—— to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Cobbett's, on his political opinions, conduct, and motives, 745
—— to Earl Spencer, on the celebration of Mr. Pitt's birthday, 1029
—— from Sir F. Burdett to Dr. Parr, with Dr. P.'s anſwer, 1070
Letters of Ariſtides, on the depoſition of the Nabob of Arcot, the death of the depoſed Nabob, and the late revolution in the Carnatic, 1564
Levant, French merchants in the, arrêté of the French Conſuls relative to, 472
——— merchants, their application to Lord Hawkeſbury, relative to the Turkiſh trade, 115
Ligurian republic, Buonaparté's addreſs to the Senate of, 291
Liſbon, ſudden departure of the French miniſter Laſnes from, 242—obſervations on, 253
Liſt of the members returned to ſerve in the ſecond Parliament of the United Kingdom, 1609
— of the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company for 1802, 1586
— of the Eaſt India ſhips for the ſeaſon 1802-3, 1587
— of patents enrolled in 1802, 1041
— of new books, publiſhed in Europe and America during the laſt ſix months, 1848
Liverpool, ſtatement of the loſs occaſioned by the dreadful fire at, 407
Livingſton, Mr. his letter to Mr. Skipwith at Paris, informing him that the Emperor of Morocco had commenced hoſtilities againſt the United States, 113
Logwood, our right of cutting, in the Bay of Honduras and Campeche, obſervations on, 732
London courſe of exchange, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 475, 493, 568, 594, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853
——— Gazette, extracts from, 29, 61, 93, 125, 158, 190, 219, 256, 285, 316, 352, 381, 408, 432, 473, 492, 531, 576, 671.
——— city of, election for, 9
——— Biſhop of, his conduct contraſted with that of Mr. Addington, 184
——— Cyprian's letter to, on "the Chriſtian Ladies Pocket Book, 827
London and Weſtminſter, population of, 901

Digitized by Google

Lover of Truth and Decorum, his letter on Mr. Addington, and the Reading ball on the peace, 521
Louisiana, cession of, to the French, interesting observations on, 38
——— observations on the cession of, in a letter addressed to Mr. Cobbett, by a gentleman in New York, 43
——— important remarks on the cession of, and its probable consequences, in a letter from Baltimore to the editor, 147
Louisville, exports from the port of, to the Floridas and Louisiana, 42
Lutz, Antoine, authentic narrative of the taking of the Invincible standard by, 801, 865
Lyons, merchants of, extract from their address to Buonaparté, 21

M.

Mahon evacuated, 22
Mainwaring, Mr. his concluding address to the electors of Middlesex, 116
Malt, account of the produce of duties on, from 1795 to 1801, 1007
—— account of the quantity of, on which duty has been paid, from 1783 to 1801, 1008
Malta, guarantee of, refused by the Emperor of Russia, 351—observations on, 351
——— the importance of retaining it pointed out, in A Plain Speaker's Letter to the editor, 635
——— Tyrtæus's letter on the retention of, 838
——— memoir containing the sentiments of the inhabitants of, on its evacuation by the English, 1073
——— grand mastership of, essays relative to, 1076, 1079
Manifesto of Count Mocenigo, minister plenipotentiary, on his arrival at Corfu, 523
——— Russian, concerning the new formation of the department of administration, 1412
Marriages, 31, 63, 95, 127, 159, 223, 286, 319, 433, 475, 492, 531, 672, 852
Marseilles, port of, decree of the French government relative to, 20
——— port of, decree of the French Consuls relative to vessels arriving in, 1397
Martinico, Rear-admiral Villaret's letter on taking possession of, 1416
Mayence and Cologne, ports of, decree of the French Consuls relative to, 241
Meeting of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia at Memel, account of, 71
——— of ship-owners for the repeal of the tonnage duty, 489
Memoir, containing the sentiments of the Maltese on the evacuation by the English, 1073
Memel, meeting of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia at, account of, 71
Memorial of the engravers and printers employed in the cotton manufactories of Rouen, to Buonaparté, 203
Merchandise, account of the real value of foreign exported, and all imports into Great Britain for 1800 and 1801, 990
Méry, M. de Saint, the decree issued by him at Parma, 658
Message of the French Consuls to the Conservative Senate, on their appointing Buonaparté First Consul for life, 167
Middlesex election, 146—observations on, 122
Milan, substance of the report of the government of, to the Legislative Body upon the finances of the republic, 1401
Ministry, British, imbecility of, 1038
Mobs in the west of England, depredations committed by, 206
Moniteur, infamous article extracted from the, relative to the English newspapers, 179
——— strictures on the infamous article in the, relative to the English press, 208—its effect on the British ministry, 210—base conduct of the True Briton in regard to this article investigated, 210
——— asserts that several of the brigands of the Côtes du Nord have taken up their residence in Jersey under special protection, 245
——— infamous philippic against England extracted from the, 565, 592—remarks on the above article, extracted from the Morning Chronicle, 554
——— extract from, respecting India, 773
——— the, charges the English government with having caused the assassination of Ritter and Bonnier at Radstadt, 848, 857
——— the, styles the King of Great Britain a rewarder of assassins, 858
——— the, its misrepresentation of an expression of Mr. Windham's relative to Russia exposed, 859
——— extract from, containing observations on the speeches at the opening of the present Parliament, 875—strictures on, 887
Monsieur, of France, extract of a letter from Edinburgh relative to his reception at the theatre, 347
——— of France, account of his visit to Hartley Lodge, 347
More, Mrs. Hannah, proved to be a Methodist, 1
Morning Chronicle, extract from, on the extinction of the influence and confideration of Great Britain on the continent of Europe, 412
——— interesting extract from, containing remarks on the infamous philippic against England in the Moniteur, 554
Morning Post, extract from, comparing the conduct of Buonaparté with regard to Switzerland to that of the allied powers against France at the commencement of the war, 439—the fallacy of this argument fully exposed, 439
——— various extracts from, on the conduct of Mr. C. J. Fox, 1420
Morocco, Emperor of, commences hostilities against the United States, 113
Munster, proclamation of the government of, relative to the entrance of the Prussian troops into that country, 203
Mutiny of the 8th West India regiment at Dominica, general orders relative to, 24

N.

Nabob of the Carnatic, papers presented to the House of Commons from the East India Company concerning, 1457
Nares and Beloe, Messrs. Mr. Cobbett's letter relative to the Blagdon controversy, 119
Nassau, extract of a letter from, relative to a petition for the importation of American commodities, 447—observations on, 447
Navigation of the Black Sea obtained by France, 249
——— official note delivered by the Reis Effendi to the English minister relative to, 337

Digitized by Google

Navy, distribution of, for November 1802, 758
——— present ſtate of, 789
——— abuſe bill, its fatal conſequences expoſed, 891
———deſcription of the perſons compoſing the commiſſion, 893
Negroes, inſurrection of the, in North Carolina, 17
New York, firſt book-fair held in, 17
——— intelligence from, 424
New books, liſt of, publiſhed in Europe and America during the laſt ſix months, 1848
Newſpapers, Engliſh, infamous article extracted from the Moniteur relative to, 179
———, their circulation ſtopped at Paris, 1281
New regulations in the government of Ruſſia, 1410
North Carolina, inſurrection of the negroes in, 17
——— Wales ſummer circuit, 86
Note of the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs to the different miniſters reſident at the court of Portugal, relative to the ſudden departure from Liſbon of General Lafnes, 243
——— of the Bohemian miniſter on the convention and declaration of France and Ruſſia relative to the occupation of Paſſau and other places, 335
Notes of the miniſters of France and Ruſſia, addreſſed to the extraordinary deputation at the Diet of Ratiſbon, in reply to the decree of the Imperial commiſſion againſt the plan of indemnities, 418
Note of Baron de Hugel, plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majeſty, to the miniſter of the French republic at the Diet of Ratiſbon relative to the German indemnities, 466
——— addreſſed by the Imperial plenipotentiary at the Diet of Ratiſbon to the Ruſſian miniſter relative to the German indemnities, 466
——— given in to the deputation of the Empire by the French legation relative to the plan of indemnities, 522
——— addreſſed by Baron de Hugel, the Imperial plenipotentiary at Ratiſbon, informing the deputation of his acceſſion to the concluſums of the Diet, 559
——— preſented to the Diet of Ratiſbon by the Swediſh deputy for Anterior Pomerania, 640
——— addreſſed by the Diet of Schwitz to General Ney, 658
——— addreſſed by the French miniſter at Ratiſbon to the Imperial plenipotentiary, and to the ſub-delegate for Bohemia, 693
——— addreſſed by the French miniſter at the Diet of Ratiſbon to the Imperial plenipotentiary and the ſub-delegate for Bohemia, 1388
Notice to American claimants, 371
Notices of new books, 623

O.

Obſervations on the great decreaſe of Britiſh ſhipping employed in the fiſheries from 1790 to 1800, 150
——— on the weather, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 476, 493, 568, 594
——— on the Senatus Conſultum concerning the emigrants, 618
——— on the ſpeeches at the opening of the preſent Parliament, extracted from the Moniteur, 875—ſtrictures on, 887
——— on two articles in the Times by Count Dietrichſtein-Proſkau, 1367
Obſerver, letter of, concerning an analyſis of Sir F. Burdett's addreſs to the Middleſex electors, 132
Occurrences, domeſtic, 22, 48, 85, 144, 182, 206, 279, 302, 347, 371, 405, 431, 473, 489, 531, 567, 593, 661, 689, 776, 849, 882
Ode for the New Year 1802, by H. J. Pye, 1009
——— for his Majeſty's birthday, 1802, by J. H. Pye, 1011
Official note delivered by the Reis Effendi to the Engliſh miniſter relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, 337
——— account of the ſtate of the Cape of Good Hope, 1087
On the ſituation of Europe and the parties of Great Britain, 641, 737
Opinion of Auſtria on the general plan of indemnities, 638
Orange, Prince of, treaty concluded between him and France, 225
———Prince of, indemnity to, remarks on, 795
Orations of Demoſthenes, ſtriking extracts from, 458
Ordinance, royal patent, relative to the occupation of Oſnaburgh, 659
Organic articles for carrying into effect the Concordat between the Pope and Buonaparté, 1389
Oſnaburgh, royal patent relative to the occupation of, 659
Ottoman Porte and the French republic, treaty of peace between, 289

P.

Palladium, extracts from the, on the ambition of France, the ceſſion of Louiſiana, and the expedition to St. Domingo, 7
——— the (an American newſpaper), excellent extract from, on the ſituation of affairs in Europe, 823
Panin, Count de, viſits Sweden, 199—is ordered by the King of Sweden not to continue his journey through that country, 200—letter to him from the Emperor of Ruſſia relative to the above circumſtance, 278
Parma, decree of M. de St. Méry iſſued at, 658
——— dutchy of, deſcribed, 664
Papers, parliamentary, 897
——— preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Eaſt India Company, concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic, 1457
Parliament, proceedings in, 657, 690, 720, 751, 776, 849, 882
——— collection of the debates in both Houſes of, on and relative to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between Great Britain and France, 1089
———, collection of the debates in both Houſes of, from the opening of the ſeſſion on the 16th of November to the Chriſtmas receſs of 1802, 1625
——— liſt of the members returned to ſerve in the new, 1609
Parliamentary papers, 897
Parr, Dr. his letter to Sir F. Burdett, 1071
Paſſau, Biſhop of, his proclamation, 292
Paſſwan Oglou, capitulation ſigned between him and the Sublime Porte, 405
Patents, account of all places for lives held by, 971
——— enrolled in 1802, liſt of, 1041
Pays de Vaud, proclamation of the confederate generals to the inhabitants of, 470
Peace, the bleſſed effects of, 253, 254

Digitized by Google

Peace, probable effects of, in the East Indies, 245
——— treaty of, review of Belsham's remarks on, 268, 293, 385
——— letter on the, by Swenska, first inserted in the Times, 609
——— the, tendency of, to humble and debase the public mind, 646
——— establishment, remarks on, 792
——— fatal consequences of the, as it regards our possessions in the East and West Indies, 1082
Peers of Scotland, account of the election of, 208
Pells, clerkship of, given by Mr. Addington to his son, 152
Peltier, Mr. prosecution commenced against him at the desire of Buonaparté, 255
——— further particulars relative to the prosecution commenced against him for the publication of L'Ambigu, 284
——— observations on the prosecution commenced against him for a libel on Buonaparté, 858
Pensions and allowances to the Royal Family, 967
——— account of all, charged on any other fund than the Civil List and the 4½ per cent. duties, 965
——— account of all granted since 1797, 963
Pérouse, La, information relative to the fate of, 118
Persia and Russia, report of a war between, 243—observations on the probability of, 246
Picture of France in 1801, 705
Piedmont, decree of the French government relative to, 111
Pilot, the, that moored us in peace, a new song, 1037
Pitt, Right Hon. William, Mr. Cobbett's letter to him on the base flattery of the True Briton, 196
——— Mr. the errors of his ministry pointed out, 57
——— his opinions relative to the aggrandizement of France, 574
——— verse to him on the proposed statue, 1023
———'s, Mr. birthday, proceedings at the commemoration of, 1024
——— statue, various articles on the subject of, 1012
Plain Speaker, his letter to the editor on the importance of retaining Malta, 635
Po, department of, extract from the registers of the Conservative Senate relative to, 1386
Politics, summary of, 25, 50, 89, 122, 151, 182, 208, 303, 347, 373, 410, 434, 476, 510, 568, 605, 663, 695, 727, 762, 784, 853, 886
Pope's brief to the archbishops and bishops of France, 1377
Population of England and Wales, general total of, 902
——— of the counties of Great Britain, summary of, 887
——— of the principal cities and towns of Great Britain, 903
——— of the cities of London and Westminster, 901
——— of Wales, summary of, 899
Port of Marseilles, decree of the French government relative to, 20
Porto Ferrajo delivered up to France, 22
Post Office, General, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Auckland on the abuses in, 673
——— account of the net revenue of, from 1761 to 1802, 961
Preferments, 158, 220, 256, 409, 432, 473, 492
Presbourg, Diet of, proceedings of, 137
Presentations, 473
Prices current in London, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 475, 493, 532, 568, 640, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853, 885
Proceedings in Parliament, 657, 690, 720, 751, 776, 849, 882
——— juridical, 1589
Proclamation of Buonaparté to the French, on the 14th of July, 77
——— of General Richepanse to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe, 140
——— of the Council of Execution of the Helvetic republic, on withdrawing the French troops from that country, 200
——— of the Government of Munster, relative to the entrance of the Prussian troops into that country, 203
——— of the Central Government of Switzerland, on the disturbances in the canton of Uri, &c. 239
——— of the Bishop of Passau, 292
——— of the Council of Two Hundred at Berne, relative to the insurrection in, 468
——— of the confederate generals to the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, 470
——— of Buonaparté to the eighteen cantons of the Helvetic republic, 423—strictures on, 437
——— of the Council of War of the Swiss League to their brothers in arms, 524
——— of the Prefect of Rouen, announcing the intention of Buonaparté to visit that city, 563
——— of the Council of Execution to the inhabitants of Helvetia, 586
——— issued by the King of Prussia at Hildesheim, 694
——— to the Helvetic people from the government of Helvetia, 722
Produce of the French colonies, duties paid on, 115
——— list of ports into which it is admitted, 115
——— of the duties of customs, excise, stamps, &c. in 1801, 953
Programma for the distribution of the great prizes at the general assembly of the three central schools of Paris, 242
Project of a senatus consultum for organizing the French constitution, 171
Promotions, military, 30, 61, 93, 125, 158, 190, 220, 285, 316, 382, 408, 432, 474, 1882
Prospectus of Cobbett's Annual Register, 322
Prussia, King of, account of his meeting with the Emperor of Russia at Memel, 71
——— treaty between the French republic, Bavaria, and, 559
——— King of, proclamation issued by him at Hildesheim, 694
——— Prince Henry of, his will, 1375
Public debt, account of the annual charge of, 959
——— income of Great Britain, 923
——— offices, account of the increase or diminution of the salaries of, 957
——— papers, 33, 97, 161, 193, 225, 257, 289, 333, 353, 417, 466, 522, 559, 586, 638, 658, 693, 744

R.

Ratisbon, full powers of the Empire for the deputation assembled at, 238
——— Diet of, observations on the proceedings of, 411
——— intelligence from, 425
——— proceedings of, relative to the German indemnities, 417, 466
——— communication from the Imperial plenipotentiary at, 586
——— note presented to, by the Swedish deputy for Anterior Pomerania, 640

Digitized by Google

Reading ball on the peace, Mr. Tietenſer's letter on the, 545
——— on the peace, letter from N. V. relative to, 653
——— Mr. J. Tietenſer's letters on, and on the malevolent attack upon Mr. Addington, by a writer in the Star, under the ſignature of Candidus, 769, 871
——— on the peace, account of, 1035
Redemption of public funded debt, account of, 907
Regulation for the execution of the Senatus Conſultum of the 4th of Auguſt, relative to the new French conſtitution, 1404
Remarks on the infamous philippic againſt England in the Moniteur, extracted from the Morning Chronicle, 554
Report made by Talleyrand to the Firſt Conſul of France, on the new organization of the Germanic body, 257
——— made by M. Talleyrand relative to the treaty between France and Turkey, 353
——— of the Commiſſioners for the ſale of the land-tax, 983
——— made to the Firſt Conſul of France in Senate, by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, relative to the differences ſubſiſting between the republic and the Regency of Algiers, 1381
——— of the Government of Milan to the Legiſlative Body upon the ſituation of the republic, 1401
Repreſentation, addreſſed by the leſſer cantons to Buonaparté, on the ſubject of the evacuation of Helvetia, 278
Reſolutions paſſed by the Government of Amſterdam relative to the Bank, 114
Review of Belſham's remarks on the treaty of peace, 268, 293. 385
Richepanſe, General, his proclamation to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe, 140
——— his letters to the Miniſter of the Marine, detailing the proceedings of the French troops at Guadaloupe and St. Domingo, 197
Royal family, penſions and allowances to, 967
——— Society, letter to the fellows of, on the propriety of re-electing Sir Joſeph Banks to the preſidency, 577
Rouen, proclamation of the Prefect of, announcing Buonaparté's intention of viſiting that city, 563
Royaliſts, French, in Jerſey, infamous article in the Morning Chronicle relative to, 281—their ſituation fully diſcuſſed, 303
Ruſpoli, Prince, refuſes the grand maſterſhip of Malta, 607
Ruſſia, Emperor of, his arrival at Memel, 18
——— account of his meeting with the King of Pruſſia at Memel, 71
——— conjectures on the motives of his ſeceſſion from Great Britain, 376
——— and Perſia, report of a war between, 243—obſervations on the probability of, 246
——— conſequences of an alliance between France and, 652
——— new regulations in the government of, 1410
Ruſſian manifeſto concerning the new formation of the department of adminiſtration, 1412

S.

Sahuguet, General, his letter to the French miniſter of the marine and colonies, on taking poſſeſſion of Tobago, 845
Salaries of the Chancellor, Speaker, and Judges of England and Wales, 070
Sale of the land-tax, report of Commiſſioners for, 983
Sardinia, King of, his arrival at Rome, and reception by the Pope, 17
Scheldt, opening of the, apprehenſions relative to the, 112
Schwitz, Diet of, its anſwer to the proclamation of Buonaparté, 525
——— its letter to General Rapp, on Buonaparté's proclamation to the Swiſs, 563
——— note addreſſed by, to General Ney, 658
Scotland, Peers of, account of the election of, 208
Seaſons in 1802, ſome account of, 1900
Senatus Conſultum, granting an amneſty for the crime of emigration, opinions upon the different queſtions relative to the execution of, 165
——— concerning the emigrants, obſervations on, 618
Sheridan, Mr. extract from a ſpeech of, attributing the maſſacres in France to the allied powers, 439—the fallacy of this reaſoning expoſed, 439
——— his *fine* ſpeech examined, and its plagiariſms detected, 830
Ship-owners, proceedings at a meeting of the committee of, 406
——— meeting of, for the repeal of the tonnage duty, 489
Ships, liſt of, at St. Domingo, 483
——— and veſſels, account of the number exiſting in the ports of Ireland in 1801, 992
——— Eaſt India, liſt of, for the ſeaſon 1802 and 1803, 1587
Short view of affairs in Germany, 295
Simile, a, addreſſed to the peace-maker, 1037
Sinclair, Sergeant, his narrative relative to the capture of the Invincible ſtandard, 806
Some account of the ſeaſons in 1802, 1900
Song, written by Mr. Roſe, and ſung at the anniverſary of Mr. Pitt's birthday, 1025
——— written by Mr. Canning, and ſung at the anniverſary of Mr. Pitt's birthday, 1026
——— ſung at the celebration of Mr. Addington's birthday, at Apothecaries' Hall, 1034
——— a new, entitled, "The Pilot that moored us in Peace," 1037
Speech of the Lieutenant-governor of Jamaica on opening the ſeſſions, 182
——— of Mr. Dundas on the ſituation of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, 1550
Speeches at the opening of the preſent Parliament, obſervations on, extracted from the Moniteur, 875—ſtrictures on, 887
Standard, Invincible, ſee Invincible ſtandard
Statement of the ſupplies for 1803, 778
Statue, Mr. Pitt's, various articles on the ſubject of, 1012
——— the, an epigram, 1021
——— Mr. Dundas's, 1038
Stockholm, intereſting letter from, relative to the gigantic projects of France, &c. 129
——— ſecond intereſting letter from, on the gigantic projects of France, in conjunction with Ruſſia, 355
Stocks, prices of, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 410, 434, 475, 493, 531, 568, 594, 662, 694, 761, 784, 853, 885
Stutgard, intereſting article from, reſpecting the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, 725
Summary of politics, 25, 50, 89, 122, 151, 182, 208, 303, 347, 373, 410, 434, 476, 510, 568, 605, 663, 695, 727, 762, 784, 853, 886

Digitized by Google

Summary of the population of the counties of Great Britain, 897
——— Wales, 899
Summer assizes, dates for holding the, 48
——— circuit, North Wales, 86
Swenska, his second interesting letter from Stockholm, on the gigantic projects of France, in conjunction with Russia, 355
——— his interesting letter on the imbecility of our diplomatic agents, the dangers with which England is threatened, and the means of avoiding them, 548
——— his interesting letter on the peace, first inserted in the Times, 609
Swiss, the, character of, 350
Switzerland, proclamation of the Council of Execution, on withdrawing the French troops from that country, 200
——— address of the deputies of all the communes in the three cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, to the French minister, desiring to be separated from the Helvetic republic, 236
——— proclamation of the Central Government of, on the disturbances in the canton of Uri, &c. 239
——— insurrection in, intelligence relative to, 368, 403, 425, 430, 468, 470, 479, 485, 561, 588, 660, 724
——— extract from the True Briton, on the interference of France in the internal affairs of, 476
Syria, conduct of Buonaparté in, 582

T.

Talleyrand (Bishop of Autun), arrêté of the Consuls, restoring him to a secular and lay life, 244
——— his report to the First Consul of France, on the new organization of the Germanic Body, 257
——— M. his avowal with respect to the object of the French expedition, 353
———'s letter to Mr. de Cetto, the Bavarian minister at Paris, relative to the affairs of Switzerland, 525
Tariff of customs in the French part of St. Domingo, 301
Taxes, permanent, of Great Britain, 927
Temple, Sir William, his opinion of the fatal consequences to Great Britain of a conjunction of France and Holland, and of the conquest of Flanders by France, 451
Tietenser, Mr. J. his letter on the Reading ball, on the peace, 545
——— his letters to the editor, on the Reading ball, and on the malevolent attack upon Mr. Addington, by a writer in the Star, under the signature of Candidus, 770, 871
Timakull, Major-general Campbell's narrative of the operations against, 145
Tobago, taken possession of by the French, 845
Tonnage duty, meeting of the ship-owners for the repeal of, 489
Tortola, island of, act for the free importation and exportation of certain goods to and from, 193
Toussaint, General Leclerc's letter to the Minister of Marine, on sending him and his family to France, 78
——— Louverture, copy of his letter to Citizen Fontaine, 142
Treaty of reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience between America and the Chicasaws, 33
——— of friendship, limits, and accommodation between America and the Chactaw nation of Indians, 34
——— between the French republic and the Duke of Wirtemberg, 37
Treaty concluded between France and the Prince of Orange, 225
——— of commerce between France and Batavia, Chaptal's letter to the Prefect of the Somme relative to, 244
——— of peace between the French republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, 289
——— between France and Turkey, report made by Talleyrand relative to, 353
——— between the French republic, Prussia, and Bavaria, 559
Trial of Belce, Wagstaff, and Harwood, for breaking Mr. Cobbett's windows, brief notice of, 60
——— of Belce, Wagstaff, and Harwood, 99
Trials, collection of, 1589
Trinidad, grants of land at, Lord Hobart's letter relative to, 86
True Briton, base flattery of, exposed, in a letter from Mr. Cobbett to the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, 198
——— its base conduct in regard to the infamous article in the Moniteur, relative to the English press fully exposed, 210
——— comments of the, previous to the receipt of the infamous article in the Moniteur, relative to the English press, 214—its comments after the receipt of the Moniteur, 215
——— its infamous attack upon Mr. Windham, under the mask of friendship, fully exposed, 220
——— its malicious attacks on the French emigrants exposed, 617
——— extract from, on the interference of France in the internal affairs of Switzerland, 476
Tunis, operations of Rear-admiral Leissegues at, 138
Turkey, treaty between France and, report made by Talleyrand relative to, 353
——— Company, a deputation from the, wait upon Lord Hawkesbury, 116
Tyrtæus's letter on the retention of Malta, 838

U.

Unfunded debt, account of, 905

V.

Valais, address of the envoys of the republic of the to the people of the Valais, 1384
Verses to Mr. Pitt on the proposed statue, 1023
——— on a great man in distress, 1033
Vessels, account of the number of, built from 178 to 1802, 991
——— account of the number of, entered from America for 5 years, 998
——— account of the number cleared out for America for 5 years, 999
Vienna, cabinet of, characterized, 568
Villaret, Rear-admiral, his letter to the Minister of the Marine, on taking possession of Martinico, 1416
Vindication of the political conduct of Mr. Windham reviewed, 633

W.

Wales, summary of the population of, 899
Washington and La Fayette, their conduct at the storming of the two redoubts at York Town exposed, 51
Ways and means for answering the services of 1801, 64
Weather, observations on the, 32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 416, 448, 493, 568, 594
Weekly Messenger, Bell's, an office opened for the sale of it at Paris, 607—by whom conducted, 607

Digitized by Google

West India Docks, the melancholy accident at, 92
———— planter, his letter to the editor, on the dispute between the British Ministers and the Assembly of Jamaica, 265
West of England, depredations committed by the mobs in, 206
Westminster, city of, election for, 11
Whig Club, meeting of, account of, 767
Wilberforce, Mr. dreadful consequences of the miserable policy of his followers, 411
———— Mr. Cobbett's letter to him, on his political opinions, conduct, and motives, 745
———— his address to the freeholders of the county of York, 1615
Will of Prince Henry of Prussia, 1375
Wilson, Sir Robert, his narrative of Buonaparté's conduct in Syria, 582
Windham, Right Hon. Wm. exposure of an infamous attack upon him, in the True Briton, under the mask of friendship, 226
———— Mr. interesting extracts from his speech on the peace, 444, 445, 477
———— Mr. vindication of the political conduct of, reviewed, 633
———— Mr. misrepresentation in the Moniteur of his expression relative to Russia, exposed, 859
———— and Frere, Messrs. their address to the electors of Norwich, 46
Wirtemberg, Duke of, treaty of peace between, and France, 37

Z.

Zurich, convention concluded between the municipality of, and the commissary of the Helvetic government, 430

Digitized by Google

INDEX OF NAMES.

A

Abbot, 1627
Abercorn, 1631
Abercromby, 553, 805
Adair, 345
Adams, 762
Addington, 3, 56, 152, 157, 182, 357, 389, 411, 437, 446, 447, 505, 521, 545, 558, 573, 575, 613, 615, 644, 653, 655, 741, 769, 789, 858, 863, 871, 893, 895, 896, 1034, 1094, 1148, 1190, 1210, 1323, 1351, 1621, 1669, 1703, 1711, 1762, 1776, 1798
Alexander, 130, 278, 296, 351, 358, 376, 407
Albini, 849
Algiers, D. of, 1381
Aloys Riding, 427
Andréossi, 350, 554, 569, 593, 661, 667, 693
Andermatt, 404, 428, 430
Anderson, 10
Antonio, 1600
Ankerstrom, 549
Arcot, 726, 773, 1564
Arden, 1629
Arras, 179
Atchinson, 489
Athol, 803
Auckland, 60, 206, 218, 575, 607, 686, 1225, 1279
Auſdermaur, 470
Avray, 765

B

Baker, 51, 151, 1188
Barthelemy, 170, 177
Baden, 398, 728
Bachmann, 480, 531, 774
Badini, 607
Baring, 698
Baird, 759
Baldwin, 819
Babington, 1190
Banks, 29, 577, 649, 743, 765, 1134, 1734
Bernadotte, 27, 59
Beloe, 60, 99, 119, 164, 550
Benezech, 85
Bere, 119
Belsham, 268, 293, 385, 649
Bertin, 367, 373, 1399
Beurnonville, 431
Belgrave, 502, 1242
Bell, 606
Berkley, 721, 732
Bedford, 109*, 1109
Bild, 640
Bissett, 763
Blake, 1598
Bond, 1350
Bowles, 59, 189, 219, 633
Boyd, 136
Bouillon, 380, 446, 797
Bondet, 756
Bonnier, 857
Bolton, 1089
Bragge, 153
Browne, 1773
Buonaparté, 7, 39, 111, 125, 164, 170, 184, 209, 214, 247, 252, 283, 292, 296, 304, 310, 338, 350, 424, 437, 453, 495, 509, 535, 549, 554, 561, 563, 571, 582, 591, 598, 606, 611, 666, 701, 715, 728, 763, 775, 890, 1381
Buonaparté, Mad. 358
Burdett, 89, 118, 122, 132, 151, 340, 880, 1070, 1688, 1772
Burr, 149
Burke, 185, 227, 363, 456, 602, 703, 763
Buxtorf, 404
Buhler, 420, 527, 755
Buckingham, 1112

C

Castlereagh, 3, 26, 503, 575, 799, 1133, 1196, 1328, 1628, 1672, 1780
Cattaneo, 18
Calvert, 145
Campbell, 147
Caprara, 162
Cambacérès, 168, 848
Canning, 553, 1026, 1649, 1706, 1724, 1754
Caernarvon, 595, 1113, 1280
Cavan, 759
Callendar, 762
Carlisle, 796, 1199, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1632, 1783, 1792
Carysfort, 1252, 1640, 1794
Camden, 1289
Carey, 1591
Cartwright, 1642
Cetto, 525, 540, 559
Chaptal, 22, 111, 244, 705, 1409
Christophe, 78
Channier, 145
Charles, A. 348, 401, 435, 588
Chalmers, 363, 507, 534, 575
Charpentier, 561
Cholmondeley, 775
Charmilly, 786, 1082
Clarence, 1099
Clive, 1544, 1577
Cloyne, 626
Cobbett, 2, 17, 41, 46, 60, 71, 99, 137, 163, 196, 277, 346, 367, 399, 510, 521, 540, 605, 653, 675, 720, 734, 751, 823, 871
Codling, 1606
Cornwallis, 517, 762, 796, 1194, 1227, 1228
Collett, 1620
Combe, 10, 51, 347
Coke, 51, 416, 1619
Corder, 1625
Couriée, 74
Conant, 107
Coutts, 164
Cobenzel, 18, 400, 424, 435, 456, 560, 569
Columbus, 561
Corbett, 802
Critico, 1600
Croke, 632
Curtis, 10
Curzon, 1642

D

Davidson, 74
D'Auvergne, 380, 446, 736, 797, 882, 890
Daendels, 473
Dawson, 1189
Darnley, 1252, 1287, 1792
D'Estrades, 450
Desjardins, 245
Despard, 661, 669, 689, 759
Dietrichstein, 1367
Dillon, 1689
Dobson, 519
Dorset, 775
Dundas, 14, 26, 68, 551, 599, 608, 731, 1038, 1257, 1321, 1550
Dupaty, 21
Duff, 92
Dumouceau, 473
Duane, 762
Duckworth, 766
Dumaresq, 798
Dumford, 1624*

E

Eagle, 1601
Easterby, 1606
Eden, 41, 59, 150, 363, 452, 575, 602, 733
Elliot, 508, 703, 1187, 1192, 1678, 1797
Eldon, 1304, 1225, 1228, 1287, 1786, 1789
Ellison, 1189
Ellenborough, 1285
Elgin, 348
Emerton, 1625*
Erving, 338
Erskine, 341, 1377
Esterhazy, 425, 755

F

Fayette, 516
Fellowes, 26
Fector, 52
Fesche, 184
Fitzgerald, 25
Fef, 88
Fitzwilliam, 595, 1110
Field, 1589
Fontaine, 141
Fouché, 368
Folkstone, 865, 1305
Fox, 11, 25, 89, 156, 280, 312, 338, 346, 362, 378, 416, 443, 551, 643, 682, 712, 714, 765, 767, 839, 863, 875, 879, 882, 1091, 1146, 1420, 1643, 1669, 1692, 1755, 1777
Ford, 893
Frere, 48, 50, 316, 760
Front, 352, 473
Freeling, 675, 718
Fuller, 75
Furtado, 1594

G

Gascoyne, 1323, 1678
Gardner, 11
Georgrs, 179
Gentz, 623, 652
Gill, 1626*
Giltray, 507
Gifford, 678
Glede, 99
Gloucester, 351
Glass, 408
Gower, 67, 1118
Goertz, 403
Goldsmidt, 606
Gordon, 775
Goddard, 867
Gobert, 1396
Grenville, 16, 46, 152, 348, 403, 512, 739, 800, 848, 857, 1101, 1118, 1214, 1217, 1235, 1264, 1267, 1290, 1316, 1323, 1633, 1669, 1706, 1763, 1785, 1794
Grégoire, 29
Graham, 11, 102
Grey, 504, 767, 1245, 1334
Grant, 1341

H

Hamlin, 1621*
Hand, 1603
Hawkesbury, 99, 116, 124 233, 266, 271, 357, 361, 376, 393, 449, 493, 532, 550, 575, 594, 646, 655, 732, 737, 1118, 1194, 1215, 1232, 1235, 1239, 1249, 1266, 1306, 1653, 1706, 1721, 1767
Hawkins, 33
Haugwitz, 113
Hay, 372
Hanover, 394
Hamikon, 516
Hauterive, 554, 555, 606, 623
Hartop, 1116
Heriot, 162, 231, 398, 513, 712
Helena, 348, 351, 411
Herries, 632
Hislop, 86
Hill, 759
Hobart, 86, 313, 390, 406, 808, 1116, 1128, 1241, 1289, 1641, 1793

Digitized by Google

Holland, 378
Hogg, 1626
Howell, 450
Hompesch, 1076
Hobhouse, 1188
Hun's, 1628*
Huskisson, 51, 65, 136
Hugel, 202, 403, 411, 417, 466, 560

J

Jay, 120, 82
Jackson, 35
Jacobi, 373
Jefferson, 41, 131, 149, 187, 356, 375, 762
Ingenold, 119
Johnstone, 1689
Jones, 617, 1237
Joyeuse, 125
Jourdan, 776

K

Kalitscheff, 457
Kaunitz, 566
Karabanm, 819
Keith, 23, 1620*
Kent, Duke of, 23, 162, 513, 757
Kearsley, 1591
Kisten, 1603
King, 99, 1592
Kleber, 583
Knatchbull, 89
Knightley, 1618*

L

Lamballe, 87
Lasnes, 242, 302, 764
Laforêt, 337, 420, 423, 466, 523, 527, 693, 755, 1389
Lauriston, 401, 429
Lambarde, 450
Laurens, 519
Law, 537
Laurence, 569, 595, 768, 797, 800, 850, 890, 1185, 1196, 1199, 1232, 1233, 1238, 1253, 1267, 1347, 1727, 1774
Larrea, 576
Lacrosse, 845, 1400, 1409
Lascelles, 1627
Leissagnes, 431, 1387
Lehrbach, 456
Lea, 1117
Le Clerc, 8, 74, 77, 79, 82, 142, 300, 355, 472, 482, 600, 688, 696, 756, 765
Lewes, 10
Lingham, 1628*
Livingston, 114
Liverpool, 267
Lilford, 1090
Limerick, 1097, 1784
London, Bishop of, 604, 827, 1110
Lovaine, 1090
Lucchesini, 112, 559
Lundberg, 765, 799
Lutz, 801, 865

M

Mainwaring, 90, 117, 123, 132
Markoff, 113, 543
Maitland, 552, 1336, 1690, 1737
Mackenzie, 803
M'Arthur, 805
Macdonald, 815
Markham, 1720
Magallon, 1397
Martin, 1096
Macneil, 1457
Merry, 346, 356, 552, 798, 891
Méry, 658, 663, 767
Menou, 776
Melzi, 1404
M'Farlane, 1606
Minto, 649, 1250
Mildmay, 1243, 1672
M'Lealan, 1590
Morris, 113
More, 119
Mocenigo, 523
Moore, 774, 849, 857, 881, 886
Montrose, 804
Moncrieff, 813
Montrichard, 847, 853, 880
Moira, 1106
Moore, 1624*
Mulgrave, 1108, 1278

N

Naples, King of, 27, 385
Nares, 105, 119
Nadir-Chah, 355
Nepean, 67
Nelson, 93, 131, 392, 1112, 1625*, 1630
Ney, 480, 562, 658, 775, 890
Nicholls, 106, 894, 1189
Nield, 593
Norfolk, 1275, 1633, 1784, 1794

O

O'Connor, 25, 132, 344, 345, 378, 687
Ogle, 1190
Orange, 116, 225, 796
Otto, 281, 303, 760
Oxford, 345, 687

P

Paul, 129
Palatine, 139
Panin, 199, 277
Passau, 292
Paswan Oglou, 405, 424, 560
Parma, 658, 768, 847
Paine, 763
Parr, 1070
Parry, 1589
Paget, 4
Pellew, 55
Pérouse, 118
Perry, 122
Peltier, 255, 281, 284, 715, 858
Pelham, 796, 799, 1100, 1201, 1223, 1227, 1252, 1276, 1640, 1782, 1786
Percival, 1198, 1726
Pitt, 26, 52, 56, 71, 147, 183, 196, 378, 411, 416, 437, 548, 551, 573, 612, 634, 643, 702, 750, 800, 824, 874, 875, 889, 1012, 1092, 1135, 1216, 1236, 1300, 1324, 1590
Pickens, 33
Picton, 86
Pius, 7, 1377
Pomland, 330
Polignac, 765
Porter, 802, 807
Price, 11, 186
Prussia, Pr. Henry of, 1375
Prussia, Kingof, 72, 130, 249, 693, 1389
Priestley, 186
Prevost, 408
Pye, 1089
Pytches, 1643
Pybus, 53

R

Rapp, 479, 487, 530, 562
Reeves, 106
Reding, 589, 659, 764, 774
Rees, 827
Rheinhard, 765
Richepanse, 81, 85, 140, 197
Rippon, 827
Richmond, 1289
Rodney, 54
Rogers, 74, 1594
Rochester, 595
Roize, 808
Roberjot, 857
Rose, 1025
Romney, 1096
Rosslyn, 1287
Roberts, 1571
Russia, Emp. of, 18, 72, 250, 436
Russell, 25
Ruspoli, 468, 512, 607, 635, 755, 849

S

Suworow, 355
Sahuguet, 845, 854
Sardinia, 856
Saunderson, 867
Scott, 1625
Schmid, 816
Scharnt, 335
Sebastiani, 880
Sheridan, 439, 575, 767, 830, 1095, 1360, 1743
Schimmelpenninck, 768, 776
Shutland, 1618
Simpson, 114
Sinclair, 805, 808, 868
Skipwith, 113
Slater, 1627*
Smith, 26, 29, 228, 1714
Smyth, 51, 69, 358, 615, 665
Spencer, 1098, 1239, 1289, 1781, 1786
Straton, 337, 354
Stahremberg, 736, 764
Stirling, 805, 818
Storey, 1601
Stewart, 806
Sturges, 1718
Sussex, Duke of, 23
Sylvester, 104

T

Talleyrand, 113, 244, 260, 265, 271, 291, 353, 362, 375, 395, 455, 526, 540, 559, 695, 798, 1384
Tandy, 344, 378, 399, 536, 593, 648, 730
Tenant, 1627*
Terry, 76
Temple, 451, 1096, 1134, 1233, 1238, 1339, 1690, 1705, 1715
Thomas, 24
Thornton, 28, 121, 1190
Thugut, 566
Thurlow, 1224
Teitenser, 545, 653, 769, 875
Tigné, 1078
Totty, 23
Toussaint, 59, 78, 85, 91, 125, 141, 346, 349, 600, 764
Tooke, 765
Travers, 11
Trench, 1641
Tucker, 894
Tuscany, Duke of, 400, 492, 556, 586

V

Vansittart, 266, 1238
Verninac, 182
Vincent, 789, 894, 1111, 1623*
Victor, 848, 880
Villeneuve, 1416
Victor Hugues, 1418
Volney, 29

W

Warren, 55, 352
Wastney, 104
Walpole, 183, 875
Watteville, 425, 470
Watlen, 803
Watson, 808
Warwick, 1107
Wallace, 1564
Waterhouse, 1592
Washington, 17, 516, 762, 821.
Wellesley, 246
Welch, 407
Westmeath, 1111, 1284
Westmoreland, 1101
Webb, 1458
Whitworth, 302, 666, 861, 863
Whitbread, 1672
Wilberforce, 28, 121, 362, 507, 603, 606, 703, 745, 1183, 1187, 1245, 1615, 1673, 1755
Willot, 308
Wilson, 582, 810
Willings, 698
Wilkinson, 33
Wirtemberg, Duke of, 37
Wingate, 105
Winter, 113, 755
Windham, 16, 25, 48, 50, 226, 252, 254, 348, 402, 412, 444, 477, 506, 573, 634, 669, 697, 737, 785, 791, 800, 810, 859, 863, 879, 888, 1092, 1150, 1194, 1201, 1202, 1290, 1660, 1701, 1762, 1779, 1800
Wood, 1189
Wodehouse, 50, 1091
Wohlwend, 816
Woronzof, 849
Wrottesley, 1642
Wynne, 1189, 1351, 1735

Y

Young, 23, 1325
Yorke, 1187, 1691, 1718

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INDEX OF PLACES.

A.
Aleppo, 247
Alexandria, 880
Algiers, 108, 236, 248, 1381
America, 6, 17, 33, 38, 59, 97, 156, 371, 762
Amiens, 566
Amsterdam, 114, 124, 471, 1455
Antwerp, 85, 92, 124
Appenzel, 19
Aschaffenburg, 846
Augsburg, 756, 847
Austria, 347, 393, 399, 435, 550
B.
Baltimore, 38, 147
Basse Terre, 79, 197
Bassoria, 131
Barbary, 185
Bagdad, 247
Baltic, 360
Basle, 368, 403, 470, 480, 487, 524, 564, 588, 659, 724, 775, 847
Baden, 398
Bavaria, 525, 559
Barcelona, 724
Berlin, 18, 111
Berne, 19, 181, 259, 278, 403, 426, 468, 530, 561, 563, 590, 725, 774
Black Sea, 124, 249, 289, 337, 348, 353
Bourdeaux, 112
Bologna, 233
Bohemia, 333, 418, 693, 844, 1388
Brest, 59, 125, 143, 757
Bremen, 275
Brandenburgh, 422
Brussels, 775
Brazils, 1103
C.
Cape François, 8, 73, 299, 481, 688
Cairo, 131, 585, 689
Cayenne, 143
Canada, 148, 516
Campeche, 732
Cape of Good Hope, 1087, 1102, 1112, 1131, 1139
Ceylon, 1140
Chickasaw, 33
Chactaw, 34
Cherbourg, 776
Corfou, 109
Corvey, 276
Cologne, 241
Constantinople, 472, 753
Corfou, 523, 527
Copenhagen, 567
Cochin, 862, 1099, 1131, 1140
Constance, 881
Crimea, 402
D.
Damascus, 131
Demerara, 85
Denmark, 130
Deli, 355
Dereham, 416
Domingo, 2, 7, 40, 74, 240, 299, 369, 472, 481, 613, 696, 756, 766, 784, 1156, 1212, 1278
Dover, 51
Dublin, 593
E.
East-Indies, 245, 359, 773
Edinburgh, 87, 208
Egypt, 3, 49, 125, 186, 375, 544
Elba, 22, 1203
England, 6
F.
Ferrajo, 22
Floridas, 187, 862
Flanders, 450
France, 3, 6, 356
Frankfort, 846
G.
Genoa, 18, 108, 238, 291, 561
Georgia, 41, 44, 243
Germany, 295, 361, 399, 449
Gibraltar, 23, 162, 513, 757
Glaris, 19
Guadaloupe, 17, 112, 140, 197, 472, 845, 1396, 1400, 1409
H.
Hague, 19, 142, 847, 880
Hanover, 185, 250, 272, 452
Halifax, 513
Hamburgh, 589, 661, 847
Helvetia, 19, 200, 278, 423, 586, 722
Hieres, 21
Hindostan, 131, 246, 357
Hildesheim, 250, 693, 1389
Holland, 3, 7, 451, 476, 496
Honduras, 732, 1288, 1318, 1346
Hull, 86
I.
Jaffa, 582
Jamaica, 131, 182, 253, 265, 313, 328, 600, 697, 785, 1085
Jersey, 179, 281, 303, 591
Isle of France, 1398
Ispahan, 355
Italy, 7
Ivry, 591
K.
Kingston, 182
L.
Laodicea, 247
Lausanne, 470, 479, 485, 530
Levant, 472
Leghorn, 527, 755
Lisbon, 242
Liverpool, 407
London, 9, 124
Louisiana, 6, 27, 38, 59, 125, 148, 187, 233, 248, 387, 512, 650, 816, 1158, 1204, 1273, 1285, 1293, 1337, 1344, 1354
Louisville, 42
Lucerne, 724
Lyons, 21
M.
Malta, 131, 351, 359, 376, 512, 533, 635, 838, 1073, 1106, 1111, 1123, 1138, 1206, 1220, 1233, 1239, 1276, 1291, 1325, 1330, 1638
Marseilles, 20
Mahon, 22
Martinico, 24, 367, 373, 1103, 1415
Mauritius, 118
Mayence, 241
Memel, 18, 71
Mississippi, 40, 42, 59
Middlesex, 89, 116, 122
Minorca, 131, 1139
Milan, 164, 234, 561, 1401
Mingrelia, 243
Morocco, 114, 338
Munster, 202
Munich, 724
N.
Nantz, 112, 124
Naples, 235, 385, 1141
Nassau, 447
New-York, 17, 91, 199, 369, 424
New Orleans, 27, 148
New London, 518
North Carolina, 17, 28, 91
Norwich, 46, 50
Nottingham, 90
Nova Scotia, 758
O.
Oleron, 21
Osnaberg, 272, 659
P.
Paris, 19, 22, 90, 110, 115, 165, 346, 431, 537, 564, 592, 688, 727, 757, 775, 848, 882
Parma, 658, 663
Passau, 292, 467
Persia, 131, 243, 246, 357
Petersburg, 17, 199, 485, 543, 659, 1410
Philadelphia, 17
Piedmont, 3, 27, 124
Placentia, 768
Pondicherry, 246, 1099
Portugal, 253, 294
Porto Ferrajo, 388
Pomerania, 640
Presbourg, 137
Prussia, 92, 217, 296, 396, 452, 559, 566
Q.
Quebec, 515
Quiberon, 1299
R.
Ratisbon, 238, 333, 403, 417, 425, 466, 523, 526, 527, 529, 543, 561, 586, 588, 638, 693, 755, 774, 844, 849
Reading, 521, 545, 769, 871, 1035
Rome, 7, 17, 468
Rouen, 203, 219, 562
Rosetta, 585
Russia, 217, 243, 246, 356, 362, 376, 397, 402, 415, 430, 436, 453, 558, 615, 652, 1410
S.
Saxony, 422
Scheldt, 112
Schwitz, 19, 235, 523, 638
Sevres, 21
Somme, 243
Spain, 7
Stockholm, 129, 355
Stutgard, 370, 725, 882
Suabia, 370
Sweden, 130
Switzerland, 3, 390, 374, 425, 437, 477, 495, 511, 533, 541
Syria, 247, 582
T.
Tenesse, 44
Timakul, 145
Tobago, 143, 845
Tortola, 193
Trinidad, 86, 1285
Tunis, 431
Turin, 110
Turkey, 115, 124, 348, 353, 357, 375, 405
Tuscany, 3, 586, 638
U. & V.
Valais, 374, 1384
Versailles, 857
Vienna, 18, 201, 425, 585, 724, 755, 774, 846, 851
Virginia, 517
Unterwalden, 19
Uri, 19
W.
Wallachia, 143
West-Indies, 6
Westminster, 11, 89
Wirtemburg, 37
Y.
York Town, 517
Z.
Zurich, 430

END OF VOL. II.

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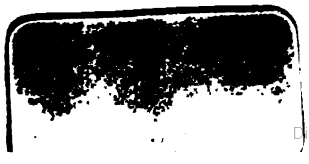
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